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otoczenie literackie
Bronisława Piłsudskiego**

Opiekun pracy dyplomowej

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**The Japanese, Russian and Polish
literary surroundings of
Bronisław Piłsudski**

Under the supervision of
Prof. dr hab. Alfred F. Majewicz

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Editorial note

This thesis has been structured to simplify the process of locating information on Bronisław Piłsudski's global connections.

The main figure is referred to by his first name, "Bronisław" to distinguish him from his brother, Józef Piłsudski, a significant figure in Polish history and the First Marshal of Poland.

Full dates of documents and events are provided throughout the text (e.g. "July 6, 1907") to minimise the need for readers to search through previous or subsequent sentences and pages when verifying specific events or timelines.

This dissertation frequently refers to sources in languages that do not use the Latin alphabet. These have been transliterated using internationally recognised systems. For Japanese, the Hepburn system is used; for Chinese, *pinyin*; for Russian, the *BGN/PCGN* romanisation approved by the United States Board on Geographic Names and Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use, with the exception of letter *ě*, which is romanised as *yo* or *o* depending on the preceding letters; and for Yiddish, the YIVO system.

Japanese names are presented with the given name first and the surname second, following Western conventions. In traditional Japanese practice, this order is reversed. However, names like "Futabatei Shimei" remain unchanged, as they are pseudonyms where the order is significant.

Chinese names are kept in their traditional format, with the surname appearing first (e.g. Mao Zedong), as this is how they are commonly presented in the West.

Russian names are written using precise Russian transliteration, except for globally recognised authors (e.g. Leo Tolstoy), where the common Western version of the name is used.

In Polish reference sources, feminine surnames are rarely presented in their neutral forms and typically appear in traditional forms indicating marital status. This convention has been maintained in this thesis. For example, "Bukontówna" with the suffix *-ówna*, denotes an unmarried woman from the Bukont family, while "Kadenacowa" ending in *-owa*, refers to the wife of Kadenacy.

This thesis mentions Sakhalin aborigines, who are often known by more than one name. This is connected to a shift in the narrative towards minorities. Historically, they were named by the majorities surrounding them. Nowadays, they are most often called by the names they use in their own languages and

identify with. Thus, Gilyaks are Nivhgu, Tungus are Evenks, and Oroks are Uilta. The names closer to the minorities' identities will be used in this thesis.

Source texts translated by the author of this thesis are accompanied by an appropriate note indicating this. Other translations are the property of the authors listed in the bibliography.

English meanings of Japanese and Polish literary works are placed in single quotation marks within square brackets [] at the References section and in parentheses () within the main text of this thesis. If an official English translation exists, it is marked in italics.

In the index at the end of this thesis, information such as the place and year of birth and death of individuals mentioned throughout the text is provided

Since the primary focus of this thesis is Japanese studies and the *kanji* characters convey specific meanings, Japanese *kanji* characters have been added alongside the usual index entries to easily navigate through Japanese names, book and article titles, and the glossary.

To maintain consistency with other materials on Bronisław Piłsudski (e.g. Halman 2017), references to the second volume of *A critical biography of Bronisław Piłsudski* include page numbers preceded by the notation “2/...” to indicate volume two.

Abbreviations for titles, publishers, publication places

BN	Biblioteka Narodowa [Polish National Library], Warsaw
COKM	Sakhalinskiy oblastnoy krayevedcheskiy muzey [Sakhalin Regional Museum], Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk
CWBP	<i>The collected works of Bronisław Piłsudski</i>
ICRAP	International Committee for the Restoration and Assessment of Bronisław Piłsudski's Scholarly Legacy
IIEOS	International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies in Stęszew, Poland
IINBP	<i>Izvestiya instituta naslediya Bronislava Pilsudskogo</i> ['journal of the Bronisław Piłsudski Heritage Institute'], Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk
PL	Presidential Library, St. Petersburg
PLDV	<i>Priroda i lyudi Dal'nego Vostoka</i> ['nature and people of the Far East'], Vladivostok
PSB	<i>Polski Słownik Biograficzny</i> ['Polish Biographical Dictionary']
RUJ	Repozytorium Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego [Jagiellonian University Repository]
SBPPiWM	<i>Słownik biograficzny Południowego Podlasia i Wschodniego Mazowsza</i> ['Biographical dictionary of Southern Podlasie and Eastern Mazovia'], https://slownik-biograficzny.uws.edu.pl/
SOUNB	Sakhalinskaya oblastnaya universal'naya nauchnaya biblioteka [Sakhalin Regional Universal Research Library], Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk
WIET	<i>Wielka Internetowa Encyklopedia Tatrzańska</i> ['The Great Internet Encyclopaedia of the Tatras'], https://z-ne.pl/s,menu,1243,encyklopedia_tatr.html
WNUAM	Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu [Adam Mickiewicz University Press, Poznań]
WNUMK	Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu [Nicolaus Copernicus University Press, Toruń]

Introduction

The present dissertation was commissioned to address a specific need within the research project titled with the acronym ICRAP (International Committee for the Restoration and Assessment of Bronisław Piłsudski's Scholarly Legacy). It serves as the missing link in the project and the finalisation of the effort represented by *The collected works of Bronisław Piłsudski* (in short, CWBP). To date, four volumes have been published: Volumes 1–2 in 1998, Volume 3 in 2004, Volume 4 in 2011, with two subsequent volumes at an advanced stage of preparation.

The thesis is intended for users of CWBP, all existing biographies of Bronisław Piłsudski (Latyshev 2008, Sawada & Inoue 2010, Sawada 2019), as well as readers of the series of articles on Bronisław Piłsudski from the Polish PAU/PAN Academic Library in Cracow (11 articles to date). It also complements and supports the Bronisław Piłsudski biographical index by Halman (2017).

The scope of the topic was specified by the project executors, who, however, allowed the dissertation's author to make her own decisions, choices, and discoveries within the framework of ICRAP. Due to the needs associated with the realisation of the forthcoming volumes, some topics (especially the Japanese-Polish motifs) were explored in greater depth compared to others.

The period of Poland under partitions (1772–1918) saw the rise of many significant individuals who struggled to form their unique identity in the harsh reality of lost freedom. Each of them aimed to contribute something positive to the world and their nation. Such individuals were not only Poles, as many nations began to feel oppressed by stronger powers and colonisers or partitioners.

This thesis features many names, some contemporarily forgotten, without whom the world would not be in its current shape. These individuals had three things in common: they cared for freedom, their mission was education, and they were colleagues of Bronisław Piłsudski (1866 Zułów–1918 Paris) – one of Poland's most productive ethnographers, always far ahead of his time, caring for workers, advocating for women's rights, and preserving cultural heritage for future generations. A fighter for equality and minority rights, a specialist on Sakhalin aborigines such as the Ainu, Nivkhgu, Uilta, Orochs, and the Nanai. A person whose activities can be described as trans-cultural, trans-continental, trans-contextual, and trans-disciplinary – exceeding borders and limitations.

This dissertation, part of a larger project named ICRAP (International Committee for the Reconstruction and Assessment of B. Piłsudski's Work), aims to document newly discovered facts about Bronisław Piłsudski's life and relationships.

The creation of this thesis is a response to the growing need for well-documented traditional, paper academic works that archive the legacy of ancestors for modern citizens.

Many new projects on science and culture, including some focused on the popularisation of knowledge about Bronisław Piłsudski, are being planned with the internet and online platforms as their foundation, accessible from anywhere in the world.

However, a recent study by the Pew Research Center has shown that the internet is currently in a state of *digital decay*, and the situation is expected to worsen further.

According to the findings of the study, out of a sample of 1 million webpage snapshots, 1/4 of webpages existing between 2013 and 2023 are no longer working. 38% of websites available in 2013 are now non-existent. Out of a sample of 500,000 government pages, 21% referred users to at least one broken link. In terms of websites owned by mass media, out of a sample of 500,000, 23% of pages referred users to at least one unreachable source. Out of a sample of 50,000 Wikipedia pages, 54% contained at least one unavailable source link. 18% of tweets on Twitter collected between March and April 2023 were already inaccessible by June 2023. 50% of tweets from the "unavailable" sample group vanished within 6 days of publication.^{1 2}

Marcin Zaród from the Polish SWPS University, Warsaw, a sociologist specialising in social media and artificial intelligence research, defines several points that must be taken into consideration regarding this dangerous trend. First of all, any online discussions on topics important to civilisation can be altered by deleting posts, making it impossible to trace the flow of the discussion.³

Second, the internet is designed to focus on the *here and now*, with past information being cast aside to avoid distracting users from new feeds. The lack of proper archiving creates gaps in the lives of individuals and societies, which,

¹ Chapekis, Athena, Samuel Bestvater et al. 2024. "When online content disappears: 38% of webpages that existed in 2013 are no longer accessible a decade later", on-line article by Pew Research Center, May 17, 2024. <https://www.pewresearch.org/data-labs/2024/05/17/when-online-content-disappears/>.

² Makarenko, Vadim 2024. "Jutronauci: czy jesteśmy o krok od masowego fałszowania wspomnień?" ["Futureonauts: are we one step away from mass falsification of memories?"], newspaper *Gazeta Wyborcza*'s podcast, July 5, guest: Marcin Zaród. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3K5laYbrg7k>.

³ Makarenko 2024.

in a broader context, might lead to the degradation of cultures and the need to relearn everything from scratch (*ibid.*).

Moreover, feeding AI with current information poses the risk that, in the future, it will only be able to trace information back to the 2020s, which was the starting point for its information base. Past and future data might merge into a single stream, without proper reference to sources. This could lead societies to live in a state of uncertainty and amnesia. What happened five years ago? Is it still accessible? Was I part of history, or was it all my imagination? (*ibid.*).

In this state of rapid generational transformation, there is an urgent need to document Poland's greatest global achievements and archive them with the future in mind.

Initially after Bronisław Piłsudski's tragic death by drowning in the Seine River in 1918, his memory and legacy were documented in the context of the First Marshal of Poland and Bronisław's younger brother, Józef Piłsudski.

Ethnologist Waclaw Sieroszewski (cf. Section 5.2) published a long obituary in memory of Bronisław in the first volume of *Rocznik Podhalański* ('Podhale Yearbook', Sieroszewski 1914–1921). It was the journal of the Ethnographic Section of the Tatra Society, which Bronisław had established a few years before his death. He served as the section's chairman from 1911 to 1914 and did not live to see the publication of the first volume.

The journal's obituary also featured correspondence about Bronisław's life between Juliusz Zborowski, former chairman of the Tatra Museum in Zakopane (cf. Section 7.9), and Józef Komenda, Bronisław's colleague and secretary during some of his numerous social and ethnographic undertakings in Rapperswil, Switzerland.

Another source on Bronisław is Sieroszewski (1935), which describes his research expedition with Bronisław to the Hokkaido Ainu, explained further in Section 5.2. There is also Sieroszewski's biography of the First Marshal of Poland, entitled *Józef Piłsudski* (Piotrków: Departament Wojskowy Naczelnego Komitetu Narodowego; Kraków: Drukarnia Narodowa), which was partly based on Bronisław's recollections and opinions about his childhood with Józef in Zułów, Lithuania.

Detailed recollections of Bronisław were left by socialist Edmund Płoski, a lawyer, socialist and co-creator of the first Polish "Proletariat" Party, in the form of a printed manuscript, a preparation for Bronisław's biography by Żeromski (cf. Section 5.1). Additionally, an obituary lamenting the death of the "King of Ainu" was placed in the American-Polish *Dziennik Związkowy*⁴ (officially named in English as the *Polish Daily News*) by professor Wincenty Lutosławski, a Polish philosopher and one of the first yoga practitioners (Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 28).

⁴ *Polish Daily News* was established in January 1908 as a union body of the Polish National Alliance and continues to be published to this day. <https://dziennikzwiazkowy.com>.

In 1930, on the pages of the journal *Wiedza i Życie* (a popular science magazine), professor Kazimiera Zawistowicz of Łódź University appealed for preservation, protection, and research of materials related to Bronisław, as well as his national and foreign articles, recollections of him, and private letters (Kuczyński 2000: 7). Same year, Tadeusz Korniłowicz (cf. Section 7.9), who hosted Bronisław at his home in Zakopane, found in his attic a package containing wax cylinder recordings of the Ainu language. These items were originally intended by Bronisław to be placed under the care of Juliusz Zborowski (cf. Section 7.9; Bańcerowski 1964).

In 1953, the first attempts to reconstruct the sounds from the wax recordings were undertaken by Leon Kaczmarek, a professor from Poznań University (today's Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań) and Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin. In 1964, professor of linguistics Jerzy Bańcerowski continued the efforts (*ibid.*).

Finally, in 1981, the International Committee for the Reconstruction and Assessment of B. Piłsudski's Work was formed with the financial support of IBM-Japan. It comprised the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, the Institute of Northern Cultures of Hokkaido University (Sapporo, Japan), and the Institute of Linguistics of Adam Mickiewicz University (Poznań, Poland) (CWBP 1:1). From the Polish side, the two above-mentioned professors took part, along with historian and ethnographer Antoni Kuczyński and linguist and philologist Alfred F. Majewicz, who was accompanied by his wife, Elżbieta Majewicz (Majewicz 1984).

This unprecedented event initiated an ongoing international collaboration focused on Bronisław Piłsudski the impact of his ethnographic work. To date, four conferences have already been organised, not coincidentally linking research institutes in Japan, Poland, and Russia.

The first conference took place in 1985 at Hokkaido University in Sapporo and Nibutani. Its proceedings were released in March 1987 entitled *Kokuritsu minzokugaku hakubutsukan kenkyū hōkoku bessatsu no. 5 // Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology Special Issue*, Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology, including sections such as “the life of Piłsudski”, “Piłsudski's academic findings”, “the recovery of sound and content from Piłsudski's wax cylinder recordings”, and finally, “Piłsudski's research on the cultures of northern peoples”.

The above-mentioned conference set the highest qualitative standard for contemporary research on Bronisław Piłsudski's legacy, with discussions ranging from the revolutionary roots of the ethnographer, through his research on the Ainu, Nivhgu, and Uilta, to lectures on laser technology for reading wax-rubber cylinder recordings.

The second conference entitled *Bronisław Piłsudski – researcher of the Sakhalin nations* took place from October 31 to November 2, 1991, in Yuzhno-

Sakhalinsk and Nogliki, USSR. During the sessions, previously unknown documents from the Museum of the Society for Amur Studies were presented, and the literary inspiration drawn from Bronisław by Żeromski in his novel *Uroda życia* ('the charm of life', Kraków: Spółka Nakładowa "Książka" 1912) was discussed. The conference proceedings were released in two volumes in Russian (Latyshev & Ishchenko 1992).

The third conference took place in Cracow and Zakopane from August 29 to September 7, 1999. It is worth noting that one of its participants, Vladimir Sangi, was himself a Nivhgu descent, committed to protecting the rights of his population. Thus, the conference dedicated to the Polish ethnographer brought together a truly diverse group of researchers, some of whom were emotionally connected to the subjects of their studies.

This conference focused on exploring the literary aspects of Bronisław's activities. The first results of research on the collaborative Polish-Japanese initiative focused on translation and cultural exchange between Piłsudski and Futabatei Shimei, a pioneer of modern Japanese literature, were presented. Furthermore, discussions covered Bronisław's and Sieroszewski's Chinese collections, touching on their acquaintance, as well as examining Bronisław's connections with Shternberg (cf. Section 3.3). The proceedings from the conference were later published as Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz (2001).

Another significant event was the symposium *Bronisław Piłsudski (1866–1918). Człowiek – uczony – patriota* ('Bronisław Piłsudski: man – scholar – patriot'), organised in Zakopane on October 20–1, 2000. The discussions primarily focused on Bronisław's biography, his collections, and his connections with museology. Proceedings from the conference were published under the same title in 2023, edited by Anna Liscar and Magdalena Sarkowicz (Zakopane: Towarzystwo Muzeum Tatrzńskiego).

The fourth international conference, titled *Bronisław Piłsudski: On the centennial of his death. Towards an independent homeland*, commemorating the 100th anniversary of Bronisław's death, took place on October 18–20, 2018, in Poland in the cities of Cracow and Żory. During the event, participant Stefan Schmidt from Switzerland presented research on the literary and artistic aspects of Bronisław's scientific writings in his lecture titled "Ethnography of the exiled self. Bronisław Piłsudski from a literary scholar's point of view".

A book-length study of Bronisław's relationship with Futabatei is featured in Ciesielska (1994).

As for the expanded description of his correspondence with Shternberg, it is covered in the Russian publications: Piłsudski (Vladislav M. Latyshev ed., 1996) and Latyshev, Dudarets & Prokofyev (2011).

Żeromski's literary inspirations of Bronisław pictured in his novel *Uroda życia* ('the charm of life') have been discussed by Kuczyński (1992), while Milewska-Młynik (2003) explored the subject in greater depth. The novel's main character, a Polish exile and globetrotter named Gustaw Bezmian, was based on Bronisław's biography.

The most significant book publications of recent years on Bronisław include Sawada (2019) – the first full Japanese-language biography of Bronisław translated into Polish in 2021 by Barbara Słomka, Majewicz (2020) – a detailed commentary on Japan-themed articles by Bronisław and Piłsudski (2021) – a critical edition of Bronisław's childhood diary.

The richness and diversity of publications produced so far in this field serve as great inspiration for taking up the challenge of describing the hitherto unknown literary aspects of Bronisław's acquaintances.

Conducting research requires piecing together the extraordinarily rich biographies of individuals about whom most information was, until recently, unavailable. Even in the case of such a widely read and well-known writer as Stefan Żeromski (cf. Section 5.1), his archive remained in the private flat of his daughter, Monika Żeromska, until 2001. One of the few people with unrestricted access to this valuable documentation was Hanna Mortkowicz-Olczakowa, a friend of the family (Adamczyk 2016: 39).

Within the thesis, Bronisław's story is complemented by references to the forgotten contemporary biographies of figures such as Ludwik Janowski (cf. Chapter 6) and Paulina Sieroszevska (cf. Section 5.3). Changes over time necessitate re-examining several formerly admired texts through the lens of colonialism, exclusion, and feminist perspectives, and critically assessing them. Contemporary psychological knowledge allows the author of the thesis to better examine the development of Bronisław Piłsudski's mind through the literature he read as a child (cf. Chapter 2), while the achievements of trauma studies add depth to Yuvachov's diary written in Sakhalin (cf. Section 3.1).

The collection of archival material is fundamental in research on historical figures. Therefore, this dissertation is largely based on library searches conducted at the National Library in Warsaw, the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, materials from the archives of the PAU and the Polish Academy of Sciences, the collection of the Wrocław Library of the Ossoliński National Institute, and the world's leading English-language studies on Japanese history and culture, from publishers such as De Gruyter, Brill, Routledge, and the University of Hawaii Press, among others.

Japanese materials are also crucial: specialist books and encyclopaedic studies on Japanese feminists, press articles, blogs, and regional bulletins from northern Japan promoting cultural cooperation between Poland and Japan.

The core unifying the narrative of this work are the two largest and most specialised studies of Bronisław Piłsudski's life and work: the multi-volume CWBP and Bronisław's critical biography edited by Sawada & Inoue (2010).

Lastly, it is impossible to conduct research in isolation from reality. This conviction prompted the author to carry out a survey on the recognisability of Bronisław Piłsudski in social media, which resulted in 672 original responses. These responses led to reflections on contemporary methods of acquiring knowledge, as the detailed nature of some of the answers may inspire admiration. Basic statistical methods were used to compile the survey results, which are interpreted as an argument for the further development of science popularisation (science communication) within Polish academia.

1. Bronisław Piłsudski and his surroundings

1.1. Lithuania (Zułów, Vilnius)

Bronisław Piłsudski was born in Zułów, Lithuania, in a proper manor house, typical of Polish nobles at the time, beautifully surrounded by nature. The entrance featured a brick gate adorned with the family crests of the Ogińscy, the previous owners. The building itself was a large, single-story larch manor with a glass porch, approximately 30 meters long at the front, with an annex and a kitchen. The outbuildings included a carpentry workshop, stable, barn, coach house, bakery, cellars, granary, and forge. There were also houses for the staff: hunters, blacksmiths, foresters, and servants. The manor was surrounded by the Mera River in a semicircular embrace (Paczkowska 2008: 8; Bajor 1995: 5-6; Kolmasiak 2018: 31-2).

The estate was rich in natural beauty, with various types of trees like lindens and oaks, as well as bushes such as meadowsweets and lilacs. Hills and ponds were scattered throughout the landscape (Bajor 1995: 5-6; Kolmasiak 2018: 31).

There were 12 children in the family: Helena, Zofia, Bronisław, Józef Klemens, Adam, Kazimierz, Maria, Jan, Ludwika, Kacper, and twins Piotr and Teodora, who tragically died as infants at six months old from whooping cough. The children were free to play and explore the world, and the estate provided a safe and nurturing environment for them (Paczkowska 2008: 8-9; Bajor 1995: 25; Kolmasiak 2018: 135).

A large number of maids lived in the manor. Additionally, two foreign tutors – one French and one German – were hired to teach languages to the children. They were brought in specifically to ensure that the children's education would not be handled by Russians, which, for this deeply patriotic family, would have been a blow to their pride (Paczkowska 2008: 8-9; Kolmasiak 2018: 64-7).

Bronisław and Józef, being only a year apart, often discussed women and became rivals in their pursuit of early intimate experiences. The very specific situations recorded by Bronisław in his diary provide good material for research into the women's rights, especially ladies and maids, in the early 19th century.

In every situation, the boys' mother was always there to guide them, teaching them what was proper and helping to ease their confusion. Her influence

on Bronisław's upbringing, particularly through her focus on literature recommended for her children, is discussed in more detail in Section 2.1. The impact of Bronisław's father on his upbringing, despite his difficult character and inability to manage his land effectively, is covered in Section 2.2 of this thesis.

After the fire in 1875, which destroyed most of the Zułów estate, the family moved to Vilnius. Relocating to Vilnius was the idea of Maria, Bronisław's mother, as she saw it as an opportunity to teach the children about real life under Russian occupation, which was the exact opposite of their carefree upbringing in Zułów. The family moved several times before finally settling at 14 Bakszta Street, where they lived while the boys attended middle school. Speaking Polish in class was prohibited and led to a two-hour detention (Bajor 1995: 30-1; Kern 1935: 69; 125-6; Kolmasiak 2018: 88).

This was not an exile from Zułów; they still returned for summers and holidays. However, it was financially impossible to live there permanently, and the remaining windmill was rented out to help the family make a living (Paczkowska 2008: 13).

In Vilnius, Bronisław struggled significantly in school, and not even resentment toward Poland's invader, Imperial Russia, can fully explain his poor grades and lack of preparation for classes. His teenage mind was chaotic, and he constantly felt overshadowed by Józef, who seemed to outshine him in every area of life, including academics, popularity with girls, and affection from the family. However, Bronisław soon found a refuge: the pursuit of knowledge. He immersed himself in the self-education circle *Spójnia*, where members read illegal Polish literature, educated themselves on socialism, and engaged in heated debates about the latest ideas. For Bronisław, it was not just about rebelling against the oppressor – he genuinely envisioned himself as someone important, building libraries, distributing books, and providing knowledge to society.

Out of all his teenage love interests, which sometimes changed overnight, the most stable ones were the Baniewiczówna sisters, Maria and Zofia (in their Polish diminutive forms, Marynia and Zosia). Of the two, Zosia seemed to share more of Bronisław's intellectual pursuits. He began spending time with her, bringing her books on socialism and feminism, and hoping to grow spiritually alongside her. Unfortunately, this relationship, centered around discussions of socialism, was not looked upon favourably by Zosia's guardians. She was soon sent to Petersburg to work at the railways, leaving Bronisław heartbroken by their separation (Piłsudski 2021: 522-4, 535; Sawada 2021: 43-4).

Bronisław's literary interests from that period are discussed in more detail in Section 2.4, following an introduction to his teenage diaries and their three editions in Section 2.3.

1.2. Petersburg, Sakhalin

Not long after Zosia left for Petersburg, it turned out that Bronisław would be heading there as well. He completed gymnasium in Petersburg and, in 1886, entered the Faculty of Law at Petersburg University. By that time, Zosia's mother had strictly forbidden her to see Bronisław, so his affections shifted towards the other sister, Maria (CWBP 1: 16; Sawada 2021: 48).

Socialism was spreading in academic circles, and soon Bronisław became involved with the radical terrorist faction *Narodnaya Volya* and their plot to assassinate Tsar Alexander III of Russia. It was his colleague, Józef Łukaszewicz, a student of life sciences who later became a professor of geology, who introduced him to the movement (CWBP 1: 18; Sawada 2021: 51-2).

Various sources interpret Bronisław's involvement in the assassination plot differently. It is most commonly stated that Bronisław provided a place for the terrorist group to stay and facilitated the printing of propaganda leaflets. Płoski (1933: 4-5) noted that upon Bronisław's arrival on Sakhalin, he broke down in tears and professed his innocence, lamenting that, unlike the other convicts who knew the reasons for their exile and could come to terms with their sentences, he did not understand why this misfortune had befallen him. Kuczyński (2015: 15), on the other hand, asserts that no one is implicated in such a conspiracy by chance, and that Bronisław acted with intent.

Ultimately five of the most involved conspirators were executed by hanging: Aleksandr I. Ul'yanov (Lenin's brother), Pyotr Ya. Shevyryov, Pakhomiy I. Andreyushkin, Vasiliy D. Generalov, and Vasiliy S. Osipanov (Sawada 2021: 57).

Bronisław was initially sentenced to death, but his penalty was later commuted to 15 years of exile in Sakhalin, likely due to the intervention of his father. In 1887, he was transported on the ship *Nizhniy Novgorod* along with three other surviving conspirators: Pyotr S. Gorkun, Stepan A. Volokhov, and Mikhail N. Kancher, who later, overcome with guilt for betraying his colleagues during the trial, committed suicide (CWBP 1: 19; Płoski 1933: 17).

On the ship, Bronisław met Ivan P. Yuvachov, who would later become one of his closest friends and is discussed in detail in Section 3.1 (Sawada 2021: 59). Another of Bronisław's contacts on Sakhalin, though more occasional, was Edmund Płoski (Płoski 1933: 2). While his presence in this thesis is only briefly noted, Płoski is mentioned mainly for the significant recollections he left about Bronisław and for his pioneering role as a Polish socialist.

Just as Yuvachov was an important friend with whom Bronisław worked, spent time, and even lived (cf. Section 3.1), Lev Shternberg was also very close to Bronisław, though physically distant. The two exchanged letters, collaborated on ethnographic research, and Shternberg even provided financial support

to Bronisław (Piłsudski 1996: 5-32). The details of their relationship are explained in Section 3.3, following Section 3.2, which focuses on Chekhov's significant field study in Sakhalin.

Bronisław's friendships with Yuvachov and Shternberg served as gateways to the other significant figures mentioned throughout this thesis in the context of these two influential writers.

His contacts in Sakhalin also included the indigenous peoples – the Nivhgu he met in Rykovskoye and the Ainu he encountered during his travels from Rykovskoye to Korsakov to establish a new meteorological station. In 1898, he traveled to Vladivostok, bringing with him a Nivhgu boy named Indyn (cf. Sections 7.1, 7.5, 7.6, and 7.8). Bronisław remained in Vladivostok under the patronage of the Research Society of the Amur Region and the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (cf. Sections 3.2 and 3.3; Halman 2017: 9-10).

Later, in 1902, he returned to Sakhalin to conduct research on the Ainu and Uilta, and his closest surroundings became his newly established Ainu family from the village of Ai: his wife Chuhsamma (niece of the village chief, Bafunke), his son Sukezō and their relatives. Unfortunately, he never had the chance to meet his daughter Kiyo (*ibid.* 10-1).

1.3. Japan

1.3.1. Polish surroundings

Bronisław first arrived in Japan in August 1902, transported illegally to Hakodate by ship along with luggage. This plan was devised when he was attempting to return from his research expedition from Mauka to Korsakov, but the ships of the East China Railway Company, which operated between Vladivostok and Nikolayevsk, could only be called upon by special orders from the Sakhalin administration. During that brief three-week stay in Japan, no significant Polish individuals of note to Bronisław were mentioned (CWBP 1: 193; Sawada 2021: 118-9).

Bronisław came to Japan for the second time in July 1903, to conduct research on the Hokkaido Ainu alongside Wacław Sieroszewski. The details of this journey, including the route and people they encountered, are explored further in Section 5.2 of this thesis. It can be said that Bronisław's first trip was not centred on engaging with Japanese citizens. The expedition's primary focus was narrow, revolving around Sieroszewski, a brief meeting with English Anglican missionary John Batchelor (cf. Sections 4.5, 5.2, and 7.5), and the Hokkaido Ainu. The Japanese individuals Bronisław encountered were mainly

local law enforcement officers and passersby (Sieroszewski 1935). The ethnographers were also accompanied by Tarōji Sentoku, whose background and connection to Bronisław are detailed in Section 4.9.

The third and fourth times Bronisław came to Japan were after the Russo-Japanese War, in October and December of 1905. During that period, his Polish connections centred around Płoski, who had been involved in the revolutionary movement in Blagoveshchensk and fled to Nagasaki to escape imprisonment by Russian authorities. Bronisław mentioned Płoski in letters to Futabatei Shimei (cf. Section 4.1), including one dated April 5, 1906, where he expressed concern for Płoski's wellbeing (Ciesielska 1994: 84). While Płoski was likely one of many Polish revolutionaries seeking refuge in Japan, no others are known to have played a significant role during Bronisław's stay.

At a later time, after Bronisław had already returned to Galicia, he often dreamed of traveling to Japan once more, this time accompanied by the love of his life, Maria Żarnowska (cf. Sections 1.1, 1.5, 4.1, and 7.5; Sawada 2021: 340-1). However, this dream was never realised. Thus, the individuals mentioned above constituted the most significant figures in Bronisław's Polish connections during his time in Japan.

1.3.2. Japanese surroundings

The first time Bronisław arrived in Hakodate illegally (cf. Subsection 1.3.1), he was transported by the large fishing company Semyonov & Dembi. The company employed workers of various nationalities, including Japanese. During his secret three-week stay in Japan, he lived with his rescuers. Dembi, originally named George Philips Denbigh before acquiring Russian citizenship, had a wife named Mary Moritaka (Anna-Monetessa), an Orthodox Japanese woman. Bronisław befriended her, and his overall impression of the trip was one of warmth and friendliness (CWBP 1: 192-4, 710-1; Sawada 2021: 118-9).

During Bronisław's second trip to Japan, as previously mentioned, his primary focus was documenting the Ainu rather than engaging with the Japanese around him. However, Sieroszewski did recall encountering some *musume* (young women) at the hotel who seemed surprised that anyone would take an interest in the Ainu (Sieroszewski 1935: 10).

Only during Bronisław's third and fourth stays in Japan, with the latter lasting eight months, did he truly become immersed in Japanese society. Shortly after arriving in Tokyo, Bronisław met with Futabatei Shimei, whose significance in Bronisław's life – as well as his influence on Japanese culture, literature, and Japanese-Russian relations – is thoroughly discussed in Section 4.1 of this thesis. The details of the Japanese-Polish Society, co-founded by Bronisław and Futabatei with the aim of exchanging prominent literary

works between the two countries, are explored further in Subsection 4.1.1 (CWBP 1: 30-1).

Through Futabatei, Bronisław soon met many significant Japanese figures, including politicians such as Shigenobu Ōkuma (cf. Section 4.16), Saburō Shimada (cf. Section 4.1), and Taisuke Itagaki; educators and supporters of the feminist movement like Yoshiharu Iwamoto; poverty journalist Gennosuke Yokoyama (cf. Section 4.2); and members of the socialist *Shinkigensha* ('new era') community, including Naoe Kinoshita (cf. Section 4.3), Sanshirō Ishikawa, Isoo Abe, Hideko Fukuda (cf. Sections 4.6 and 4.14), and Tokijirō Katō. Bronisław's involvement with the socialist community was recorded by Toshiko Sakai's magazine (cf. Section 4.6). Through Sakai, Bronisław connected with individuals such as Utako Imai (cf. Sections 4.6, 4.12, 4.14) and likely Chiyoko Kōtoku (cf. Sections 4.6 and 4.8).

Aside from Futabatei and Sakai, Bronisław's other key intermediary with Japanese citizens was Susumi Ueda of the Orthodox Church community (cf. Section 4.7), who facilitated his meetings with professor Sentarō Kemuyama (cf. Section 4.8), nurse Kōko Sōmiya (cf. Sections 4.7 and 4.15), and pianist Itoe Tachibana (cf. Sections 4.7 and 4.16).

Kōko Sōmiya, in turn, introduced Bronisław to Utako Shimoda, whose significant influence in both Japan and China is discussed in Section 4.15 of this thesis. Additionally, Bronisław was introduced to anarchist Sakae Ōsugi (cf. Section 4.12) by socialist Hyōma Yokota,⁵ who may have also facilitated meetings with feminist figures such as Kiyō Endō (cf. Section 4.14), Utako Imai (mentioned above), Misako Kinoshita (cf. Section 4.3), Hideko Fukuda (mentioned above), and Kikue Hemmi⁶ (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 67).

Bronisław was also acquainted with the globetrotting ethnographer couple, Kimiko and Ryūzo Torii (cf. Section 4.4), as well as Shōgorō Tsuboi, one of the founding figures of Japanese anthropology and archaeology, and Ainu researcher Zen'ichirō Oyabe (cf. Section 4.5).

Bronisław's first signs of fascination with Japan appeared during his initial stay in Hakodate, when he strolled around the city accompanied by Dembi's family. This fascination only grew deeper through his acquaintance with numerous prominent figures, pioneers of Meiji-era politics, culture, literature, and science.

⁵ A publication from 2006 by Masamichi Ōsawa *Tansaku – Yokota Heima* ('on Heima Yokota') mentions Yokota's name as *Heima*.

⁶ Wife of Onokichi Hemmi, a graduate of Keiō University and supporter of *Heiminsha*, where he formed lifelong friendships with Naoe Kinoshita and Sanshirō Ishikawa. Later, he transitioned to a career as a businessman, with his advertisements occasionally appearing in *Shinkigen* (Dohi 1982: 220-6).

Sawada & Inoue (2010) propose the reading *Itsumi* for the surname, whereas Sawada (2021) uses the correct reading *Hemmi*.

He wrote many articles on Japan in both Russian and Polish, which are introduced in the subsequent chapters of this thesis. The topics he reported on, based on news and personal insight, include the opinions and activities of politicians such as Shigenobu Ōkuma (mentioned above), Kentarō Kaneko (cf. Section 4.18), Kenchō Suematsu (cf. Section 4.19), and Shirō Shiba (cf. Section 4.20). Additionally, he covered key educators shaping the nation, such as Kumajirō Kiyama (cf. Section 4.17), and influential literary figures whose works helped define contemporary Japan in Bronisław's time, including Ekiken Kaibara (cf. Section 4.10), Inazō Nitobe (cf. Section 4.11), Norinaga Motoori (cf. Section 4.11), and Naobumi Ochiai (cf. Section 4.21).

Such individuals as politician and novelist Inazō Nitobe, along with the French officer and traveler Pierre Loti, contributed to the outside view of Japan known as Orientalism, which continues to shape the perception of Japan in European countries to this day. This topic is explored in greater depth in Sections 4.11 and 4.22.

Finally, Bronisław's activities also contributed to shaping the perception of Japan abroad. For instance, he reported on a traditional Japanese poetry competition, *uta-awase*,⁷ organised by the Emperor on the occasion of New Year, in which many people participated by submitting their poems, including individuals from Korea, Manchuria, Formosa, and Hawaii (Majewicz 2020: 105-10). And this is just one example of the variety of topics Bronisław was able to offer his readers, thanks to the support of his Japanese contacts.

1.3.3. Chinese surroundings

During his stay in Japan, Bronisław also maintained contact with Chinese revolutionaries who, after an unsuccessful attempt at revolution, fled to Japan, much like the Russian socialists. These revolutionaries published magazines expressing their political views and were actively organising themselves in preparation for further action against the Chinese empire.

Bronisław visited the editorial community of the magazine *Mimpōsha*, led by Sun Yatsen (cf. Section 4.16). He provided materials for issue 4 of the magazine *Minbao* (in Japanese, *Mimpō*, cf. *ibid*), including information on the publication of *Volya*, a Russian revolutionary magazine distributed in Japan (cf. Subsection 1.3.4 and Sections 4.1 and 4.7). He also contributed

⁷ This custom, dating back to the 9th century, involved Japan's aristocracy composing poems and comparing them to determine which was superior. Winning such a competition was considered both an honour and a source of prestige at court. Additionally, this tradition extended beyond poetry to include painting competitions, *e-awase*, which featured various forms of artwork, including painting on fans – *ōgiawase* (Bedonaruchiku 2013: 11). For more information, cf. 4.24.

to other articles, one of which addressed the issue of Polish independence (Ciesielska 1994: 33).

Other Chinese revolutionaries Bronisław contacted included future Kuomintang leader Song Jiaoren, future first commander-in-chief of the Republic of China Huang Xing, and an 18-year-old Chinese girl named Wu Ruonan. On March 25, 1906, Bronisław posed for a photograph with Song Jiaoren, Huang Xing, a group of Chinese students living in Japan, and two Japanese brothers who supported the movement, Tamizō and Tōten Miyazaki (CWBP 1: 32-3; Sawada 2021: 193-7).

Both Song Jiaoren and Huang Xing contributed significantly to the 1911 Xinhai Revolution, while two other students, Zhang Zhujun and Luo Pu, discussed in Section 4.8, were also involved in these events. This thesis does not focus directly on the Japanese branch of Chinese revolutionaries, but the reasons behind their movement, as well as the political context and the struggle to reform China's traditional educational system, are recurring themes explored in Sections 4.8, 4.15, 4.16, 4.18, 4.20, and 5.1.

1.3.4. Russian surroundings

The Russian community often played a crucial role during Bronisław's stays in Japan. From the initial help of Jakov Lazarevich Semyonov of Semyonov & Dembi during Bronisław's first encounter with Japan, to Bronisław's research expedition to Hokkaido organised by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, and finally, his third and fourth visits to Japan when he came to support Nicholas Russel (Nikolay Konstantinovich Sudzilovskiy, cf. Section 4.1) at his Kobe office (CWBP 1: 29, 31, 192-4, 710).

Russel traveled across Japan, attempting to unite Russian and Polish revolutionaries and prisoners of war against Imperial Russia. The prisoners had been stationed in Japan following the Russo-Japanese War. He paid visits to them in Narashino, Hamadera, Matsuyama, and Kumamoto in pursuit of this goal (*ibid.* 30).

At the time Bronisław arrived in Japan in October 1905, Russel was working as a journalist for the Russian magazine *Yaponiya i Rossiya* (Japan and Russia), which was printed in Kobe for Russian prisoners. Bronisław returned to Vladivostok and Sakhalin for a short period, before coming back to Japan in December 1905. This time, he was accompanied by Matveyev, who is discussed in detail in Section 7.1 (*ibid.* 29-31).

Bronisław stayed in Tokyo to promote Russel's magazine *Volya*, which was printed in Nagasaki. Among the Narodnik community involved with *Volya*, Bronisław was in closest contact with Orzikh, who had fled Chita to avoid arrest, and Leontin Podpach. Other individuals mentioned by Bronisław include

Vyacheslav Vadetskiy, Sergey Garfield, and Zverev (Sawada 2021: 182-6; 190-3; Ciesielska 1994: 84). The name *Zverev* likely refers to Dmitriy Ivanovich Zverev, a close associate of Aleksander Ulyanov (cf. Section 1.2).

In Kobe, Bronisław reunited with his Sakhalin friend, Lyudmila Volkenshteyn (cf. Sections 3.1, 4.2 and 4.14; Sawada 2021: 182).

1.4. On the way to homeland

Researchers agree that many details about Bronisław's journey from Japan to Galicia remain unknown. He embarked on the ship *Dakota* of the Great Northern Steamship Company on July 30, 1906, and reached Seattle, USA, around August 16. During the voyage, Bronisław lent a blanket to an illegal stowaway, Jitsugo Yokoyama, who had been found on deck. This small act of kindness earned Bronisław Yokoyama's gratitude, as expressed in a letter in which Yokoyama described his difficult situation and the hardships he was facing at the time (Grądzka & Majewicz 2019: 151-4; Majewicz 2020: 360-3; Sawada 2021: 299).

From Seattle, Bronisław went on to Chicago, where his closest connection was Aleksander Dębski and his family. Dębski, a socialist and friend of Józef Piłsudski, had sent Bronisław money for his trip to the USA. He was a member of the Foreign Union of Polish Socialists (*Związek Zagraniczny Polskich Socjalistów*). Bronisław was supposed to give a speech on Russian revolutionaries stationed in Japan during the 5th Congress of the Polish Socialist Party, but due to a sudden illness, he was unable to attend (Sawada 2021: 290-1, 301).

From Chicago, Bronisław traveled to New York, where he wrote a long letter to Russian revolutionaries in Japan, advising them against coming to America. He explained that they would not be able to achieve their goals there and would only receive enough assistance to survive day to day. Bronisław also expressed his desire to visit the Smithsonian Institution and its museums, as its staff had been sent to the Far East years earlier for research purposes (*ibid.* 301-2).

Here, the author of this thesis would like to propose a new perspective on Bronisław's connections to the world of American ethnography, with a greater emphasis on the role of the American Jewish community.

A postcard sent by Bronisław from Chicago to Futabatei indicated a return address: "c/o Dr. Ch. Rayevsky, 233 Henry St., New York" (CWBP 3: 46).

Dr. Charles Rayevsky, born Shamrayevski, was a Jewish physician stationed in New York. He completed his medical studies in 1896, while working on farms and factories to make a living.⁸

Rayevsky was the co-founder of the Jewish socialist organisation *Der Propagande-Ferayn* ('the propaganda association') and a New York editor involved with several Jewish socialist publications. From 1887 he published a Yiddish-language magazine called *Velt* ('the world'). Another Yiddish publication, *Naye Tsayt* ('the new times'), was co-published with Abraham Cahan, and together they co-wrote a weekly column on socialism for *The New York Times* (Freidus 1899–1900: 278, 281; 9; 10).

He also contributed popular science articles to the Yiddish *Forverts* (*The Forward*) between 1897 and 1907, briefly serving as its editor. In an article dated February 22, 1907, he promoted kosher Carmel Wine as beneficial for lung infections and sleep. He occasionally wrote to *Tsukunft* ('future'). In some publications, he used the pen name "X.W.R."^{11 12 13}

Rayevski's colleague, Abraham Cahan, was a Jewish socialist born in Lithuania who fled to the United States to escape persecution. In New York, he became highly active in Jewish socialist circles. He co-founded the first Jewish union in America, The Progressive Tailors' Union, and advocated for promoting the socialist agenda in Yiddish. Cahan popularised Turgenev, translated Tolstoy into Yiddish, and wrote his own short stories. Between September 1905 and July 1908, which coincided with Bronisław's time

⁸ Cohen, Berl n.d. "Rayevski, Charles (April 30, 1861–December 21, 1930)", biographical entry in the *Leksikon Fun Der Nayer Yidisher Literatur* [Lexicon of the New Yiddish Literature]. [https://congressforjewishculture.org/people/722/Rayevski,%20Charles%20\(April%2030,%201861–December%2021,%201930\)](https://congressforjewishculture.org/people/722/Rayevski,%20Charles%20(April%2030,%201861–December%2021,%201930)).

⁹ Museum of the Yiddish Theatre n.d. "New York City's Yiddish Theatre and the Forward: how they reviewed the plays that entertained the mostly Jewish public during the Great Depression, 1929-1941", on-line resources on New York Yiddish culture. <https://www.moyt.org/exhibitions/1/gd/main.htm>.

¹⁰ Cohen n.d.

¹¹ Cohen n.d.

¹² Pollack, Chana 2024. "The Yiddish wisdom of Tim Walz", *The Forward*, August 7. <https://forward.com/culture/641964/the-yiddish-wisdom-of-tim-walz/>.

¹³ The National Library of Israel & Tel Aviv University 1907. *Forverts* [*The Forward*], February 22. <https://www.nli.org.il/en/newspapers/frw/1907/02/22/01/article/33.3/?srpos=4&e=- - - - - e n - 2 0 - f r w - 1 - b y D A - i m g - t x I N % 7 c t x T I - % d 7 % a 9 % d 7 % 9 c % d 7 % 9 0 % d 7 % a 4 % d 7 % 9 f - - - - - 1>.

in the US, Cahan served as editor of the socialist-literary magazine *The New Spirit*.¹⁴

Up until now, researchers have focused on the figure of Franz Boas (cf. Section 3.3), who was connected to Bronisław through their mutual acquaintances Lev Shternberg and Vladimir Bogoraz (*ibid.*), but perhaps this explanation has been insufficient.

Section 4.4 of this thesis explores two additional researchers, one from the Smithsonian Institution and the other from the Sorbonne, both of Jewish origin, one of whom tragically died in the Buchenwald concentration camp. Both scholars reviewed topics related to Bronisław's activities in Japan, which may seem coincidental but could also serve as a clue, especially considering that Bronisław wrote letters to Dybowski (cf. Sections 5.2 and 7.6) about Ryūzo Torii while leaving Japan on the *Dakota* (Sawada 2021: 292).

1.5. Austria-Hungary (Zakopane, Spisz, Orava, Cracow, Lviv)

Bronisław traveled to Galicia via America and France. The journey lasted three months, and after 20 years, he finally reached what he considered his homeland. He arrived in Cracow around October 21, 1906, and immediately continued on to Zakopane to reunite with his brother Józef after 19,5 years and meet Józef's wife. Around November 7, he returned to Cracow, where he stayed until mid-July 1907. He then traveled to Karlsbad, returned to Cracow in July, and by August/September 1907, he was back in Zakopane. In March 1908, he moved to Lviv, and in August 1909, he traveled to France and began touring various European cities, including Prague, Berlin, Brussels, and London (Ciesielska 1994: 35-45; Piłsudski 2016: 111-28; Sawada 2021: 311).

After Galicia gained autonomy in 1869, it became a favoured retreat for the Polish intelligentsia. While Cracow and Lviv were the intellectual hubs, they lacked the unique charm of a true mountain town – a refuge from urban life that offered nature, mountaineering, and the company of highlanders. Moreover, local authorities found it nearly impossible to monitor Poles from the Russian and Prussian partitions, making it an ideal hideout as well as a cultural haven. This trend was initiated by Tytus Chałubiński, a physician who popularised visits to Zakopane, a tradition quickly embraced by the citizens of Cracow and Warsaw. As the Tatra region began to flourish, the Tatra Society was founded to meet the cultural needs of its visitors. After Chałubiński's death, the community he helped build honoured him by naming the Tatra Museum in his memory (Piłsudski 2016: 171-3).

¹⁴ Museum of the Yiddish Theatre n.d.

A place surrounded by nature and culturally distinct due to the unique culture of Polish highlanders, it is no wonder Bronisław found it suitable for himself. Moreover, many individuals significant to Bronisław's life were present in the Cracow-Zakopane region during his stay. Among those explored in this thesis, when Bronisław first arrived in 1906, there were certainly Stanisław I. Witkiewicz (cf. Sections 5.5 and 7.4), his father Stanisław Witkiewicz (cf. Section 5.5, 7.4, 7.6, and 7.9), and Adomas Varnas (cf. Chapter 6, Sections 7.9 and 7.10). Other figures likely present included Maria Turzyna, Odo Bujwid, Władysław Orkan, Władysław Gumpłowicz (cf. Section 5.4), Tadeusz Kornilowicz (cf. Sections 5.5 and 7.9), and Juliusz Zborowski (cf. Section 7.9).

In 1908, Bronisław went to Paris, as further explored in Section 5.1, with the intention of obtaining a formal academic diploma, though he eventually returned to Zakopane without it (Ciesielska 1994: 41-2). Around this time, Zakopane hosted figures such as Waław Sieroszewski (cf. Section 5.2) and Stefan Żeromski (cf. Section 5.1), while in Cracow, Bronisław's friend, physician Julian Talko-Hryniewicz, was also present (Sawada 2021: 312). By 1911, when Bronisław was establishing the Ethnographic Section of the Tatra Society, notable individuals in the region included Bronisław Malinowski, Antoni Langer, Franciszek Bujak, Karol de Beaurain, Ferdynand Tabeau, Adam Fischer, Jerzy Żuławski, and Andrzej Bachleda-Tadziak, all discussed in Section 5.5. Many of these figures were connected to Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv, where Bronisław had moved in March 1908, hoping to collaborate with Benedykt Dybowski (cf. Sections 1.4, 5.2, and 7.6; Sawada 2021: 311). Paulina Sieroszevska, discussed in Section 5.3, should be understood as Bronisław's important connection to the literary community in Warsaw. A key contact at Jagiellonian University was linguist professor Jan Michał Rozwadowski, who helped Bronisław publish *Materials for the Study of the Ainu Language and Folklore* (Cracow: Polska Akademia Nauk 1912). Others included Professor of Geology Józef Morozewicz and linguist and dialectology specialist Professor Kazimierz Nitsch, affiliated with Polska Akademia Umiejętności ('Polish academy of skills') (Ciesielska 1994: 45; Sawada 2021: 308).

These names, of course, do not represent the full number of individuals who visited Zakopane. The town attracted many of the era's brightest minds, and those listed here are simply the best-documented figures in the writings of both Bronisław and those closest to him.

And, setting aside the academic context, Bronisław was, of course, accompanied by his life partner, Maria Żarnowska, who had separated from her husband, Jan Żarnowski. She joined Bronisław in Cracow on May 17, 1907, and accompanied him on his trip to Karlsbad, after which the couple soon returned to Cracow, and then Zakopane. Maria later traveled to Petersburg for personal matters and to advocate on Bronisław's behalf for his business interests, before returning to Zakopane. The lovers eventually parted ways

in Paris due to Maria's worsening cancer and the ongoing miscommunications that often strained their relationship (Piłsudski 2016: 115-7; Sawada 2021: 305-7, 312, 314).

The family Bronisław met during this time in the country, aside from Józef, included his youngest sister Ludwika, his aunt Stefania Lipmanówna, and his brothers Jan and Kazimierz (Piłsudski 2016: 113; Sawada 2021: 304, 306).

Many people Bronisław met throughout his life, as well as those who have since learned about his story, admire his accomplishments and good will, while feeling deep empathy for the harsh historical events he was involved in and the people of his time. Numerous artistic contributions have been created as a result, which are further explored in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

And above that, there is Chapter 6, which stands apart from the others. While Bronisław is typically discussed in the context of his friendships, Chapter 6 focuses on his adversary. It offers a vivid portrayal of the tensions and struggles that arose during the First World War.

And finally, Chapter 8 presents a modern perspective on Bronisław as viewed by Polish citizens of all ages. It summarises the results of a survey on his recognisability among Poles. The conclusions are quite interesting and are likely to engage readers of this thesis.

2. Contacts with literature before exile

2.1. Mother's influence. Patriotic literature

Maria Piłsudska (1842 Adamowo–1884 Vilnius), née Billewicz, came from a high-ranking family and was wealthier than her husband, Józef Wincenty Piłsudski. She was the one to inherit Zułów in 1856 and add it as a commodity to her and Józef Wincenty's marriage agreement. She also owned the following properties: Adamowo, Tenenie and Suginty. She brought into the family 16 thousand hectares of land and 800 thousand rubles. Maria and Józef married in 1863 in Tenenie and moved to Zułów in autumn of the same year. Zułów was considered a magnificent manor at that time, with 11 thousand morgens¹⁵ of land, forests and meadows (Kolmasiak 2018: 15, 18-20; Paczkowska 2008: 7, Bajor 1995: 8).

Maria was a patriot, raised by a very strict grandfather, Kacper Billewicz, who pitied Maria was not born a boy, since his dream was to raise a boy into a soldier fighting for Poland's independence. Maria experienced enormous pain because of her grandfather's behaviour. For example, he made a last-minute decision not to let her go to a party with him and her best childhood friend, Celina Bukontówna. The reason he gave her was that she needed to train her weak character (Kern 1935). By today's standards, this would be called tyranny.

Maria promised her grandfather she would bear boys if she were ever to have children and raise them into soldiers, who would fight for their country. She herself was taught historical events of great importance for Poland's independence. These include: the partitions of Poland, the 1794 Kościuszko Uprising, the history of the Polish Legions from the time of Napoleon Bonaparte, the November Uprising of 1830–1, the revolutionary movements of 1846–8 and the Crimean War of 1853–6, during which the Poles tried to establish Polish armed forces on Turkish territory with the permission of the Sultan (*ibid.*).

Maria got engaged to Józef Wincenty during their preparation for the January Uprising against Russia and it was more of a celebration of hope

¹⁵ An old Polish unit of area, roughly equivalent to 5.5 to 14 acres depending on the region.

for liberty than a private matter. Since both Maria's and Józef Wincenty's families took part in the Uprising of 1863, it was a generational trauma, present in their life until their death (Kolmasiak 2018: 22-3; Kern 1935: 60).

Maria's upbringing led her to teach her children, including Bronisław, to cherish the memory of their lost homeland. At night she would take out books on Polish language and history, which she would hide from the maids during the day. She read to her children the literary works of Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki poetry and *Psalmy przyszłości* ('psalms for the future') by Zygmunt Krasiński.¹⁶ The family read them with windows shuttered and covered with curtains, so no one would see. The gatherings would often end with the quote from Krasiński's *Psalms*: "There will be Poland in the name of God" (Kern 1935: 126-8; Paczkowska 2008: 10-1; Bajor 1995: 31-2; Kolmasiak 2018: 22, 70; Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 6-9).

Professor Odo Bujwid, a renowned Polish physician, bacteriologist and supporter of the first vaccines by Pasteur and Koch, was the son of Feliks Bujwid, the deputy manager of Zułów property for Bronisław's grandfather Antoni Billewicz. Bujwid used to visit Zułów as a 5-year-old child and remembered Maria from her engagement years as a kind and loving person, who eagerly spoke to children using diminutives, which in Polish culture means showing affection towards the youngest (Bujwid 1938: 4, 8, 20).

Maria was of weak health. At 7 years old she began to suffer from hip joint inflammation. Due to the illness, one of her legs was shorter and she had a permanent limp. Her treatment and surgeries cost the family money and deepened its debts. It was bone tuberculosis. Her body was also weak due to giving birth to 12 children. She died in 1884, when Bronisław was 18 (Kolmasiak 2018: 20, 73; Bajor 1995: 26, 32; Paczkowska 2008: 11).

A sad yet accurate description of Maria's condition was recorded by Edmund Płoski. He heard about Maria from Bronisław, when the two men met during their Sakhalin exile:

"According to Bronisław's words, in his memories, the image of his mother is mostly of her lying in bed – either she was in a serious condition that required staying in bed, or in postpartum recovery, which demanded the same position" (Płoski 1933: 9).

¹⁶ Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki and Zygmunt Krasiński in Polish culture and history are considered the greatest poets of romanticism, the 'three poet-prophets' (*wieszczowie*), who dedicated their lives to the greatest aim an artist could have, which in the service to the nation in order to awake its need for independence.

Maria asked to be read the poem *Wacław* by Juliusz Słowacki many times on her deathbed.¹⁷ The poem stayed in the memories of her children, including Bronisław. Below is a short explanation of this literary work.

The poem begins with a description of a cemetery. An atmosphere of hope for Poland's freedom and independence surrounds the place. The lyrical subject comments on the atmosphere with these words: "Land of mounds, don't dream about it. Go to sleep already".¹⁸

The poem describes the life of Stanisław Szczęśny Potocki – an extremely rich magnate from the 18th century, who was despised by Poles for serving Russians. The first wife of Potocki, Gertruda Komorowska, was killed by Potocki's father while pregnant with his son (Libera 1997: 31-2).

The judgement of Potocki's pro-Russian choices by Słowacki is ambiguous. Both Słowacki and Mickiewicz were friends with Potocki's son, Aleksander. Thus in the poem he appears both as a hero and anti-hero. A traitor but martyr embodied in one. The poem was not warmly welcomed by critics and is not considered of much importance to Słowacki's legacy (*ibid.* 31-41).

However, it must have been cherished greatly by Maria Piłsudska, who listened to it recited for her just before death. Józef Piłsudski, her younger son and the future Marshal of Poland, made arrangements to engrave the poem on her tomb on the occasion of moving her body to Vilnius to bury it together with his own heart after death. He wished for the verse beginning with "dumni nieszczęściem nie mogą" ('those proud with suffering cannot') to be written on his mother's tomb.¹⁹ Eventually, only Józef's favourite motto was engraved there.

These are the verses from part XXVI of the poem that Józef wished to engrave. They were translated into English by the author of this thesis based on the Polish original from Słowacki (Słowacki 1974, cf. footnote 18):

You know that those proud with suffering cannot
Walk the same path as others, following their footprints.
And when pride is born from suffering,
Then even God cannot reach one's forehead,
And even faith does not lower one's head;
Not to mention the lightening, the sword and shackles,

¹⁷ Roman, Mariusz A. 2009. "Testament Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego" ['Testament of Marshal Józef Piłsudski'], *Kurier Wileński*, May 15. <https://kurierwilenski.lt/2009/05/15/testament-marszalka-jozefa-pilsudskiego/>.

¹⁸ Słowacki, Juliusz 1974. "Wacław", Słowacki's poem obtained via open access, based on the poem's paper edition from 1974. <https://wolnelektury.pl/media/book/pdf/trzy-poemata-waclaw.pdf>.

¹⁹ Roman 2009.

And even people's curse and contempt:
That is how dark, how arrogant it was
The pride in my heart. What it brought me to
You know — but do not judge my soul, thus it is not vile.
I did not pounce like a race horse,
I myself stood against the nation,
And when I needed to support myself due to circumstances,
Then I leant myself against a huge statue.
And I would not have searched for a lifeline from the enemy,
If I had a greater one in my heart — from God.

The verses describe the pain, pride, guilt and remorse of a dying Polish anti-hero. These are the last patriotic words which Maria Piłsudska brought into her family, to her children. Bronisław watched his mother dying in pain. After her death, he fantasised that maybe he would not be alone, because his brother Józef could be his best friend. However, he realised that he needed to feel the caring attention that only a female could give him (Piłsudski 2021: 500-1).

Both for Bronisław and Józef, “mother” meant “patriotism”. However, it was Józef who dedicated his life to grant her wish for Poland's independence. In many of his texts he wrote about his mother's influence on his most important decisions:

“Whenever I am at a loss, whenever everyone is against me, whenever a storm of uproar and accusations is rising around me and whenever circumstances even seem to be antagonistic towards my will – than I ask myself what would my Mother tell me to do in such case and perform what I consider Her probable view, Her will, without looking back upon anything” (Paczkowska 2008: 11-2).

Such was the influence of Maria's own patriotic upbringing on her boys.

2.2. Father's influence. Satire and agriculture

Józef Wincenty Piłsudski (1833 Rapszany–1902 Petersburg), Bronisław's father, was a descendant of the great grand dukes of old Lithuania. His ancestor, duke Ginet, came from Downsprungowicz family. Duke Downsprung was the elder brother of king Mendog (Paczkowska 2008: 6; Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 8; Kolmasiak 2018: 19; Kern 1935: 16, 62; Bajor 1995: 45).

Józef Wincenty was regarded as intelligent and talented in music. He played the piano very well and composed music as a hobby. In youth he wanted

to become an engineer but he lost one pointing finger in his right hand due to a confrontation with an angry horse. This resulted in fewer career choices available. Eventually, he graduated from the Agricultural Institute in Hory-Horki (now in Belarus) (Bajor 1995: 33-4; Paczkowska 2008: 12; Kolmasiak 2018: 78).

His wife Maria was biologically his cousin and 9 years younger. Due to close family ties an indult was granted by the Bishop Curia in Kaunas for the marriage to happen (Kolmasiak 2018: 23).

During the January Uprising of 1863, Józef Wincenty took the position of a civil commissioner of the National Government in the Rosieński district. Because of work in Polish conspiracy, he was spied on by Russian authorities and had to flee his property in Kowieńszczyzna to hide in Zułów. For a bribe of 5 thousand rubles Józef managed to convince the Russians to forge a report about his death, so that no one would put out a warrant outside of the Kowieński County he fled from (Bajor 1995: 34; Paczkowska 2008: 6-7; Kolmasiak 2018: 29-30; Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 8-9).

The only known account disputing the claims Józef Wincenty had anything to do with the January Uprising or conspiracy comes from Płoski:

“He did not take any, not even indirect, part in this movement, nor did he sympathise with it emotionally, so it is hard to suppose that particularly harsh consequences from Muravyov's²⁰ government could have fallen upon him” (Płoski 1933: 7).

Płoski was convicted that Józef Wincenty's unluckiness with properties and assets had nothing to do with persecution and simply meant the lack of talent for estate management.

When Józef Wincenty first came to Zułów, it was undeveloped and indebted. He tried to implement innovations in Zułów to rescue it economically and pay debts. He knew about agriculture and new methods, invested in machinery, e.g. threshers and harvesters. He created a distillery, turpentine and brick

²⁰ Mikhail Nikolayevich Muravyov was a Russian official and the Governor-General of Lithuania in the times of the January Uprising. He took on this role on April 1, 1863 and from the beginning his main aim was to eliminate any Polish independence attempt, including the use of Polish language in everyday conversations and promoting Polish culture, literature and history. He was the most brutal of Russian officials and supported implementing a military dictatorship in the region. He planned to turn the rural population of Lithuania against the Polish nobles, ruin the nobles economically with taxes, regulations and unequal law and later introduce Russian or German aristocracy in their place. He also invested in Russian public education and promotion of the Orthodox Church to lessen the impact of Polish education and the Catholic Church (Tarkowski 2017: 225-30). In Polish records, Muravyov is always described as an evil, who had a hand in the torture and death of many Poles.

factories, owned windmills and sawmills. He invested in a smokehouse, icehouse, yeast factory, brewery and spirit warehouse. Many of his plans were impossible to implement, since the law stated that a Pole could only sell land to a Russian and that in the interpretation of Józef would be a betrayal of his country. This made it impossible for him to sell land on the outskirts of Zułów to develop the lands closer to the buildings (Paczkowska 2008: 12; Bajor 1995: 7, 25-6, 33; Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 9; Bujwid 1938: 8, 11, 21; Kolmasiak 2018: 39-47).

The workers had a hard time adapting to Józef Wincenty's projects. They were undereducated and only knew wooden harrows, not the latest iron ones. They were cheap labour force, unable to fulfil the landlord's expectations (Paczkowska 2008: 12; Kolmasiak 2018: 45).

Józef Wincenty tried to live a frugal life without alcohol, gambling and excessive need of transport. However, in 1875 a fire destroyed the manor. It was at a point of life when the family was preparing to relocate to a new manor, called by many a "palace". It was built just next to the old manor (Bajor 1995: 34; Bujwid 1938: 15; 73, Kolmasiak 2018: 79-85).

The fire meant a loss of the newest buildings Józef Wincenty invested in. Maria's best friend Celina Bukontówna did her best to rescue the children but the buildings, supplies and the flock was lost forever in the flames. Eventually, Józef Wincenty sold all three properties. He was very resentful as he had sold off the estate before the children who were to inherit it came of age (Bujwid 1938: 15; Kolmasiak 2018: 79-85, 147-50; Paczkowska 2008: 14; Bajor 1995: 33-4).

Judgments on Józef's administrative talents vary. Paczkowska (2008: 12) states he was not a practical person, whereas in Bajor's (1995: 25) opinion he was a talented land owner.

A probable explanation for these two contradictory opinions about the financial downfall of the Piłsudski family is that it was not an individual matter of Józef Wincenty's management but a trend affecting Polish nobility all across Lithuania.

Unlike the Congress Kingdom of Poland, where wealth was displayed in the salons, in Lithuania aristocratic families criticised those who had recently become rich, all the careerists and the new aristocracy, as if they themselves were simple workers disgusted by the thought of owning money. The most important trends in the decline of social status and property ownership in Lithuania were: exhaustion after the Uprising, reluctance to energetic work, an overall anti-economic mood, contempt for Petersburg, career and money, idealisation of poverty, renunciation and sacrifice (Mackiewicz Cat 2013).

Józef Wincenty's disgust for the new aristocracy is well depicted in this record by Płoski:

“From Broniś I know that his father had a great musical talent, played the piano beautifully, and even composed his own pieces. But he only performed them at social gatherings of the elite, with whom he had personal ties. Later, he would burn the sheet music, saying that «no rabble should ever think of publishing it». So it was no longer pride in the legacy he received from his ancestors, a legacy full of glory, but rather disdain for everyone and everything, who could not prove owning such a legacy for many generations” (Płoski 1933: 7).

A further insight into Józef Wincenty’s way of thinking can be obtained from analysing the types of magazines he advised Bronisław to read.

In his diary, Bronisław mentioned twice a satire magazine called *Dzwonek* (‘the bell’), recommended to him by his father:

“Friday, January 29th [February 10th], 1882

The German teacher was absent again today. I regretted not buying *Dzwonek*, because I wanted to read it. But during the break I was told it would be out in a few days.

Sunday, February 7th [19th], 1882

Dzwonek is finally out. Daddy says it’s the best of all”

(Piłsudski 2021: 76, 83).

Dzwonek was a satire magazine published by Orzeszkowa²¹ Bookshop. At first the name *Wilia* was chosen for the series but due to censorship, every issue was released under a different name: *Argus*, *Bodziec*, *Cerber* and *Dzwonek* (Piłsudski 2021: 76). Excluding *Bodziec*, the magazines can be found in the Regional Public Library in Lublin, which is the most complete collection of them in Poland.

Dzwonek tackled social problems in a humorous way. Through funny rhymes it ridiculed social attitudes such as boasting about one's origins and imaginary achievements, spousal infidelity, undertaking exalted intellectual disputes without action, the foolishness of presenting nobles as gamblers in luxuries and more.

The magazine also featured comic cartoons. The example below presents the story of a pig-keeper, who tuned into a noble by the decision of the King of Orangutans in the zoo. The Orangutan bestowed on him a family crest named after “someone else's pocket”. Now, the pig-keeper can make big deals out in the world (Chelmiński 1882).

²¹ Eliza Orzeszkowa née Pawłowska was a Polish novelist, social activist, feminist, one of the greatest representatives of the Polish positivism period and Poland's Nobel Prize nominee of 1904. She dedicated her life to the education of the least privileged and to the fight for equal treatment of people of all cultures. She was especially opposed to anti-Semitism. Her passion for community work was not shared by her then husband, Piotr Orzeszko. Orzeszkowa deeply supported the January Uprising of 1863 and helped Romuald Traugutt, its main originator and executor, to reach the borders of the Kingdom of Poland under cover. While her husband was arrested and exiled, she filed for a divorce and dedicated herself to writing and organising illegal Polish education under the tsarist regime. She was very active in Vilnius, where she started the Society of the Friends of Science (*Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauki*), which cooperated with the illegal National Education Society (*Towarzystwo Oświaty Narodowej*) – an organisation reformed in 1905 into the Educational Society of the Kingdom of Poland (*Macierz Szkolna Królestwa Polskiego*). Following Wincenty Chelmiński's idea, she started a book-publishing, book-selling company in 1878 and engaged into positivistic writing. She attended many theatre productions in Vilnius, also the Polish underground ones, one of which was most likely attended also by Bronisław on January 31 (February 12), 1882 (Magowska 2017: 68, 71-2; Piłsudski 2021: 78; SBPPiWM n.d. “Chelmiński Wincenty Klemens (1850–1887), literat, wydawca” [“Chelmiński Wincenty Klemens (1850-1887), writer, publisher”], biographical entry by Marcin Łoziński, dictionary project by Siedlce University. <https://sloownik-biograficzny.uws.edu.pl/sloownik/590-chelminski-wincenty-klemens-1850-1887-literat-wydawca>. Księgarnia PWN [PWN Bookshop] n.d. “Eliza Orzeszkowa”, biographical entry. <https://ksiegarnia.pwn.pl/autor/Eliza-Orzeszkowa,a,74089710>).

CIEKAWA HISTORIA O TĘM, JAK PASTUCH ŁAPEĆ STAŁ SIĘ ADWOKATEM P. ŁAPCIEJEWICZEM.



Nr 1.

Młodość Januk przepędza w towarzystwie niechłujnyh czworonogów. Ich obyczaje i charakter tak mu się podobały, iż przyszedł do przekonania, że najlepiej jest zostać...



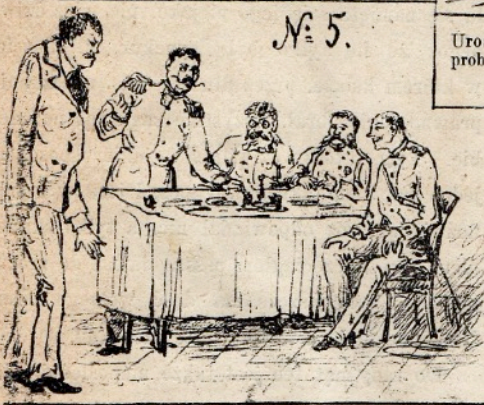
Nr 2.

Urosłszy, nasz Januk dostaje się do proboszcza na parobka. Z czasem awansuje na lokaja.



Nr 3.

Gdy się dowiedział od lekarza, iż chłobian wkrótce pojdzie na łono Ahama, Januk, nie czekając testamentu, staje się jego spadkobiercą.



Nr 5.

Wkrótce wzięli go w rekruty. W komisji Januk, krzywiąc się i wyciągając ręce, przybiera postać małpy. Fortel się udaje. Jako niezdolnego do szeregu, zaliczono go do dieńszczyków.



Nr 6.

Dostał się na służbę do majora. Tu natychmiast zamilowania do zbierania kolekcji i bardzo zżęcznie przeprowadzał rozmaite rzeczy z paletotów jego do swego zbioru. I te czyni p. major pisał go na rycerza. Ale że major ten starożytny obrządek spełniał bardzo energicznie i za czesne Jannkowi to się mu podobało i postanowił porzucić rycerskie rzemiosło. Tę bardziej, że na wojnie (z kucharką) pisał stradał czupryną.



Nr 7.

W stolicy, w ogrodzie Zoologicznym, od będącego w niewoli Króla Orangutanów, dostaje (na liściu łopucha) dyplom na barona Orangutanji, zmieniający nazwisko Łapeć na Łapciejewicz i nadający herb „Cudzą kieszeń” (na stoliku 6 złotych, groszy 20) wyobrażający.



Nr 8.

Już jako pan Jan Łapciejewicz wraca z prowincji do miasta Preferansopola. Tu z pewnym pokątnym doradcą zawiera umowę, w której obiecuje mu dostarczać klientów, a za to wymaga równego udziału zysków. (Sam się nie mógł zająć prowadzeniem spraw, bo pisać nie umiał.)

A satiric comic from *Dzwonek* lampooning *nouveau riche* attitudes.

Both Józef Wincenty and Bronisław must have found this content amusing and relaxing after a whole day of worrying about Zułów's financial problems and the future position of their once noble and wealthy family.

Bronisław was Józef Wincenty's favourite son. From an early age he tried to help his father manage the Zułów estate. He was especially interested in horse care. He often visited the horses to check their state of health and he cared for the cows and pigs as well (Bajor 1995: 32; Kolmasiak 2018: 108-9; Piłsudski 2021: 82, 225).

His other businesses to attend to in Zułów included the beer venture and crop evaluation. In his diary he noted down that this year's clover harvest would only be a few dozen wagons. Previously it had been 170. He observed that the melons from the harvest were good looking comparing to the shabby cauliflowers. In 1883 he subscribed to the *Ogrodnik polski* ('the Polish gardener') magazine and *Gazeta Rolnicza* ('the agricultural gazette') (Kolmasiak 2018: 112-3, 118; Piłsudski 2021: 307, 319, 337, 454).

At least one important business document for contractors to sign was composed by Bronisław himself. He even had his own plans of rescuing the land. Unfortunately, he found it hard to work with his father, who had many inspirational visions but did not act on them and could not choose at least the easiest idea to implement immediately (Kolmasiak 2018: 93, 113, 145; Piłsudski 2021: 319, 528).

After the whole family moved from Zułów to Vilnius, Bronisław drew up a plan to reduce the rent for the family's flat. However, the proposition was not considered seriously by his father. This frustrated Bronisław and led him to resign from helping his father manage the estate (Kolmasiak 2018: 145-6; Piłsudski 2021: 528).

The above examples show Bronisław felt great responsibility to protect the family's property. At that time it might have been impossible to act against his father's will. He was 19-years-old when he tried to implement his solutions at home. However, after reaching adulthood the skills acquired at Zułów might have helped him to organise his ethnic community on Sakhalin, find the resources to establish first Ainu schools and teach them the proper way of land cultivation.

2.3. Bronisław's *Diary*. Three independent editions

Jolanta Żyndul, a specialist on Jewish history at the University of Warsaw, in her commentaries to *Dziennik 1882–1885*, the Polish edition of Bronisław's juvenile diary, states that the diary was first published in IINBP journal (1999), with year 1882 entries edited by Witold Kowalski, the grandson of Bronisław's younger sister, Ludwika Majewska (Piłsudski 2021: 60).

However, this statement is a mistake. In 1998, Kowalski wrote a commentary entitled *Tsena chesti – kommentariy k avtobiografii Bronislava Piłsudskogo* ('the price of honour: a commentary on Bronisław Piłsudski's autobiography', IINBP 1, 31–84), which accompanied a short autobiographical text by Bronisław Piłsudski, *Moya curriculum vitae* ('my curriculum vitae', 27–30).

In 2019, Bronisław's diary was released in Russian as *Dnevnik 1882–1885 gg.* (Belgorod: Konstanta, COKM). The introduction and edition of volume "1882" were prepared by Vladislav Latyshev, whereas the three remaining volumes were edited by Galina Ivanovna Dudarets, a historian and specialist at the Sakhalin Regional Museum (Piłsudski 2021: 60; ²²).

In 2021 two independent editions of Bronisław Piłsudski's teenage diary were published in Poland. One was the *Diary 1882–1885* (Piłsudski 2021) edited Żyndul, and the other was the *Diary 1882–1886* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Arkana), edited by the before-mentioned Kowalski.

Despite being published almost at the same time, which may suggest a growing interest in the figure of Bronisław and willingness to fund research on his academic legacy, the diary's editions vary in many ways.

The source text for both editions comes from a different location. Żyndul used the diary's manuscript from the Library of Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius contrary to Kowalski, who edited the typescript from the Józef Piłsudski Institute in the USA (Zięba 2023: 239-40).

In Zięba's (*ibid.*) opinion, only Żyndul's edition has academic merit. Her biographical note on Piłsudski is well-documented, evidence-based, and rich in footnotes, introducing the reality of life in Lithuania in the 19th century. Upon that, the publication has been supplemented by a useful index of names.

Contrary to that, Kowalski seems to not back up his statements with facts. The diary of his edition is dated differently: not 1882–5 but 1882–6. Zięba accuses Kowalski that he dated the diary's entries based only on his own assumptions and not on documented historical facts (*ibid.*: 241).

Moreover, Kowalski stressed himself in the afterword that he viewed his commentary of the diary as popular science, not evidence-based research. He even used ironic words to criticise the greatest mission of every academic scholar, which is scientific objectivity (*ibid.*).

In Kowalski's view, the passing of judgement on the basis of false allegations can be considered to be a logical discussion of historical facts. For example, he accuses Bronisław's mother Maria (cf. Section 2.1) of being a "crackhead" and taking an overdose of quinine on her deathbed, for which he

²² Muzei Sakhalinskoy oblasti [Sakhalin Oblast Museums] n.d. "Galina Ivanovna Dudarets – istorik, arkhograf" ['Galina Ivanovna Dudarets – historian, archaeologist']. <http://sakhalin-museums.ru/news/14588/>.

Музеи Сахалинской области n.d. Галина Ивановна Дударец –историк, археограф.

has no proof. His choice of wording about Maria may seem surprising, given that Kowalski is a descendant of the Piłsudski family (*ibid*: 241-3).

However, let us take a critical look at another allegation by Zięba. She is critical of Kowalski's portrayal of Bronisław as an anti-hero. Kowalski described Bronisław as an unprofessional ethnographer, who was only complemented by academics who could be described as related to him. He even accused Bronisław of being a Russificator, which Zięba believes to be a very unfair judgement given the patriotic history of the Piłsudski family (*ibid*: 243-7).

The author of this thesis would like to draw a middle ground between Zięba considering Bronisław a full-hearted patriot and Kowalski, who called him a “Russificator”. It is true that Bronisław never meant harm for anyone and throughout his life, he compared the fate of Sakhalin’s aborigines to the fate of Poland’s citizens under partition.

However, one cannot forget that he performed scholarly research as a political convict. He was not dispatched by a liberal institution contrary to Bronisław Malinowski (cf. Section 5.5). For every research expedition, Bronisław Piłsudski received permission from Russian officials, and it is highly probable he carried a document to be verified by inspectors if needed (Sieroszewski 1935: 6-7, 13-4). An insight into Shternberg’s (cf. Section 3.3) workflow brings new ideas to what such missions could look like. Each time Shternberg performed field work, he had a paper from the Russian officials, ordering the indigenous to give him food and supplies. He also cooperated with the Russian *starosta* (‘elderly’), who was assigned to every native village as a supervisor of the village’s traditional leader (Kan 2009: 43-6).

Presumably for Kowalski, such doings by the Sakhalin’s researchers were already an argument to call them “Russificators” of the minorities. However, this wording seems exaggerated. It would be an over-simplification to interpret Bronisław’s research expeditions only from the perspective of whomever dispatched him. And yet one must note that these expeditions were of course allowed by the Russian rulers and served in the interest of the Empire. It was a once-in-a-lifetime chance to collect original Sakhalin data, but at the same time it was also a way to build a Russian control system over the indigenous people.

Due to the accusations of the unscientific character of Kowalski's edition and its critical reception by the contemporary academic world, this paper will refer to the dating and additional information provided by Żyndul’s edition.

For a long time now an unedited manuscript of Bronisław’s diary was available in open access. However, it is Żyndul’s hard work put into the research on Bronisław’s kins and childhood friends, teachers, relatives, colleagues which is a huge contribution to the scientific world. Many of these people were mentioned by Bronisław only by first name. It must have taken a lot of patience and great analytical skills to put all this data in order.

2.4. Literary works featured in Bronisław's *Diary*

Bronisław's diary from years 1882–5 leaves many clues as to what kind of literature he enjoyed the most during his teenage years. It is also an important source of information on how Polish descendants dealt with their Polish heritage under Russian rule.

In his diary, Bronisław mentioned the activity of *reading* a great number of times. His *reading* has taken on many different forms, including reading silently at home, reading aloud with family or to another family member, reading for school, reading for his Polish conspiracy circle, reading to educate his first love interests, borrowing and lending books, subscribing to magazines, searching for rare or prohibited publications, creating his first ever community library and more.

Many books and magazines read by Bronisław, his family and friends have been noted down by Bronisław and mentioned by book title and/or author. The table on pages 45–6 presents the full compilation of literary works featured in the diary.

A complete analysis of the works and the way they influenced Bronisław's development as an adult is a subject for another thesis. Here, let us focus on the titles crucial to the later chapters of this thesis and provide an overall review of subjects appearing in the literature Bronisław read.

As shown in the table below, Bronisław was familiar with the magazine *Prawda* ('the truth') already in his teenage years. Later, he would write articles about Japan for this magazine and maintain connections to its community through his ties with Waław Sieroszewski (cf. Section 5.3). However, as a teenager, he had an even closer relationship with the magazine's authors. His elder sister, Zofia Kadenacowa, called by family "Zula", was most likely a student of one of the magazine's co-editors, Władysław Smoleński – historian and University of Warsaw professor, during her stay in Warsaw. Bronisław noted down: "Zula, as it turned out today, is very liberal. Smoleński, who is the co-editor of *Prawda*, taught them all well" (Piłsudski 2021: 318).

Another magazine connected to Bronisław's near future was *Proletariat*, which he read on December 12 (24), 1883. It was the first Polish socialist magazine, and one of its editors, Edmund Płoski (cf. Section 2.1), would soon be met by Bronisław in Sakhalin, where they were both exiled.

Some of Bronisław's books show the influence of his mother (Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Krasiński, academic books on Polish history), but with time the idea of socialism and political economy became his main interest. A very interesting choice for a lecture is *Sąsiedzi* (*The neighbours*) by Swedish feminist writer Fredrika Bremer.

Bremer at first was educated like a lady – she studied music, drawing and languages. However, she wished to hold proper intellectual conversations as men did and followed her desire by hiring a vicar to teach her. Soon enough, her books were translated into English, German and French. She became very popular in the US. She was also very active in the field of fight for women's rights. She especially cared for the fate of Swedish unmarried women. Originally, they had no civil right but eventually they were given the legal possibility to come out of age at 25 in 1858, and later in 1884 at age 21 (²³; Piłsudski 2021: 423).

Bronisław had significantly developed his awareness of women's rights just in a couple of years. In 1883 he wrote about his female friend and one of his first love interests: "I have seen Zosia, she has grown terribly fat to the point of clumsiness, and at the same time she looks awful, it seems to me that she would recover if she got married" (Piłsudski 2021: 361-2). Just two years later he educated her on women's rights himself and lent her the book *O prawach kobiet* ('on women's rights', Warszawa: Gebethner & Wolf 1875) by Edward Prądyński.²⁴

Throughout the years 1882–5, an enormous intellectual leap can be observed in Bronisław's diary entries, along with the development of his sensitive, idealistic character.

²³ Fredrika Bremer Förbundet n.d. "Vem var Fredrika Bremer?" ['Who is Fredrika Bremer?'], on-line biographical entry from Fredrika Bremer Foundation. <https://fredrikabremer.se/om-oss/vem-var-fredrika-bremer/>.

²⁴ Edward Prądyński was one of Poland's greatest supporters of women's emancipation in the 19th century. He studied law in Paris and Germany and was exiled to Siberia for participation in the January Uprising of 1863. His book *O prawach kobiet* was considered revolutionary. The enthusiasm and gratitude women felt towards Prądyński for his work was so huge it arose envy of men. Prądyński's female friends organised a birthday party for him, where they recited a poem with a dedication and gave him presents. Many writers mentioned in this thesis have shown support for Prądyński: Eliza Orzeszkowa, Aleksander Świętochowski, Maria Turzyna (cf. Sections 2.2, 5.3, 5.4; Skucha, Mateusz 2016. "«Niewieści Palladyn». Rzecz o Edwardzie Prądyńskim" ['«The Female Palladin». The story of Edward Prądyński'], *Autobiografia* 1/6, 177-89.

Literature featured in Bronisław Piłsudski's diary

Title	English translation	Author/Editor	Type	Date when first mentioned	Pages in Żyndul edition	Comments
Dzwonek	The Bell	Wincenty Chelmiński	magazine	January 29 [February 10], 1882	76, 83	
Kosmos	The Universe	Bronisław Radziszewski	magazine	February 12 [24], 1882	89	
Bluszcz	The Ivy	Maria Ilnicka	magazine	March 1 [13], 1882	103, 104	
Oksana	Oksana [name]	Maria Sadowska	novel	March 7 [19], 1882	107	
Pódiablę weneckie	The Venetian half-devil	Józef Ignacy Kraszewski	novel	March 7 [19], 1882	107	
Straszna kobieta	Evil woman [org. fr. <i>La femme de feu</i>]	Adolf Belot	novel	March 11 [23], 1882	109	
O Janaszu Korczaku i o pięknej Miecznikównie	The story of Janasz Korczak and beautiful Miecznikówna	Józef Ignacy Kraszewski	novel	March 13 [25], 1882	110	
Przegląd Tygodniowy	Weekly Review	Adam Wiślicki	magazine	February 10 [22], 1883	133, 141, 143, 303, 478, 487	
Słowo	The Word	Henryk Sienkiewicz	magazine	February 15 [27], 1883	142, 318, 324, 347, 414, 423	Read by BP and grandfather
Kraj	The Country	Włodzimierz Spasowicz, Erazm Piltz	magazine	February 10 [22], 1883	133, 142, 367, 393, 480, 499	Read by BP, Ziuk and father
Pan Tadeusz	Sir Thaddeus	Adam Mickiewicz	epic	February 13 [25], 1883	140, 166, 174, 179, 186, 202, 211	Read by Ziuk and aunt
Obrusitieli	Russifiers	Nadziezda Łanskoj [Nadezhda Lanskaya]	novel	March 13 [25], 1883	173	
Izabella	Isabelle	George Füllborn	novel	March 21 [April 2], 1883	184	
Dziady	Forefathers' Eve	Adam Mickiewicz	poetic drama	April 11 [23], 1883	211	Read by Ziuk and aunt
Przegląd Katolicki	Catholic Review	priest Michał Nowodworski	magazine	June 16 [28], 1883	289	
Encyklopedia	Encyclopedia	[<i>too little information</i>]	encyclopedia	June 21 [July 3], 1883	299, 302, 313, 431	
Prawda	The Truth	Aleksander Świętochowski	magazine	July 4 [16], 1883	318, 487	Its co-editor Władysław Smoleński (1851 Grabienice-1926 Warsaw) was BP's sister Zula's teacher
Wacław	Wacław [name]	Juliusz Słowacki	poetic work	July 9 [21], 1883	324	Read by Tadiuk
Szwedzi w Polsce	Swedes in Poland	Michał Czajkowski	historical novel	July 22 [August 3], 1883	342	
Mucha	The Fly	Feliks Fryze	satiric magazine	October 9 [21], 1883	402	Zygmunt wished to subscribe to it
Sąsiedzi	The Neighbours	Fredrika Bremer	novel	October 31 [November 12], 1883	423	Feminist author
Wewnętrzne dzieje Polski za Stanisława Augusta (1764-95)	The internal history of Poland during the reign of Stanisław August (1764-95)	Tadeusz Korzon	academic book	November 4 [16], 1883	429, 431	Title of Korzon's book suggested by Żyndul
Ekonomia polityczna	Political economy	John Stuart Mill	academic book	November 6 [18], 1883	431, 493, 494, 497	Book author suggested by Żyndul (many authors have tackled this subject of political economy)
Konstancja Gerardi	Costanza Gerardi [Italian]	Luigi Gualdo	novel	November 8 [20], 1883	434	Book title suggested by Żyndul
Obrazki caryzmu	Depictions of Tsarism	Jakub Gordon [Maksymilian Jatowt]	diaries	November 30 [December 12], 1883	449, 460	

Title	English translation	Author/Editor	Type	Date when first mentioned	Pages in Żyndul edition	Comments
Historia powstania 1863 r. na Litwie i Żmudzi	History of the 1863 Uprising in Lithuania and Samogitia	Agaton Giller	academic book	December 4 [16], 1883	453	Book author and title of the whole suggested by Żyndul. According to Żyndul, it could be a part of <i>Historia powstania narodu polskiego w 1861-3 r.</i> [History of the uprising of the Polish nation in 1861-3].
Tygodnik Ilustrowany	Illustrated Weekly	Ludwik Jenike	magazine	December 4 [16], 1883	454	Zula's choice
Echo Muzyczne	The Musical Echo	Jan Kleczyński	magazine	December 4 [16], 1883	454	
Gazeta Rolnicza	Agricultural Gazette	Tadeusz Kowalski	newspaper	December 4 [16], 1883	454	
Ogrodnik Polski	The Polish Gardener	Edmund Jankowski	magazine	December 4 [16], 1883	454	
Proletariat	Proletariat	Ludwik Waryński, Edmund Płoski, Tadeusz Rechniewski, Aleksander Dębski, Stanisław Kunicki	magazine	December 12 [24], 1883	461	International Socialist-Revolutionary Party "Proletariat"
Pamiętniki kwatermistrza	Memoirs of a bursar	Ignacy Chodźko	diaries	January 9 [21], 1884	480	Memories of old Lithuania. BP's grandmother buys it for her physician
Ogniem i mieczem	With Fire and Sword	Adam Mickiewicz	historical novel	July 17 [29], 1884	491, 495	BP is promised the book
Dzieje narodu polskiego od najdawniejszych czasów potocznie opowiedziane	The history of the Polish nation since the earliest times colloquially retold	Henryk Schmidt	academic book	July 26 [August 7], 1884	494, 496	BP reads 100 pages a day
Początki ekonomii politycznej	The origins of political economy	Luigi Cossa	academic book	July 28 [August 9], 1884	495	
Główne zasady teorii polityki ekonomicznej od Adama Smith'a do teraźniejszych czasów	The main principles of economic policy theory from Adam Smith to the present day	Ivan Ivanovich Ivanyukov	academic book	March 8 [20], 1885	508, 511	
Socjalizm współczesny	Contemporary socialism	Emil de Leveley	academic book	March 20 [April 1], 1885	511	
Zarys literatury z 16 lat	An outline of the literature of 16 years	Piotr Chmielowski	academic book	April 5 [17], 1885	523	
O prawach kobiety	On women's rights	Edward Prądzyński	academic book	April 5 [17], 1885	523	
Zapiski profana	Notes of a profane	Nikolay Konstantinovich Mikhaylovskiy,	notes on sociology	July 19 [31], 1885	527	

Literary texts mentioned without necessary information [no author or title]: a lecture on Krasiński's poetry (pp. 93, 514), Sienkiewicz (pp. 121, 286), Mickiewicz (pp. 148, 251, 259, 283, 288, 300, 318), Słowacki (pp. 190, 300, 327, 432), Krasiński (p. 269), Virgil and Cicero for school (p. 277), poems of Władysław Syrokomla read to father (p. 354), Wincenty Pol (pp. 432, 446), "Rządy" [The Reign] (p. 497), Zygmunt Fortunat Miłkowski nicknamed Teodor Tomasz Jeż, pp. 504, 512).

3. Contacts with literary groups in Russian Far East

3.1. Ivan P. Yuvachov. Father of Daniil Kharms

Ivan Pavlovich Yuvachov (1860 St. Petersburg–1940 Leningrad) was Bronisław's closest friend throughout their exile to Sakhalin. The two men worked together at a meteorological station and shared a bedroom. During the exile, Yuvachov wrote a diary, in which he mentioned Bronisław 228 times.

Yuvachov was a Russian naval officer, writer, and revolutionary. He was the father of the famous poet Daniil Ivanovich Yuvachov, pen named Daniil Kharms.²⁵

Yuvachov was raised in a traditional family in the spirit of Protestantism. He sometimes would sing in the Orthodox Church standing on the kliros – the choral part, which symbolises angels praising the Lord. In adulthood, he wrote articles for religious and moral journals under the pen name Mirolyubov (eng. 'Peace-lover') (Stroganova 2017: 91-2).

Yuvachov graduated from the Kronstadt Technical School of the Naval Department (*Kronshtadtskoye tekhnicheskoye uchilishche morskogo vedomstva*) and proceeded to serve at sea as a member of the Black Sea Fleet (*Chernomorskiy flot*). He deeply believed in revolutionary ideas and promoted them among other sailors. He was a member of *Narodnaya Volya*, for what he was arrested in 1883 and sentenced to death during the *Trial of the 14*.²⁶ Later, the penalty was commuted to 15 years of hard labor (*ibid.*).

²⁵ Daniil Kharms was a late representative of the 20th century Russian Post-Revolutionary avant-garde, absurdist writer and one of the founders of Russia's lost literature of the absurd. He wrote prose and poetry both for adults and children, although he hated the latter. He died at the age of 36 in the psychiatric ward of a prison hospital run by NKVD in Leningrad (Pankenier-Weld 2020; Kharms, Anemone & Scotto 2013).

²⁶ The Trial of the 14 took place in St. Petersburg Military District Court on September 24–28 (October 6–10), 1884. All 14 were members of *Narodnaya Volya*. The central person of the trial was Vera Nikolayevna Figner. Yuvachov and Bronisław's mutual friend, Lyudmila Aleksandrovna Volkenshteyn, was also prosecuted (cf. Section 4.14; Bol'shaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya n.d. "Protsess 14-ti" ['Trial of the 14']. https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/bse/124657/Процесс.Большая_советская_энциклопедия_n.d._Процесс_14-ти).

He spent four years in the Peter and Paul Fortress's jail in St. Petersburg and the Oreshek Fortress (other name *Shlisselburgskaya Fortress*) in Shlisselburg. Afterwards, he was exiled to Sakhalin jail to spend there 8 years (*ibid.*).

Yuvachov's method of living through his imprisonment was practising faith and discipline. He studied mathematics, physics, astronomy, translated from English and French, studied Hebrew, Greek and Latin. (*ibid.*; ²⁷).

Yuvachov first met Bronisław in 1887 on the ship *Nizhniy Novgorod* which was taking the convicts from Odessa to Sakhalin. Yuvachov saw Bronisław as someone delicate, young and inexperienced. He felt responsibility to guard him and guide him, especially in religious topics. Bronisław, on the other hand, in a letter to his father from June 8, 1887 described Yuvachov as someone kind and "interested only in the Bible, Eucharist and astronomy" (Sawada 2021: 58-9; 88).

Both Yuvachov and Bronisław served their time at the village of Rykovskoye (now Kirovskoye) in Central Sakhalin and shared the same apartment. They often argued due to Yuvachov's faith and Bronisław's atheism.²⁸

Yuvachov was engaged in the works of building the Rykovskoye Orthodox church. He actively participated in the church's life. He gave communion, baptised newborns and buried the dead. Bronisław considered him a "religious fanatic" (Stroganova 2017: 94). In near future, after returning from exile, Yuvachov would have a hard time with his newly-started family, who did not understand why devote oneself to the study of religious texts to the point that it becomes the main aim in life (*ibid.*).

Yuvachov was considered a dangerous political prisoner which resulted in locating him in Rykovskoye, not in the larger town of Aleksandrovsk. Thanks to this, Yuvachov became indispensable to Commander Butakov²⁹ and was on good terms with him, although Butakov was known for violent treatment of prisoners. Bronisław wrote many letters describing Butakov's brutality to Lev Shterberg (Yuvachov 2022: xxix; Pilsudski 1996).

In Rykovskoye, Yuvachov also met the love of his life, Mariya Antonovna Krzhizhevskaya – the director of the local meteorological station and midwife

²⁷ Borisova, V. 2015. "Opublikovany «Sakhalinskiye dnevniki Ivana Pavlovicha Yuvachova» – ottsa Daniila Kharmsa" ['Published «Sakhalin diaries of Ivan Pavlovich Yuvachov»' – Daniil Kharms's father']. DEBRI: fakty, kommentarii, analitika [DEBRI: facts, commentaries, analytics]. http://debri-dv.com/article/12757/opublikovany_sahalinskie_dnevniki_ivana_pavlovicha_yuvacheva_-_otca_daniila_harmsa. Борисова, В. 2015. Опубликованы "Сахалинские дневники Ивана Павловича Ювачева – отца Даниила Хармса". ДЕБРИ: факты, комментарии, аналитика.

²⁸ Borisova 2015.

²⁹ Arseniy Mikhaylovich Butakov was a centurion of the Transbaikalian Cossack Troops and chief of the Tymovsky district in years 1884–94 (Pilsudski 1996: 291).

in the Tymovsk infirmary. Krzhizhevskaya came to Sakhalin searching for a place of self-sacrifice after an unsuccessful marriage. Since she was very busy giving a helpful hand to everyone in need, she not always could work at the meteorological station. She had been assigned an assistant, but he did not perform very well, so Yuvachov was delegated there instead (Yuvachov & Gentes 2022: xxix, 61-2).

Yuvachov wanted to marry Krzhizhevskaya, but she was not supportive of this plan.³⁰ Upon that, she was very ill and could not stop coughing. Finally, she had to pass on the meteorological station to Yuvachov, since she spit blood and was unable to work. After her death, Bronisław joined Yuvachov as a new personnel of the meteorological station. Yuvachov dreamed of Krzhizhevskaya every night and visited her grave almost every day. Her ghost became his obsession (cf. Subsection 3.1.2; Yuvachov: 155, 158-9).

Yuvachov wrote a diary during his Sakhalin period. The first manuscript was lost and the two remaining ones, dated 1890–5 and 1913, became a source of knowledge on his life in exile. The diary was published in 2014 as *Sakhalinskiye dnevniki v dvukh tomakh* ('Sakhalin diaries in two volumes', Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk: Sakhalinskaya oblastnaya tipografiya). The first volume contains diary entries from the years 1890–2 and the second from years 1893–5. Yuvachov, under his pen-name Mirolyubov, was also the author of Sakhalin recollections, first published in 1901 as *Vosem let na Sakhaline* (*Eight years on Sakhalin*, Sankt-Peterburg: Tip. A. S. Suvorina). The recollections were serialised in 1902–3 as "Ośm lat na Sachalinie" in the Polish newspaper *Dziennik Poznański* ('Poznań daily'). In 1903, *Dziennik Poznański* published a book edition under the same name. The English translation *Eight years on Sakhalin* is also available (Yuvachov 2022).

It is possible to trace back that in 1890, he no longer performed hard labour. Since political convicts were often well-educated, they had the privilege of performing easier services. Yuvachov worked at the meteorological station and devoted himself to literary work.³¹

Yuvachov left Sakhalin in 1895. He kept contact through letters with Bronisław but they were confiscated by NKVD when Yuvachov's son, Daniil Kharms, was arrested in 1931. Some of the materials were transferred in 1934 to the secret part of the Moscow Regional Archival Administration,

³⁰ Borisova, V. 2015. "Opublikovany «Sakhalinskiye dnevniki Ivana Pavlovicha Yuvachova» – ottsa Daniila Kharmsa" ['Published «The Sakhalin diaries of Ivan Pavlovich Yuvachov»' – Daniil Kharms's father']. DEBRI: fakty, kommentarii, analitika [DEBRI: facts, commentaries, anaticles]. http://debri-dv.com/article/12757/opublikovany_sahalinskie_dnevniki_ivana_pavlovicha_yuvacheva_-_otca_daniila_harmsa. Борисова, В. 2015. Опубликованы "Сахалинские дневники Ивана Павловича Ювачева – отца Даниила Хармса". ДЕБРИ: факты, комментарии, аналитика.

³¹ Borisova 2015.

but the information regarding Bronisław remained in NKVD (Stroganova 2017: 94).

3.1.1. Yuvachov's 1890–5 diary: traumatic dreams of Bronisław

The following subsection presents a choice of entries from Yuvachov's 1890–5 diary. The entries which mention Bronisław were carefully chosen and translated from Russian by the author of this thesis. The original Russian version comes from the paper edition of *Sakhalinskiye dnevniki v dvukh tomakh* (2014), as digitalised by Yevropeyskiy Universitet v Sankt-Peterburge.

As mentioned in Section 3.1, Yuvachov was Bronisław's closest friend on Sakhalin. He experienced many aspects of Bronisław, especially as the two, put in a state that deprived them of means to fulfil their basic physiological needs, shared a bedroom. Yuvachov thought and dreamt of Bronisław very often, in ways that exceeded mere attachment or friendship. This subsection is the first ever study of Yuvachov's dreams about Bronisław.

Dreams can be defined as specific sensory experiences with similarities to one's everyday life encounters. They contain a visual, auditory or tactile stimulus and can be discussed from the perspective of images or percepts (McGinn 2006: 7-75). Many theories agree that one trigger for dreams can be unprocessed waking life emotions and concerns presented in a metaphorical form of a night fantasy.

Blagrove and Lockheart (2023: 121-31, 219-21) discuss dream theories that could be relevant in the context of Sakhalin's harsh reality. For example, they recall Revonsuo's theory, which posits that during sleep, the brain simulates and practices overcoming physical threats or trains to adjust to social reality. They also cite another concept by Stickgold and Zadra, which introduces dreams as a means to explore new thought associations and invent new coping mechanisms in real life.

However, Yuvachov's dreams have always been too abstract and too wild to ever create an alternative for everyday Sakhalin life. His dreams might have been a way to minimise the impact of Sakhalin trauma and integrate it to his previous life experiences. According to a dreaming theory by Hartmann (cf. index 319), dreaming is a process similar to psychotherapy (*ibid.*).

Yuvachov could not act out in the real world the everyday stress of exile, since Russian military was always on guard, prepared to pacify any rebel acts. But in a dream, he could escape the military's punishment, his friends could be freed from slavery and the love of his life, Mariya Antonovna, could appear as a beauty and have conversation with Yuvachov, although in reality she had already died.

In Yuvachov's case, true might be the sentence stating that "dreams constitute a unique window on trauma and its effects" (Barrett 1996: 1). Yuvachov's dream fantasies mix Sakhalin's terror with his past strict religious upbringing, as well as unrevealed sexual tension and frustration. The images created by his mind are very unique and full of motion. The border between Bronisław and female dream characters is sometimes very thin.

Studies have shown that traumatic events can reappear identically in dreams or have an additional layer of horror that exceeds reality. With time, trauma in dreams can become more symbolic and connect with themes from one's everyday life. But sometimes the horrific events remain long forgotten and it is the dream that makes a person recover the memory of it again (*ibid.* 1-3).

The way Yuvachov dreams about sacrificing himself instead of Bronisław might resemble how soldiers dream about taking the place of their fallen comrades (*ibid.* 3). After all, from the very beginning, Bronisław tearfully declared his innocence, insisting that he had no idea why he was sentenced to exile despite having done nothing wrong. He was convicted to hard labour without identifying with any revolutionist fraction (Płoski 1933). Could Yuvachov's dreams symbolise the guilt he felt towards Bronisław?

Here, Yuvachov's many dreams are presented in English for the first time, in connection with Bronisław's life in exile and the fight for Poland's independence. The titles of dreams were invented by the author of this dissertation to help the reader scan through the various fantastic adaptations of Sakhalin's reality to Yuvachov's imagination. The descriptions are parts of longer journal entries, carefully selected to represent the relationship between Yuvachov and Bronisław.

"1890

January 29

Bronisław's little body

At daytime (around 9 or 10 o'clock), I lay down and saw in a dream the exhausted little body of Bronisław.

September 21

Journey to Aleksandrovka

In a dream: a fire. I'm travelling to Aleksandrovka. Bronisław sees me off to a point. There's a second fire on the road, which threatens to cut off our village from Aleksandrovka. I see that Bronisław is afraid to come back. I send him to Aleksandrovka and rush myself to Rykovskoye to wake up the command. But the fire suddenly stopped. One house burned down.

1891

March 7

The Antichrist

[...] Service in the church. Me and the boy Dosmanov, the sexton, are anxious and expect that a frightening person will enter not through the door but climb through the window of the right-wing kliros (and I knew beforehand everything that will happen to him). We arranged in advance to take him away. He sat down on the ambo and held a conversation with the people around him. One of the people, who agreed to capture the guy, came to me and said that he knows how to play instruments. “Me? I like music” – he said. And there he was captured. He managed to bribe someone. After the service, the priest, deposited the money from trebs³² and ordered the guy to be held inside of the church. Everyone left and I got ready to depart. He asked for books with pictures. But I gave him a story that was not from the signed library books. He started lighting candles after the people left and said to the watchman: “Only that woman shouldn’t be allowed here: she will cause a commotion”. I left and blocked the door with two ruble candles... and woke up. I wondered: was it the Antichrist? [...] I woke up and a shadow on the stove appeared to me as if a man was entering the door (Bronisław?). I was frightened and thought: was it him I saw in my dream?

1892

July 31

Narodnaya Volya

I went to sleep and in the morning I saw a dream: I got from somewhere 3 deceased maidens – friends of Mariya Antonovna at courses – 3 dead in their coffins and took them far away (probably to Sakhalin). I sat down near one of them and said something like: “Perhaps you are displeased with me, because I brought you here. Forgive me!”.

Suddenly, the maiden twitched and came back to life or better – she woke up from a lethargic dream. After her came the second and third one. Happiness was omnipresent. We went to the church to pray in company. There were many political convicts: Bronisław and others. Priest Aleksandr. I discovered somewhere a piece of *Narodnaya Volya*. I wondered: “Why is it here? I have to throw it away”. I went out to the porch and threw it to the street... I came inside again to the general gathering to report to any gendarme that I found a piece of *Narodnaya Volya*, to report on myself and saw that this act is taken even as a personal insult – an impertinent act of mockery. I was terribly surprised by such an explanation, but even more scared because I thought what if he finds another small piece of paper, indeed, he might feel offended even more, and I began to pray with words that there’s only one God, who knows I’m innocent, he can save me from the gendarmes’ assaults, from their interference in my lessons and books.

³² Occasional religious rites like blessings and funerals.

I woke up and was glad it was a dream. Pleased however by the resurrection of the maidens, to whom I pointed out my occurrence with them was a miracle. And I thought: the doctor was angry at me because I took part in the resurrection [...].

August 10. On this date, Yuvachov had an erotic dream about Mariya Antonovna and he noted down he woke up at 5 o'clock, aroused from lust. It seems he used the mark ⊥ every time he wanted to depict sexual arousal in his journal. *Bronisław woke up with the same* – he then added.

August 24. On this day, Yuvachov had a lot of dreams, also erotic ones, and noted down he and Bronisław had ⊥ three times in a row at the same time. For some reason, it seems like an important observation for Yuvachov.

September 2

The boat ride

A dream: I decided to go on a boat ride with Bronisław. He took 2 oars at once with one hand and rowed, however badly. I told him off and ordered him to take one oar and I took the other. But the rowing went badly. At that time, the officers assembled wearing official uniforms and Sergey Nik[olayevich] Taskin gave out wax candles into everyone's hands – someone's memorial service³³...

September 4

Cats, Mariya and Bronisław

I saw cats in a dream. Near midnight, I woke up and began to pray in grief. I dreamed of M[ariya] Ant[onovna] a lot, but I don't remember anything in particular. In a dream: with Bronisław we went to Tropin. We got to know each other³⁴...

October 23

A soldier buried alive

Bronisław saw a dream today: a dead soldier was brought in to be buried at Rykovskoye's Square. Suddenly, the soldier rose and sat up as if he has just awakened from a lethargic dream. Bronisław started to argue loudly against burying him too early: bury him right after his death!

October 24

Danger in the woods

³³ The same day Yuvachov saw this dream, he went to visit Gorkun.

³⁴ On this day, Yuvachov went with Bronisław to the cemetery.

As I fell asleep while dreaming, I drank something (milk?) from a cup. And suddenly, an enormous spider got inside (*vershok*-big³⁵, he floundered upside-down). At first, I thought a crab has climbed in. I saw a somewhat long story. In some village, a new inspector, a commoner. He introduced me to his family (nearly peasant women). We reached the village. Sat at the table. They sent furniture (a kind of chest of drawers) with books after me. I was surprised – why did they do that? Then I strolled with Bronisław. I chased a wolf away, although we were afraid of the possible encounter with a bear. I came to a palace with another person. Some people were walking and noticed us. We ran... The chest of drawers and trunk with books smashed. I looked at the books, which were peeking out and waved my hand: “Nothing lasts forever under the moon!”, I said and woke up.

December 17

In the bathhouse

In a dream, I saw myself in a bathhouse. As I was finishing washing myself, someone asked me for soap. I gave it, but then I noticed Bronisław and wanted him to take it. I prayed and went to sleep at 4 o'clock in the morning, hoping to smear myself so I can visit the bathhouse at the same time. I saw in my dream a young woman, myself lying down. I showed a kind of awe towards her, as I do towards the Holy Mother. The woman was wearing a black dress, which fit her beautifully. Her face was fresh, young. I passionately wanted to kiss at least the hem of her gown. I picked it up and kissed it with delight. She came towards me and gave me a kiss on the lips. I immediately started thinking what's going to happen, but there was nothing. I woke up [...].

1893

January 4

The water of Jordan River

In a dream, before I got up, I saw the Jordan River. I was showing Bronisław with the palm of my hand, how muddy the water was. When the water becomes still, it is bright. And here, in my palm, it was quite still. Earlier, I saw my father and sisters.

January 8

Polish independence

In a dream I saw in the morning, there was a shot, like the siphon that burst yesterday... In the dream I was surrounded by many Poles and Bronisław. They

³⁵ A *vershok* is a Russian measure unit, around 4,4 cm.

rejoiced a lot and bragged on the topic of *Yeshe Pol'ska ne schinelo*.³⁶ At the end, I burst into a strong damning speech against them. There was an old Polish hag there.

March 6 (February 22)

Baptism

In a dream: the priest was about to baptise three grown-ups: me, Bronisław (?) and a woman (?). But nothing was prepared. When the priest ordered to bring a vat of water, I thought: I don't need baptism, I'm already baptised. One baptism.

March 18 (March 6)

The American escape

[...] Second dream. With Bronisław, I'm in the woods near the meteorological station. Three Indians appear. I get frightened and I try to show them that I live near here (the station). Incidentally, Andrey also comes after something. One of the Indians uncovers some kind of a gun and holds it near my head for some time, and says something about the Great Spirit. And they are pale-faced. I ask: do you have red skin? "Yes". "I see, you're probably from the NW part of America". "Yes, near Sitka³⁷". One of them had a Russian type of face. I pointed out to him that his father or grandfather were Russian. Then I realised that they're not Indians, but Americans. I made it clear that we're *political* convicts, not *criminals*. At first, they didn't believe me for quite a time. I asked: can you take us to America with you? He said: every time so many people, as many masts stand in the harbour of Vladivostok. I thought – here's a good opportunity to escape, but after all I don't want to do it!...

And here in reality at lunch, telegrams were brought in with information about America introducing a plan: to not accept blind, disabled and retarded immigrants.

April 2 (March 21)

The twig bundle

I saw Mariya Antonovna in a dream. I tenderly kissed her sweet eyes. But her face was looking old and had wrinkles. We kissed very tenderly – I enjoyed myself. I also saw in a dream Tatiana Illarionovna in a form of a twig

³⁶ *Jeszcze Polska nie zginęła* (eng. *Poland has not yet perished*) is the beginning of the Polish national anthem. Here Yuvachov tries to write it in the cyrylic alphabet. *Счинело* is a misinterpretation of *сгинела*. Dreaming might be the reason, or maybe a mistake by Yuvachov or his future editors.

³⁷ A city in the US founded by Russians. In 1867 both sides signed a treaty, in which the Russian Empire sold the city itself and whole Alaska to the USA.

bundle, covered with short white moss. I wondered, how Al[eksandr] Iv[anovich] could live with a wife from a bundle of twigs.

Then I brought Bronisław to her as if she were his mother, and bending him down, I kept saying: “No matter how sweetly you write of a desert-like life, not everyone can live in isolation”. In this way, I was begging her for a bride for him.

April 26 (April 14)

The chase

[...] Bronisław also saw a strange dream:³⁸ janitors and policemen were chasing after him.

April 27 (April 15)

The Martyrs of Vilnius

In a dream: I wished Bronisław a happy Vilnius holiday (yesterday I honoured the icon of the Holy Mother and the 3 martyrs).³⁹

May 13 (May 1)

A quarrel

Seen in a dream: I quarrelled with Bronisław, because he was inattentive towards my words and didn't answer my question.

May 26 (May 14)

Rykovskoye on fire

In a dream, I saw a fire on the north-eastern horizon of the Rykovskoye village. Bronisław rushed there (the sector for political convicts was on that side).

June 9 (May 28)

The classroom and the storm

In a dream: I'm sitting in a classroom on a bench. Our priest approaches the seated one by one. He comes up to me. I show him a notebook with a boy's essay and say: “Is it possible that he didn't copy it, but he wrote it himself?”. The priest says: “Yes, he did it himself”. Bronisław confirmed it.

The same night, Bronisław saw in a dream that we're on a ship in the storm. He's outside of the ship and I'm inside. He was afraid for the books and he

³⁸ Yuvachov saw one about kissing and religion.

³⁹ Anthony, John and Eustathius – called the Martyrs of Vilnius – are saints in the Russian Orthodox Church. In 1347 they refused to eat meat served for pagan deities during the Christian fasting period, for which they were tortured and executed. Their feast day is celebrated on April 14th.

handed them to me, to the inside. He was very frightened by the turmoil and storm.

June 23 (June 11)

Departure

In a dream: I boarded a steamship of the Dobrov[ol'nyy] Fleet and set off from Odessa. We (deportees) squeezed in downstairs at first. I took comfort in the thought that we'll be released at the Red Sea. I was worried that my voyage would be considered an escape: I haven't told Ars[eniy] Mikh[aylovich] anything. I started to write a letter to Bronisław, so he'd pass on my application for departure to the commander [...].

June 25 (June 13)

The confectionary sausage shop

In a dream: I saw Valerian Fisher and one lieutenant... After that, I saw myself in a confectionary sausage shop. There were many people buying and selling. N[ikolay] P[avlovich] Popov purchased ham and he hung it himself, but his stinginess stirred up the sellers and they drifted apart in discontent. Amongst the sellers was a young lady familiar to me. She said: "Here, Ivan Pavlovich, you'll have a great neighbour now". (Before that, I had walked with the soldiers. They were moving elsewhere. I wondered: perhaps she wanted to imply that an officer will live in the neighbourhood). "Who could it be?", I asked. "Nikolay Pavlovich and Aleksandr II" (deceased sovereigns). I was terribly shocked...

Then I walked around the palace, probably with Bronisław, and told him about the odd conversation with the woman. I thought my neighbours would be more to the point. At that time, an invisible dog showed up and wanted to bite me. I thought: is it connected to them in some way?... And here came the deceased Manganari-admiral and said to me: „Why don't you want to serve in the fleet?". I said: „How I don't want to?! On the contrary, I'm begging you (I fell to my knees), take care of me" (and so on). But the conversation ended up somewhat undefined and Manganari went on to pay a visit to Poddubskiy (?).

June 26 (June 14)

The butterfly child

I saw a dream. I'm lying down and a lot of insects are flying around a shining lamp. And I see a snow-white butterfly amongst them, big size. I come closer. The butterfly turns out to be a small toddler, completely white, like alabaster. We took it in with Bronisław, like a child, and started to think of a name for it. I wanted to name it Angel. I sang, looking into its eyes: "Look, angelic eyes...." from Bulakhov's serenade "Quietly fades the evening light...".

June 29 (June 17)

Rats

Today (June 17), in a dream, I saw Bronisław with two rats and I had to fight them. I won.

August 28 (August 16)

The erotic thunderstorm

In a dream I saw two *dickholes*, I got naughty with them and ⊥. Then, there was a new house in our area with two rooms and a kitchen. In one Bronisław with Stefan, and me in the other. Suddenly, a thunderstorm. The lightening was visible through the window. I'm lying dirty from ⊥ and I'm scared. Actually, the lighting hurt me and I've already become aware of the electric light's impact. I thought: I need to be clean in the time of thunderstorms.

September 8 (September 27)

Under house arrest

In a dream, I saw L[eonid] V[asil'yevich] Poddubskiy with projects of appointing new inspectors (from officials?). I saw someone who looked like N[ikolay] L[avrent'yevich]. Perlashkevich rent an apartment in the region (house no. 18), where I've also previously lived. Next, someone who resembled Bronisław, was kept under house arrest...

September 9 (August 28)

The Great Holy Saturday

In a dream, probably in the morning of the Great Holy Saturday, I hurried to receive Communion. (We didn't read the canon – it was cancelled because of Great Saturday). I needed Andrey for something, but I couldn't persuade him to do anything. I was hurt. I was in one room, Bronisław in the other and Andrey in the kitchen. But also, at the side of the little room, there was Mariya Antonovna. She, without taking her clothes off, spent the night curled up on a short couch.

September 19 (September 7)

Aleksandr Nevskiy's lavra

In a dream – a solemn procession to somewhere (a cross procession maybe?). From a distance, I showed Aleksandr Nevskiy's lavra⁴⁰ to Bronisław and invited him to come inside with me. The lavra raises above St. Petersburg (!) and you can see a very beautiful sight from there. The procession headed towards Mr Butakov's house.

October 19 (October 7)

⁴⁰ A *lavra* is a name for big and important monasteries of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The assault team officer

I lied down and saw in a dream that the assault team officer Satunin (I paid close attention to the root of the name) wanted to grab a hold on the three of us: me, Bronisław and one more person. I got scared and woke up.

November 6 (October 25)

The recommendation

In a dream, I saw Eduard Vasil'yevich Shtelling, the station's inspector. He came to us and said there's a thaw. I recommended Bronisław to him (as if it were Stepanov in his navigator frock-coat with ensign shoulder boards). He turned sluggishly and unwillingly. I even spat out of annoyance...

November 24 (November 12)

The dead woman

In a dream: I had to give out pebbles of various sizes and colours to people as a form of unifying and subordinating them to me. Then, someone suggested I should give out hand parts of the deceased and suddenly, a baby girl's tomb opened. It was unpleasant for me to take the dead body and I hesitated. Behind her, there was a woman (deceased?). Therefore, she began to speak. I don't remember, who noticed me. Consuming horse-radish at the table would make me rot (Indeed, I ate a lot of horse-radish yesterday and even Tat'yana Illarionovna noticed). She talked with Bronisław about her child and its father. I understood that she was bonded with that gentleman and the child was illegitimate, and now that gentleman was misbehaving badly... I'm in a room with Bronisław. There, Ippolit Iv[anovich] tells him about the gentlemen, who was thrown out of the place. I inquire: who is it? Bronisław is secretive. I take offense, mutter to myself that he's rubbish and go to the meteorological booth. My mom asks why I'm in such a hurry and I explain to her that it can't be otherwise – it must be monitored as scheduled...

Second dream: Bronisław is having a child baptised. Father Aleksandr dictates him to say: *I believe*, but Bronisław can't say it by heart. The priest began to say it himself, but got off track... It made him furious and he began to yell at Bronisław. The latter noticed that they (the clergymen) are insincere people and left. Sasaparel' was also there and he climbed to the top floor of the house like a giant.

November 27 (November 15)

Natal'ya Pavlovna

In a dream, I saw Esipov 2 times. The first time, I was talking to N[ikolay] A[nempodistovich] and when the conversation turned to love, I caught a sight of his excitement and tried to express my view. He probably went back home. On the way, I stopped by my friends', fascinated by them. Then, Bronisław rushed to Natal'ya Pavlovna, knowing she was home (he was in love with her).

I wouldn't dare to go there. I tried to walk past the house and peek into the door or window...⁴¹

December 5 (November 23)

The paper kite

[...] Second dream: I'm going with Bronisław to Ivan Danilovich Bulakh's house. (To the old abandoned one. He actually moved from the police department to the secretary's house). He told us that in the northern-south corner of the house, we'll find a trash can, where we can store filth. Bronisław went ahead, me behind him. We found it. I started *urinating*. Some girls at that time looked at my sexual feature and I didn't hide it from them. Then, together with Bronisław, I went further along the street – the *Derbinskoye Road*. On our way we saw various birds, among others, the motley of colours of the *predator*, a little bird, which had colours beginning from its head: white, deep blue and red, like the Russian flag.

Opposite probably to the late Aleksandr Stepanovich Katin's house, we found plenty to talk about with an old man, who knew how to make a *paper kite*. I said: "Okay now, make it and launch it with Bronisław, and make a ratchet in it". "Of course, of course, I can do it", he said... Then, improved the public opinion on father John of Kronstadt.⁴² The old man, it seems, suggested that the public should be a witness of how father John receives communion, for it is very touching, educational and could be a trigger of faith in people...

December 10 (November 28)

Walking on air

In a dream, I was walking on air in the meteorological booth and Bronisław was walking on the ground... Anna, it seems, pushed me in the back when I was lying, saying: "You posses such a talent from God and yet you sleep excessively".

1894

January 27 (January 15)

Wind in the head

On this day, Yuvachov dreamed of a family scene. A term he described Bronisław with the day before appears in the dream. He used the saying *wind*

⁴¹ The dream continues with erotic visions of Natalya Pavlovna but without further interference from Bronisław.

⁴² John of Kronstadt is a saint of the Eastern Orthodox Church, celebrated for his devotion to faith and prayer, miracles, treatment of people in need and virginity with his wife Elizabeth (Bishop Nikon 2011. "The life of the Pastor of Kronstadt", on-line resources of the Eastern Orthodox Church. <https://pravoslavie.ru/43914.html>).

in the head (veter v golove), which is used to describe an empty, frivolous person. The full sentence by Yuvachov was: *the wind blows in his head like on the streets (u nego veter khodit v golove, kak na ulitse)*.

February 11 (January 30)

The lamp

Seen in a dream: I want to light a lamp. It presents a view of a boat disturbed by the storm. The fire slightly visible. As usual, I light a candle and want to put out the fire in the lamp to light it again. The oil inside is somewhat strange. Not really white nor thick. Yevdokim Savel'yev warns me and puts out the fire. Standing on a stool, for fun or maybe seriously, I take him by the hair and start condemning him, how could he do that. The old man takes offence. I rush to reconcile, embracing his head. He doesn't give in. Upon departure, he tells me to come to the monastery on Saturdays. Then we make up. Bronisław was a witness to all of this. He remarked how often he wants me to go to the monastery. In the morning I saw Yevdokim again, but this time in a peaceful mood.

March 5 (February 21)

The Polish bathhouse

Dreams: I entered something like a Polish bathhouse. Bronisław was there and many other people. I started to undress. To my surprise, I took off a lot of clothes and still wasn't naked. I asked for water and wasn't given any. Disappointed, I left. I don't remember where I went. I was told: "A sick angel on Angel Day⁴³"... I went with Bronisław (?) to the street (Nevskiy Prospekt?). Far on the north side dark clouds were visible, quickly moving from right to left and from left to right. I noticed that a storm's coming. Suddenly, a lighting came down to us, electric sparks were falling all around. I awaited the end in terror. But still, I was hoping for God's mercy. For a while, I remained waiting in the darkness...

March 15 (March 3)

Dining with Bronisław

In a dream, I saw children of the Georgian woman Dar'ya, at whose place we dined with Bronisław...

March 25 (March 13).

Mariya's education

Seen in a dream: at night, the community gathered... Fine ladies, generals and others. I was also included. I awaited the opening, but the person who was responsible for it hadn't come yet. Many dozed off, but not me. I read some

⁴³ Angel Day is another name for name day.

church newspapers out aloud. The ladies were pleased. They directed their gentle attention towards me. At the end, everyone woke up for the opening, but it was 1 o'clock in the morning already. Some generals and married gentlemen went up to go to sleep. It seemed that the gathering dispersed. The guide fussed over notes. I started to ask him about Smolensk's new notes, but it seems he recommended earlier Arkhangelsk's notes and about Smolensk he said that it's a *genus* (i.e. type?) of liturgical singing. I came to school from the Community (Obstetric? Medical assistant?).

Then, Mariya Feodorovna Akorcheva showed up for examination (she was acquainted to it before, only now the school was furnished better than before). Then Bronisław appeared. A conversation arose: did Mariya Antonovna finish 6 or 7 grade? I said – 7, Bronisław – 6. Suddenly, Mariya Antonovna appeared, sitting at the table with a notebook. Two lines were written there in ink (by her father) and then with a pencil Mar[iya] Ant[onovna] noted down that her father on his deathbed asked her not to compete, but to forgive, to cede to him (possessions!). On the right page of the notebook, there was also something written down and a ticket specifying that she has finished 7th grade [...].

August 24 (August 12)

The misprint

In a dream, I kissed the extraordinarily beautiful and elegant hands of Mariya Ant[onovna]. Her long fingers had such a graceful shape. She took them away from me. I didn't stop. I even kissed her uncovered left breast (she bent over the table). In the morning, a second dream. The priest wanted to preach a sermon to children from Mariya Antonov[na]'s piece of paper and found at the end of the 3rd line something incomprehensible. Bronisław found a misprint right away.

December 7 (November 25)

Exile to Onor

At 4 o'clock in the morning, I saw a clear and distinct dream: political convicts gathered at my house: Bronisław, Aleksandrin, Perlashkevich and others. A rope was hanging low from the ceiling. I took it into my hands and placed my feet on the floor, drawing circles with my whole body. While playing like this, I noticed my comrades' concern. Bronisław with tears in his eyes, quietly told me one of them will be arrested and exiled to Onor. "Who?", I asked. "Perlashkevich". Suddenly, a commotion on the road and soon a knock on the door. It was night, so we already have taken our clothes off. I went with Bronisław to open the door. Somehow, it was mister Astaf'yev – tall, in a white apron, with an intelligent look on his face, inviting us to get out of the house. I was outraged and went to the house to put on clothes. I got out – the soldiers have already surrounded Perlashkevich (?), whose hands were tied

behind his back to a green birch... A lot of people... They were leading Nik[olay] Lavr[ent'yevich]. I stared at him from the porch and woke up.

December 21 (December 9)

The sophisticated loan

In a dream, I saw political convicts. Naturally, I was thinking about them. It seemed tonight everyone gathered at Aleksandrin's. They were probably talking also about me. Perhaps even Bronisław's humour was connected to one conversation at the assembly. In the dream, I saw Bronisław, Perlashkevich and Gostkevich. They were at my house on the ground floor and I peeked at them through the window on the first floor. Bronisław asked me: I'll take 500 rubles. Then he went down to 25 rubles. I was surprised. If he'd owe me, why would I refuse. "Generally, I'm prepared for your conditions, if you decide to give me twice or thrice as much". Hearing this, Perlashkevich and Gostkevich laughed and yelled: "Look, how sophisticated!". In the end, my granny Vera stared at them from my window and made a remark that it's already late, night... It's time to disperse...

1895

March 13 (March 1)

The pity cry

At night, a series of dreams. I'm lying, Bronisław comes and, thinking I'm asleep, he invites Nikolay Lavrent'yevich to come in. I moved and opened my eyes. They realised that I'm watching him. N[ikolay] [Lavrent'yevich] didn't got away. Finally, I went to another room and soon after me N[ikolay] [Lavrent'yevich]. I took on a threatening look, but seeing his outstretched hand, I rushed to hug him and cried. He weeped, too. Then Bronisław came up to us. I said no-no and sobbed. They calmed me down. I cried from pity and they thought I'm crying from remorse.

March 24 (March 12)

The corridor with women

A lot of dreams: I came out from a house in St. Petersburg and headed to the Anichkov Bridge and my dad went from the gate to the harbour to see his friend (a watchman). Someone else walked up to them. The three of them stood there and had a somewhat ridiculous conversation...

In the presence of Bronisław and some women, I'm talking about the meaning of the symbol of faith. What he [God] gives us! How much the *confessors* suffered from year 325 to 4... That's why I pay attention when they sing in the church. Bronisław pointed out his lack of faith. I went down the corridor. The women started saying something about Bronisław. I tell them: disbelievers and sinners go to the Kingdom of Heaven first. God appreciates a person's love towards neighbours...

I'm going through a corridor. There's a lot of doors with numbers. Are they cabins or casemates – I don't know. The finishing is very beautiful: red wood under the varnish. Women live here. One by one they go to the bathhouse. Some of them approach their door number walking naked in front of me, with flowing hair. I walk further and search for number 23, where Mariya Antonovna is [...].

April 6 (March 25)

The obsolete faith

In a dream: {...] I saw Anna Yevgen'yevna Yartseva. It seems L[eonid] V[asil'yevich] Poddubskiy was visiting her. She apologized she couldn't come, because her *menstruation* (!) hurt. Someone advised her *The Cherubic incense* (Poddubskiy?), but she firmly refused, saying that she won't do it for the obsolete faith... I thought: Bronisław taught you this.

April 19 (April 7)

The peasants

At night in a dream I went on a trip to wild places with Bronisław and others. A some kind of excursion. I dreamed for a long time. The views were remarkable, with steep cliffs, high mountains and so on. [...] The dream continued. I was lying on the cliff. Here came the male and female peasants in red floral prints. The last ones headed for our camp.

“What for?”, I asked. “To you, to your town, to your service”. I burned with passion towards one of them and drew her hand closer (⊥)...”⁴⁴

As proven above, Yuvachov's diary is a valuable source for dream studies and could become a part of a greater research work on trauma and PTSD of convicts in tsar Russia.

3.2. Anton Chekhov

Anton Pavlovich Chekhov (1860 Taganrog–1904 Badenweiler) was a Russian physician, playwright and novelist. He came from a peasant family – his father was a shopkeeper. Chekhov's interest in theatre and literature developed at a very young age. He dressed up to look older and participated in plays forbidden to gymnasium students.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Yevropeyskiy Universitet v Sankt-Peterburge n.d.

⁴⁵ Encyklopedia Teatru Polskiego n.d. “Antoni Czechow” [‘Anton Chekhov’], on-line encyclopedia entry. <https://encyklopediateatru.pl/autorzy/194/antoni-czechow>.

In 1890 Chekhov went to Sakhalin to conduct research on the Russian penal system. His thoughts on the trip he included in letters to Aleksey Suvorin – a journalist, influential editor of the pro-government conservative magazine *Novoye Vremya* ('new times') and friend of Chekhov, who aspired to become a journalist himself (Chekhov 1955: 3).

The letter dated September 11, 1890 sent from S.S. Baikal, Tatar Straits, starts with the introduction of the figure of General Vladimir Osipovich Kononovich to Suvorin. Kononovich is a person mentioned multiple times also in letters from Bronisław to Lev Shternberg (cf. Section 3.3). He was the General-Commander, head of Sakhalin district in years 1888–93 (Pilsudskiy 1996: 289). Chekhov wrote:

“The General of Sakhalin, Kononovich, is an intelligent and honorable man. We quickly hit it off and everything went along smoothly” (Chekhov 1955: 129).

Then, Chekhov proceeds to describe his work on Sakhalin:

“[...] the conditions under which I worked from the very beginning were most favourable. I saw *everything*; now the question is not *what* I saw, but *how* I saw it.

I do not know what will come of it, but I have done quite a bit. The material gathered would be sufficient for three dissertations. I rose every morning at five, went to bed late and every day felt under intense strain in the realisation that a great deal had not yet been done, and now that I have already finished my study of the penal system my feeling is that I have seen the trees but missed the forest.

By the way, let me tell you that I was patient enough to take a census of the entire population of Sakhalin. I made the rounds of every settlement, entered every cabin and spoke with every individual; I used to a card system and have already accounted for approximately ten thousand convicts and penal settlers. In other words, there is not a single convict or penal settler on Sakhalin with whom I have not had a word. My inventory of the children was particularly successful, and I lay a great deal of hope in it.

[...] I witnessed a flogging, after which I had nightmares for three or four nights about the flogger and his horrible accessories. I spoke with people chained to their wheelbarrows” (*ibid.* 129-30).

Chekhov's statement he saw “each and every” Sakhalin convict confirms Bronisław must have been one of them. Although officially Chekhov was forbidden to meet with political convicts, in one recollection he mentioned:

“In Rykovskoye there is a school, telegraph, hospital and a meteorological station named after M. N. Galkin-Vraskoy,⁴⁶ which is run by a privileged exile, former midshipman, a remarkably hardworking and kind person; he also serves as the churchwarden” (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 231-2).

The “former midshipman” at the meteorological station was of course Ivan Yuvachov. As discussed in Section 3.1, Bronisław not only worked in the same place as Yuvachov, but the two men also lived together and they influenced each other so much that Yuvachov once dreamt of flying in the air in the meteorological booth, while Bronisław walked on the ground (Yevropeyskiy Universitet v Sankt-Peterburge n.d.).

Although Chekhov visited the island in 1890, before Krzhizhevskaya’s death and the replacement of her at the meteorological station by Bronisław, the chances Chekhov knew about Bronisław are very high, especially that Chekhov’s files mentioning Gorkun and Volokhov, who were Bronisław’s closest potential collaborators during the failed assassination attempt on the tsar, have been preserved (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 232; Sawada 2021: 78).

Bronisław read a lot of magazines and authors but when it came to Chekhov’s articles on Sakhalin, serialised in years 1893–4 in the Russian *Russkaya mysl* (‘Russian mind’) magazine, he particularly often looked through them and reported his critical observations in letters to Shternberg. He also exchanged Chekhov’s articles with him. Here are some examples of Bronisław’s messages from 1894 to Shternberg about Chekhov’s writings:

“18/II

I still can’t get a hold of Chekhov’s (last) article. But there’s the November number, so if you’re still reading it, don’t sent it (Pilsudskiy 1996: 78).

9/III

I haven’t read Chekhov’s article yet. I keep dozing off and fall asleep after each line (*ibid.* 84).

19/V

I’ve read Chekhov’s article but I think it’s worse than the previous ones. In particular, I’m not fine with the characteristic of Livin,⁴⁷ it’s too mild, partial and therefore misleading. There’s not a word about Livin’s cruelty and all

⁴⁶ Mikhail Nikolayevich Galkin-Vraskoy was a Russian scholar, statesman and reformer of the Russian penitentiary system (Gabarayev 2019).

⁴⁷ Fyodor Nikiforovich Livin was the warder of the Rykovskoye prison, known for his cruelty towards prisoners. He published his essays *Zapisok sakhalinskogo tyuremshchika* (‘notes of a Sakhalin prison warden’) in no. 9–10 of *Tyuremnyy vestnik* (‘prison bulletin’) 1901, where he contrargumented Chekhov’s articles (Pilsudskiy 1996: 296).

violence is attributed to a fascination with whips. The virtues are also exaggerated. Obviously, Livin managed to whitewash himself and cover Chekhov's eyes. I think Butakov⁴⁸ would have been shown as an excellent person if Chekhov wouldn't have discovered his later doings and that's why Butakov was silently omitted. Although he did call him intelligent once (*ibid.* 98-99).

Undated letter next after the letter from 24/V

Chekhov wrote about the Korsakovsk District; I haven't read it yet, I flipped through but it seems not much interesting" (*ibid.* 104).

Sometimes Bronisław finds Chekhov's articles boring but when it comes to the characterisation of Livin and Butakov, Bronisław is very emotional and critical. Chekhov's research must have been very important to Sakhalin's political convicts. Probably the way Bronisław *dozes off* in boredom while reading shows how much Chekhov's articles must have been censored before publishing, whilst everyone was awaiting to read the truth about the situation they have been forced to be in.

However, for the Russian reader learning even censored information about the conditions on Sakhalin was still shocking. Chekhov's articles aroused interest of lawyers, officials, writers and journalists, who became eager to investigate the place themselves. What was especially enraging for the general public was the scandalous case of deaths in Onor, in which during the road construction from Onor to the south of Sakhalin in May–September 1892, from 450 hard labour convicts almost 100 were tortured, killed or went missing. One of the main contributors to the leaks of information in this case was said to be Bronisław Piłsudski (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 230-2; Piłsudski 1996: 18).

Chekhov's genuine feelings about the dramatic situation in Sakhalin occurred to him only some time after his return from the expedition. He wrote about this phenomena in his letters in the way below:

"December 9, 1890, Moscow

I stayed in Sakhalin not two months, as was reported in your paper, but three months plus two days. It was high-pressure work; I made a full, detailed census of the entire Sakhalin population and saw *everything* except capital punishment. When we get together I will show you a whole trunkful of penal colony paraphernalia which should be unusually valuable as raw material. I know a lot now, but brought back a nasty feeling. While I was on the island I felt a kind of bitter taste, as of rancid butter, in the pit of my stomach, but now in retrospect Sakhalin seems a regular hell (Chekhov 1955: 131).

⁴⁸ Arseniy Mikhaylovich Butakov, cf. footnote 29.

December 24, 1890, Moscow

Funny – journeying through Sakhalin and back I felt absolutely well, but now that I am home the devil only knows what goes on within me. I have a continual slight headache, a general feeling of lassitude, I tire easily, am apathetic, and the thing that bothers me most – have palpitations of the heart. Every minute my heart stops for several seconds and does *not* beat” (Chekhov 1955: 134).

Chekhov’s notes from his trip were later published as *Ostrov Sakhalin: iz putevykh zapisok* (*Sakhalin Island: from travel notes*, Moskva: Russkaya Mysl 1895). A reprinted version was also included in volumes 14–5 (1879) of Chekhov’s *Sochineniya* (‘writings’, Moskva: Vidavnitstvo Nauka, 18 volumes), published alongside *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy i pisem* (‘collected works and letters’, Moskva: Vidavnitstvo Nauka 1974–83, 30 volumes). A new addition with commentary by Mikhail S. Vysokov, a doctor in historical studies, came out in 2010 (Vladivostok: Rubezh). A recent translation into Polish is *Wyspa Sachalin* (Poznań: Zysk i S-ka 2022) and into Japanese *Saharin-tō* (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Shinsha 2009).

Chekhov wrote many humanitarian, medicine-focused stories after experiencing the lack of true medical support for prisoners in Sakhalin. The most known story inspired by Sakhalin is *Ward no. 6*. In her article, Butenina (2017) stresses that the stories are available in the LitMed database, created in 1993 by the New York University School of Medicine. In her opinion, this way young medical students of modern times have the possibility to learn from Chekhov’s experiences. Becoming aware of Sakhalin’s malpractices could form more empathetic medical professionals.

During his stay on Sakhalin, Chekhov prepared a census of foreign newcomers. While Bronisław’s census of local residents can be found in *CWPB* 1, Chekhov’s record of immigrant people can be found in “*Byt' mozhet, prigodyatsya i moi tsifry...*” *Materialy sakhalinskoy perepisi A.P. Chekhova. 1890 god* (“‘Perhaps my figures will be of use...’ Materials from A.P. Chekhov’s Sakhalin Census. Year 1890’, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk: Rubezh 2005), edited by Aleksandr I. Kostanov.

There was one more opportunity for Bronisław and Chekhov to contact each other. In years 1900–1 Bronisław was working as a secretary and treasurer of the Research Society of the Amur Region in Vladivostok. He sorted out the Society’s membership lists and replenished the Society’s museum library with meaningful books and publications. On February 23, 1901 Bronisław was one of the two authors of a letter to Chekhov, asking him to donate his two books: *Sakhalin Island* and *A journey to the end of the Russian Empire* to the library. In the letter, the place was described as the most promising place for intellectuals in the whole city (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 292-3).

3.3. Lev Shternberg

Lev Yakovlevich Shternberg, born Khaim Leib Shternberg (1861 Zhitomir–1927 Duderhof), was Bronisław’s close friend during his exile on Sakhalin. He inspired Bronisław to continue his research on aborigines.

Shternberg was a Russian anthropologist and ethnographer. He was a socialist, a member of the terrorist group *Narodnaya Volya* and upon that, a Jewish activist. Exiled to Sakhalin for his connections to extremists, he devoted himself to the research of ethnic groups including the Nivhgu, Uilta, Evenks, and Ainu.

His notes from that time were recently published as *Po Sakhalinu i Amuru: dnevnik puteshestviy, pis'ma (1889–1927 gg.)* (‘across Sakhalin and the Amur: travel diaries and letters’, Belgorod: Konstanta, COKM 2019). Shternberg cooperated with Bronisław on the completion of *Materialy po izucheniyu gilyatskogo yazyka i fol'klora* (S.-Peterburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoy Akademii Nauk 1908), which were later published with the annotation “compiled and edited by L. Ya. Shternberg”. The research was presented at the meeting of the Historical and Philological Department of the Imperial Academy of Sciences on May 24, 1900. The English translation, *Materials for the study of the Nivhgu (Gilyak) language and folklore*, published under Bronisław’s name, is included in CWBP 1, 177–82. Two manuscript facsimiles were preprinted in IIEOS (part one, Sapporo–Stęszew 1996 and part two, Stęszew 1999). Letters and documents regarding Shternberg’s and Bronisław’s intellectual exchange were gathered in (Latyshev, Dudarets & Prokofyev 2011).

Shternberg was the author of several stories featuring aborigine characters, including the Nivhgu. Three such examples, originally printed in *Vladivostok*, were published in IINBP 8, pp. 308–27: *Pis'mo* (‘letter’), *Bog smotrit* (‘God is watching’) and *Otverzhenyye* (‘the outcasts’), alongside an introduction by Sergey A. Kan, “Etnograficheskiye rasskazy L. Ya. Shternberga” (‘ethnographic stories by L. Ya. Shternberg’).

After serving his time on Sakhalin, Shternberg worked as a curator at the St. Petersburg Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology and founded the Leningrad School of Soviet Ethnography together with Vladimir Bogoraz⁴⁹ at St.

⁴⁹ Vladimir Germanovich Bogoraz, pen name Tan, Tan-Bogoraz, was a famous Russian ethnographer, revolutionist, religious scholar and researcher of the Chukchi ethnic groups in Siberia. He collaborated with the world-famous ethnographer Franz Uri Boas as a curator of the ethnographic collection at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. Boas also maintained contact with Bronisław Piłsudski. In addition to his ethnographic work, Bogoraz was a writer and playwright. His favorite literary genre was prehistoric popular fiction, also known as *paleofiction* (Soshkin 2020: 8-9).

Petersburg State University (1865–1936) (Kan 2009: xi-ii; Piłsudski 1996: 5-32).

Shternberg's place of birth, Zhitomir, is now part of Ukraine, but in different historical periods it was under the control of Lithuania, Poland, and Russia (Kan 2009: 1).

The ethnographer was raised in a large Jewish community and since childhood, he has been a very talented student of Talmud, as well as secular subjects at the Russian gymnasium (*ibid.* 2-3).

His father was well known for his kind-heartedness and support of charities, as well as inviting the poor to dinner. Shternberg was thought to have inherited these traits from him. Moreover, he demonstrated a deep understanding of the tragic aspects of Jewish history, including events like massacres, and showed great empathy towards those who were vulnerable or marginalised (*ibid.* 1-6). All of the above facts influenced him to have high morals and the character traits of a protector. His temperament seems to match Bronisław's in this way. No wonder the two men remained friends after their paths first crossed in Rykovskoye in January 1891 (Kan 2009: 2-3; Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 5-7; Piłsudski 1996: 14).

Before exile, Shternberg studied at St. Petersburg University but was expelled for taking part in an anti-police rally and sent back to his hometown. He later enrolled in the Faculty of Law at Novorossisk University in Odessa. All the while, he remained a very active member of *Narodnaya Volya* (Kan 2009: 7-13; Piłsudski 1996: 7).

There seems to be a difference between Shternberg's and Bronisław's approach towards *Narodnaya Volya*. It is believed Shternberg supported systemic terrorism in order to end tsardom and give power to the masses. In Bronisław's case, it is argued that he never condoned any violence (Kan 2009: 7; Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 6).

On April 27, 1886, the Russian police searched Shternberg's apartment and arrested him (*ibid.* 8-12). He first spent 3 years in the main Odessa prison, where he began suffering from neurosis and experiencing hallucinations. On March 28, 1889, he embarked on the steamship *Petersburg* for a 10-year exile to Sakhalin (Piłsudski 1996: 7; Kan 2009: 13-5).

As mentioned earlier, Shternberg first met Bronisław in Rykovskoye in January 1891. Originally, Shternberg was stationed in Aleksandrovsk, which was Sakhalin's administrative center since 1884. He traveled to Rykovskoye to meet friends with whom he had been exiled and colleagues he had corresponded with through letters. By then, he had already gained considerable knowledge of Sakhalin's ethnic groups (Piłsudski 1996: 14-5; Kan 2009: 28).

Originally, as a political exile, Shternberg experienced considerable freedom on Sakhalin. The remote island lacked well-educated, talented tutors to teach the governors' children. The convicts were divided into three categories: hard labor convicts, convict settlers, and peasants (former exiles who had the right

to leave Sakhalin and return to Russia). A political prisoner could either be a convict settler or an administrative exile. Shternberg was the latter, which placed him in a relatively favorable position. However, he could not resist reporting the brutal treatment of convicts to his superiors. In 1890, he was punished for his numerous reports by being exiled to Viakhtu, a deserted village on Sakhalin. In Viakhtu, he soon realised that indigenous people, including the Nivhgu, Uilta, and Evenks, lived nearby. He began studying them, inviting them for tea, exchanging information for bread, sugar, and tobacco, and offering them medical assistance (Kan 2009: 29, 32, 37-42; Yuvachov 2022: xxvii-iii).

This experience made it possible for Shternberg and Bronisław to find a common subject of discussion during their first meeting. They made great plans to research the beliefs, language, folklore, and the economic and material situation of the Sakhalin natives (Piłsudski 1996: 15).

Just a month later, with the permission of General Vladimir Kononovich, Shternberg was dispatched on an expedition to create a register of Nivhgu in the region. He collected data on 1,040 individuals (Kan 2009: 43-6).

After his expedition to the north, Shternberg was allowed to return to Aleksandrovsk. In the summer of 1891, he traveled once again for his studies, this time heading east. In February 1892, he conducted a census near Aleksandrovsk, and during the summer and autumn of that same year, he visited Terpeniya (Patience) Bay, near Hokkaido, where he encountered not only the Nivhgu and Uilta, but also the Ainu. His two other Sakhalin expeditions occurred in August 1893 (also near Aleksandrovsk) and from July to September 1894 in the northwestern part of the island (Kan 2009: 59-66).

Using the pen name Verus, Shternberg published a series of reports on the harsh conditions of life in Sakhalin, highlighting the abuse of power by Russian soldiers. The *Conversations about Sakhalin* series was published in *Vladivostok* from October 17, 1893, to February 26, 1895, and was widely read by Sakhalin governors, convicts, and Russian townspeople. One notable example was his exposure of the Onor case. Shternberg's articles raised public awareness about the realities of imprisonment in Sakhalin. The true identity of Verus remained unknown. Shternberg was also a contributor to *Amurskaya gazeta* ('Amur newspaper') (Kan 2009: 72-4; Piłsudski 1996: 17-8).

Bronisław played a very important role in all of Shternberg's activities. The two exchanged letters frequently and were very open about their experiences on Sakhalin. Bronisław reported many brutal and worrying incidents from Rykovskoye to Shternberg, including prisoner beatings, alcohol-fueled brawls involving Russian officers, and alarming shifts in power. He also wrote about the various illnesses he had witnessed or experienced himself (Piłsudski 1996: 37-8, 49, 60, 64, 80, 82, 85-6; Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz 2001: 414; Sawada 2021: 333).

In their academic research, both men shared information and compared their interpretations of the findings. Bronisław had a talent for connecting

with the natives and enjoyed their company, while Shternberg took a more scholarly approach to the collected data and edited Bronisław's publications. They exchanged books, dictionaries, magazines, and photographs. At one point, Bronisław borrowed a camera and became very interested in photography. He wrote to Shternberg about the lengths he went to in acquiring the photographic equipment he needed and his efforts to learn how to develop photos (Piłsudski 1996: 36, 50-2, 57-9, 66, 71-3, 77, 113, 116, 119).

In June 1895, Shternberg was allowed to leave Sakhalin to conduct research in the Amur River region. He was supported by the Society for the Study of the Amur Region and the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Bronisław was very saddened by the sudden departure of his friend (Kan 2009: 74; Piłsudski 1996: 18-9, 122; Sawada 2021: 84).

Shternberg returned to Sakhalin in the autumn of 1896, only to embark on another expedition in August-September to study Oroch in the Udsu region and the lower Amur River, where he encountered not only Nivhgu, but also the Nanai, the Negidal and the Udege (Kan 2009: 79-81).

Together with Bronisław and other intellectuals he prepared for the opening of the Sakhalin Local Natural History Museum in 1896. The exhibition was opened on December 6, 1896 and almost all of the exhibits were donated by Shternberg and Bronisław (Kan 2009: 68; Sawada 2021: 89-90).

In May 1897, Shternberg was granted an amnesty for prisoners under the 1895 manifesto and was allowed to leave Sakhalin early. The condition was he would be placed under three years of police supervision (Piłsudski 1996: 19).

In 1898, Shternberg invited Bronisław to take the post of curator at the Research Society of the Amur Region in Vladivostok. In 1901, Shternberg was hired at the Imperial Academy of Science and commissioned Bronisław to go on Sakhalin expeditions to acquire ethnographic materials on Ainu and Uilta. Bronisław continued the expedition from July 8, 1902 to June 11, 1905. He left Sakhalin on June 11, 1905, just a month before the start of the Japanese occupation of the island, on a small ship called *Vladivostok* (*ibid.* 21-5).

It was at this time that Shternberg's career as an ethnographer took off. He soon became a specialist at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences. In 1902, he became secretary of the Russian branch of the Committee for the Study of East and Central Asia. He was a well-connected researcher in both the domestic and foreign scientific world. He also had influence among politicians and in his Jewish community. From his position he tried to support Bronisław in many ways. Several times he invited Bronisław to work at the museum in Petersburg. Unfortunately, Bronisław lost his passport and he was unable to make the trip (Kan 2009: xi-ii; Sawada 2021: 309-10; Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz 2001: 414).

Shternberg also commissioned Bronisław to send some of his ethnographic collections in exchange for money. For example, between 1901 and 1907,

Bronisław sent 1,200 Sakhalin items to the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, of which 1,000 were part of the Ainu collection. In 1909, he provided 28 photographs of Polish Tatra Mountains highlanders and 15 items to the Alexander III Museum in Petersburg, receiving 300 rubles in exchange. Additionally, he sent 130 photographs of the Ainu and 34 of the Nivhgu, promising to send some pictures of the Uilta as well. He remained in contact with the Museum from 1908 to 1913 (Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz 2001: 295-300, 413-20).

Starting in 1918, Shternberg was a professor at Leningrad University. Unfortunately, that same year, Bronisław was found drowned in the Seine.

In 1924, Shternberg was elected a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The following year, in 1925, he presented his paper *Divine election in primitive people* at the 21st International Congress of Americanists in the United States. In 1926, he attended the 3rd Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Japan (Piłsudski 1996: 26; Sawada 2021: 342; Kan 2009: xi).

Shternberg had established himself in the international academic community and was regarded as a respected scholar throughout his life.

4. Contacts with literary groups in Japan

4.1. Futabatei Shimei

Futabatei Shimei (1864 Tokyo–1909 Bay of Bengal), born Tatsunosuke Hasegawa, was one of Japan's first specialists in Russian studies, a talented translator of Russian literature, a journalist dedicated to social issues, a professor of Tokyo Foreign Language School, considered “father of contemporary Japanese literary language”, and the closest friend of Bronisław during his stay in Japan.

Futabatei was born into a samurai family in the Owari-han feudal domain (nowadays part of Aichi Prefecture). In terms of education, he studied Confucian classics as well as subjects like geography, history, and English. He was raised in the spirit of militarism and aspired to heroically serve his country, much like Takamori Saigō (cf. Sections 4.19 and above), who gave his life during the 1877 Satsuma Rebellion, led by samurai who had lost their privileges due to the formation of the non-feudal Meiji government (Walker 1979: 30-1; Jones & Inouye 2017: 299).

His first career choice was to join the military, but after being rejected three times due to poor eyesight, he gave up on that dream. His next idea was to learn Russian fluently in order to fight Japan's enemy, which, in the 1870s and 1880s, was seen as the greatest threat to the country (Walker 1979: 30-1; Jones & Inouye 2017: 299).

When Futabatei joined Russian classes at the Tokyo Foreign Language School, he soon discovered another path. He could follow in the footsteps of Russian writers who dedicated their lives to addressing social problems and political conditions. He believed this would be the best way to serve his nation (Walker 1979: 30-1; Jones & Inouye 2017: 299).

Futabatei's samurai heritage and exposure to Russian literature shaped his unique persona and outlook on life. In the context of his relationship with Bronisław, it is said that Futabatei believed Russian socialists should be supported, while Japan should assert dominance over Manchuria. On the other hand, Bronisław expressed to Futabatei his sadness that Japan had begun

pursuing imperialistic policies towards other nations, and he pitied Korea, which was one of its targets (Sawada 2021: 198).

Futabatei's views on the issues of Russia and Manchuria reveal a deeper meaning and complexity within his personality. One of the famous quotes from *Yo-ga hansei-no zange* ('confessions of the first half of my life', *Bunshō Sekai* 1908) by Futabatei states:

"My life is torn between two opposite poles: my innate passion for imperialistic patriotism and my socialist ideals. I alternate constantly between these two and am unable, even now, to free myself from that anguish" (trans. by Irokawa 1985: 216).

Futabatei's state of mind reflected Japan's significant shift from a feudal mentality to the discovery of individualism, which was also evident in literature. Romanticism and naturalism experienced a boom in Japan at a time when they were declining in Europe. Those who explored these movements for the first time were the pioneers and founders of Meiji culture (*ibid.* 73).

And the most prominent role was played by Futabatei, with his widely discussed and pioneering work, *Ukigumo* (first published Tōkyō: Kinkōdō 1887–8, eng. *Floating clouds*) – "the first modern Japanese novel" written in a colloquial style. In line with the spirit of *gembun itchi*, which advocated for the unification of written and spoken language, *Ukigumo* marked a significant cultural shift. Many Japanese at the time believed that the strength of European culture lay in the similarity between written and spoken forms of language (Jones & Inouye 2017: 52; Ueda 2021: 16-7).

Even the narrator in *Ukigumo* is considered unique. Sometimes described as a "disappearing narrator" or "non-person narrator", it may have been influenced not by foreign literature, but by popular comic reportage written in *kambun fūzokushi*⁵⁰ from the late Edo and early Meiji periods. Others argue that the insight and internal dialogue of the characters in *Ukigumo* resemble Dostoevsky's Raskolnikov from *Crime and punishment*, a novel that Futabatei openly admired for its psychological depth (Kamei & Bourdaghs 2002: ix-xxv; Walker 1979: 30).

In any case, the literary work introduced a new kind of self-awareness. The changes included elements that are obvious in contemporary literature, such as

⁵⁰ In this term, *kambun* refers to classical Chinese used in Japan, while *fūzokushi* refers to everyday life and daily activities. *Kambun fūzokushi*, or "reports on customs and manners written in kambun", were satirical takes on everyday life, popular at the end of the Edo period and the beginning of the Meiji era.

a shift from the present-tense narration of late-Edo *gesaku*⁵¹ to past-tense, with speech patterns representing not only intellectuals but also modern, educated women and female students. The use of *da* at the end of sentences was a deliberate choice, as there was an ongoing debate about whether sentences should end with the short form *da*, *de aru*, or *masu, desu* (Kamei & Bourdaghs 2002: xviii; Jones & Inouye 2017: 52).

During Futabatei's time, the life of a man of letters in Japan was difficult, as writing did not provide a steady income. Some interesting revelations regarding Bronisław's financial situation during his stay in Japan include his decision to decline an offer for a teaching position and his reportedly unsuccessful attempt to sell *Hiranosui* mineral water, as noted by Futabatei's daughter, Setsu, in her recollections (Sawada 2021: 198, 255).

This surprising topic requires further research, but it seems plausible. For instance, naturalist writer Hōmei Iwano (cf. Section 4.14), in an effort to make a living, explored various business ventures, including managing a tenant house, a lumber company, and a fishing enterprise. It was also a time of crisis in the teaching profession (cf. Yokoyama's famous survey in Section 4.2), where even the highest-rated teachers earned only around 10-20 yen a month (Jones & Inouye 2017: 51). Considering Bronisław's past unfulfilled desire to manage Zułów better than his father and save the property from being sold (cf. Section 2.2), it is possible that he declined the offer to teach and instead wanted to pursue a business venture. However, given that many writers were seeking alternative ways to make a living at the time, it is also possible that Setsu may have confused Bronisław with another person.

Another way for writers to escape financial hardship was to be hired as journalists by newspapers and journals. Newspapers also began hiring distinguished novelists to serialise their works daily, which contributed to the fame of some of the best-selling authors (Jones & Inouye 2017: 51).

Needless to say, there was a reason for Futabatei to work as a journalist at *Asahi Shimbun* from 1904. Writer Sōseki Natsume⁵² earned 200 yen⁵³ from his work there. Although Futabatei was not considered a particularly wealthy author, he knew Russian and could translate literature that society was

⁵¹ Japanese popular entertainment literature, widely read during the Edo period by the urban middle class.

⁵² Sōseki Natsume, born Kin'nosuke Natsume, was a writer, journalist, and professor of English literature at Tokyo Imperial University. One of Japan's greatest writers, he perfected the modern novel form, first developed by Futabatei. His most famous and widely read works include: *Wagahai-wa neko-de aru* (*I am a cat*, Tōkyō: Shunyōdō 1905), *Bocchan* (Tōkyō: Shunyōdō 1906) and *Kokoro* (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten 1914).

⁵³ The purchasing power of 1 yen during the Meiji period can be compared to that of 20,000 yen (around 132 USD) today.

interested in (*ibid.*). A journalist was also someone who could be present during significant historical moments.

And so, on August 1, 2, and 4 of 1905, Futabatei published a series of articles in *Asahi Shimbun* titled *Rokoku kakumeitō* ('Russian revolutionary parties'). In these articles, he informed readers about the three most influential Russian parties, as well as the existence of regional revolutionary parties in Finland, Poland, and Georgia (Sawada 2021: 198).

Because of Futabatei's first-hand experience with Russia and its political situation, he became an intermediary between Bronisław and Japan, connecting him to various aspects of Japanese life, including political movements such as Japanese socialism. He introduced Bronisław to the *Shinkigen* magazine community (cf. Section 4.3), which Bronisław subsequently subscribed to. Together, they visited Saburō Shimada⁵⁴ in an attempt to sell 100 acres of Nicholas Russel's⁵⁵ Hawaiian property. The hidden agenda behind this was to use the proceeds from the sale to form an army out of Russian soldiers who had fled to Japan after the Russo-Japanese War. At that time, there were Russian prisoners of war in Kumamoto and a Russian community in Kobe and Nagasaki (Sawada 2021: 167, 188, 199-200; 215-6; Majewicz 2020: 103).

The two also wanted to find out if Japan was planning to deport Russian prisoners of war, as Russia had requested such cooperation. However, they learned it was not going to happen, and Bronisław was satisfied (Sawada 2021: 200-1).

In 1902, Futabatei served as an advisor to a private company and, during this time, visited Vladivostok for a month, although he primarily stayed in Harbin and Beijing, China. While in Vladivostok, he sought out Russian revolutionary books and magazines to collect and also developed an interest in Esperanto. Later, he subscribed to three Russian revolutionary and cultural magazines through *Asahi Shimbun*: *Iskra*, *Novaya Zhizn'*, and *Revolyutsionnaya Rossiya*. In July 1906, he received from Bronisław a copy of *Antologiya izdatel'stva Znaniye* (Anthology of the Knowledge Publishing House), featuring the greatest Russian writers of the time (*ibid.* 199, 203-4).

⁵⁴ Saburō Shimada was a Japanese politician and journalist, a member of the Imperial Diet, and the editor-in-chief of *Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun*. He supported the abolition of prostitution and called for an investigation into the conditions at the Ashio Copper Mine.

⁵⁵ Nikolay Konstantinovich Sudzilovskiy, also known as Nicholas Russel, was a Russian socialist and physician. He completed his medical studies at Bucharest University. He maintained contact with Bronisław, particularly during his time in Japan. While in Japan, Russel visited Russian prisoners of war and promoted socialism among them. The USA revoked his citizenship at the request of Russia, likely due to his involvement in the Home Rule Party of Hawaii, which opposed the annexation of Hawaii by the USA (Majewicz 2020: 103).

Futabatei took the initiative to publish Japanese novels and short stories in Russian. He sent his own translation of Ōgai Mori's⁵⁶ *Maihime* (*Kokumin-no Tomo* 1890) to the magazine *Vostok*, which was published in January and February of 1908. He likely also submitted the same translation to *Volya*, a magazine published in Japan by the Russian Narodnik revolutionary community. Additionally, he planned to send an English translation of Naoe Kinoshita's (cf. Section 4.3) *Ryōjin-no jihaku* (*Mainichi Shimbun* 1904–5) and some classic Japanese works, but they did not attract *Volya's* interest (*ibid.* 210).

The one who showed the most interest in an intellectual, cultural, and literary exchange with Futabatei was Bronisław. This became a key point of connection between the two men, as Futabatei, for example, did not show much interest in Bronisław's Ainu research. Together, they formed the “Society Poland-Japan” (cf. 4.1.1). The society was intended to be a large-scale project, involving the participation of prominent Polish writers. Bronisław greatly cherished the idea of Futabatei being responsible for translating Polish literature into Japanese. In one of his articles from the series *Iz Yaponii* (‘from Japan’) for PLDV, issue 20, dated July 11, 1906, Bronisław noted that there was no better translator of Gorky or any other Russian writer than Futabatei. Indeed, Bronisław himself wrote to Gorky, recommending Futabatei's translation abilities. He also sent Futabatei *Poyedinok* (S.-Peterburg: Sbornike Tovarishchestva ‘Znaniye’, eng. *The duel*) a novel by Aleksandr I. Kuprin – a Russian realistic writer, published by Gorky's literary circles. Kuprin dedicated the novel to Gorky (Ciesielska 1994: 98; 119-20).

After Futabatei's premature death in 1909, in an interview with Bodzanta for the magazine *Świat* (‘the world’), dated March 19, 1910, accompanied by an obituary titled “Shigi Hasegawa”, Bronisław recalled that Futabatei was a great man of letters who could have come to Poland to build a bridge between Polish and Japanese cultures, and that he was lost all too soon (Majewicz 2020: 137-141, 304-6; Sawada 2021: 204, 279, 345-6).

With this in mind, setting literary work and business aside, Futabatei was Bronisław's closest friend in Japan. They corresponded frequently, and the most comprehensive source on this subject is Ciesielska (1994). It is a compilation of letters exchanged between Futabatei and Bronisław from April 5, 1906 (Tokyo) to June 1, 1909 (Lviv), along with their Polish translations, accompanied by extensive footnotes.

Both men experienced significant historical changes and witnessed the beginning of a new era – Futabatei saw the transition from the shogunate

⁵⁶ Mori Ōgai, born Rintarō Mori, was a military doctor trained in Germany who became a highly respected novelist, critic, and translator. He is known for his literary work and for translating Western authors, including Goethe and Andersen. Bronisław considered the possibility of Mori translating Polish literature into Japanese using the available German versions, and he wrote to Futabatei about this idea (Ciesielska 1994: 264).

to a central government, while Bronisław experienced the shift from Russification to the emergence of newly defined nations. It is no surprise that they found a common language.

When Bronisław was leaving Japan, Futabatei bid him farewell in Yokohama. Prior to that, they took a commemorative photo together on June 19, 1906, at a studio in Tokyo called *Nakaguro*. Futabatei is mentioned in Bronisław's notes regarding an anticipated earthquake, as a dear friend whom Bronisław wished to visit 15 minutes before the expected event. Bronisław was also candid in letters from Chicago to Futabatei, expressing that, despite its imperialism, Japan was better than the liberal yet crude United States. Additionally, revolutionary magazines sent from Brooklyn to Waseda University indicate that Bronisław continued to stay in touch with Futabatei after leaving Japan (Sawada 2021: 242, 292-3, 300-2; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/122; 392; Majewicz 2020: 313-8).

Bronisław also arranged for Futabatei to publish in *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, and the editors were impressed by his command of Russian, which they rated as far better than Bronisław's. His article was also set to appear in the Polish magazine *Sfinx*, translated into Polish by Bronisław. However, in the end, Futabatei never contributed to either publication, even when asked to submit versions of his well-known works *Sono omokage* (*Asahi Shimbun* 1906) and *Heibon* (*Asahi Shimbun* 1907) (Sawada 2021: 337-9; Ciesielska 1994: 264, 273-6).

Later, when Futabatei arrived in St. Petersburg as a correspondent for *Asahi Shimbun* from July 2, 1908, to March 23, 1909, he visited the *Russkoye Bogatstvo* office and attended the play *Black Masks*⁵⁷ with Maria Żarnowska (the love of Bronisław's life), her sister Zofia Bejnar (Bronisław's teenage sweetheart), and their cousin, Piotrowska. Even during this time, Futabatei worked diligently and wrote a review of the play for *Asahi Shimbun* (Sawada 2021: 343).

Tragically, not long after, Futabatei died of pneumonia, which developed into tuberculosis. With his passing, Bronisław's strongest connection to Japan was severed (*ibid.* 344).

4.1.1. "Society Poland-Japan"

Bronisław, together with Futabatei, started the "Society Poland-Japan" for mutual cultural exchange and the translation of novels and literature – an initiative of great importance in times of colonisation, military conflicts, and partitioned Poland.

⁵⁷ The author of the play was the Russian expressionist playwright Leonid N. Andreyev.

In letters to Futabatei, Bronisław mentions sending him two books and short stories by Waław Sieroszewski, a book about Poland by Leon Wasilewski,⁵⁸ and texts from other prominent Polish authors such as Adam Szymański, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Adam Mickiewicz,⁵⁹ Władysław Smoleński,⁶⁰ Stefan Żeromski (cf. 5.1.6), Andrzej Niemojewski, Maria Konopnicka, and Bolesław Prus. He also mentions contacting Eliza Orzeszkowa and Gustaw Daniłowski in order to gather materials from them (Ciesielska 1994: 188, 203, 227, 238, 265).

Moreover, Bronisław sent Futabatei a questionnaire about Poland, hoping that it would be filled out by important Japanese politicians such as Ōkuma or Shimada (cf. 4.1; 4.16).

Bronisław inquired multiple times about when Futabatei would finish his latest novels. He was eager to have them translated into Polish. About one of them, he wrote: “I am very interested in the novel you were writing still in my presence and for which I went with you to Fukuda” (Ciesielska 1994: 202).

On another occasion, Bronisław also asked: “How is Ms Fukuda doing?” (*ibid.* 174). Both Bronisław and Futabatei were acquainted with Hideko

⁵⁸ Leon Wasilewski, the first Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs and a close associate of Józef Piłsudski, wrote mainly about the political and historical aspects of Poland and its eastern borders. Bronisław was interested in creating a friendly, mutual relationship between Poland and Lithuania, so he probably sent the book to Futabatei in order to share the idea of what the future of Poland might have looked like. There is no direct mention of which book about Poland Bronisław sent to Futabatei, but in another letter from 21 November 1907, Bronisław mentions sending additional material by Wasilewski, entitled *Współczesna Galicja* (‘contemporary Galicia’).

⁵⁹ It was *Konrad Wallenrod. Powieść historyczna z dziejów litewskich i pruskich* (‘Konrad Wallenrod: a historical novel from the Lithuanian and Prussian chronicles’), first published in 1828, Petersburg: drukarnia J. W. H. Plieta i Kompanii.

⁶⁰ Bronisław sent to Futabatei *Dzieje narodu polskiego* (Warszawa: drukarnia Granowskiego i Sikorskiego 1898). The book has an official Russian translation, *Istoriya pol'skago naroda* (S.-Peterburg: izdanie Knizhnago magazina “Uchebnoe Delo” 1910), signed by Władysław Grabieński, which was Smoleński’s pen name. Thus, it can be assumed that Smoleński himself translated his book for Futabatei. A recent reprint comes from 2006 (Minsk: Minskaya fabrika tsvetnoy pechati).

Fukuda⁶¹ and they most likely engaged Fukuda in the process of Futabatei's writing. Fukuda, on the other hand, was supported by Futabatei in her editorial work for *Sekai Fujin* and planned to include in the magazine a special space to promote the activities of the Poland-Japan Society (Pietrykowski 1994: 78-9).

The novel referred to in Bronisław's letter was probably *Chasengami*⁶² (serialised in 1905 in *Yomiuri Shimbun*). The novel's main heroine was a woman widowed by the Russo-Japanese War, in which she lost her husband. She tries to rebuild her happiness with another man, but all she faces is pain and scrutiny. With this novel, Futabatei tried to side with women hurt by war. The theme of the Russo-Japanese War must have been very interesting for Bronisław.

In a later letter, Bronisław asked Futabatei about new novels at a time when the latter was engaged in work on *Heibon* and *Sono omokage*.

Bronisław inquired Futabatei about the second part of Naoe Kinoshita's *Ryōjin-no jihaku*, since the first, he reported, had already been translated into Polish. From Futabatei he received Mori Ōgai's *Maihime*, but he informed Futabatei that multiple magazine editors considered it too boring to be published. Bronisław also assured his friend that poems by Ichiyō Higuchi⁶³ were in the process of being translated (Ciesielska 1994: 120, 189, 202, 265).

Bronisław was aware that Sienkiewicz's *Quo vadis*⁶⁴ and another story by the same author, *Dwóch artystów* ('the two artists'), had already been published in Japan by the time he began working on the establishment of the Poland-Japan Society. He gathered information about Japanese Polish-

⁶¹ Hideko Fukuda, born Hideko Kageyama, was a Japanese feminist and socialist. Her journey as an activist began in 1885 when she joined the radical revolutionary liberal movement of *Jiyūtō* ('Liberal Party'), which gathered bombs and weapons for planned attacks in Korea to support Korean liberals in their efforts for change. The arrest of over 60 revolution supporters later became known as the *Ōsaka jiken* ('Osaka incident'). Fukuda was the only woman involved and was sentenced to 18 months in prison. This brought her into the spotlight of newspapers and into the male-dominated socialist movement, where she became an important role model for the women who followed in her footsteps (Ushioda 1977: 9-12).

⁶² *Chasengami* was a hairstyle worn by widows in the Edo period – a short ponytail with its end brushed slightly dishevelled to resemble a traditional bamboo tea whisk.

⁶³ Ichiyō Higuchi was one of the first female poets of modern Japanese literature. She died at the young age of 24, leaving behind an abundant collection of poems and short stories. She is featured on the 5,000 yen banknote.

⁶⁴ *Quo vadis* (Warszawa–Kraków–Lwów: Gebethner i Wolff 1896) was first translated into Japanese as *Doko-ni yuku* (Kawasaki: Shōbundō 1905–6) by Takeshi Matsumoto, a Japanese scholar of Christian literature and one of the founders of today's Shōwa Women's University.

speakers, intercultural marriages, and more, in order to find a suitable translator for Polish stories and classics (*ibid.* 171).

In 1908, Niemojewski's "Kocham" and Prus's "Michałko" were translated into Japanese by Futabatei, and published in the Japanese feminist magazine *Sekai Fujin* ('women of the world', *ibid.* 126; cf. 4.6).

4.1.1.1. Andrzej Niemojewski

A detailed analysis of Futabatei's translation of Niemojewski's short narration "Kocham" into "Ai"⁶⁵ ('I love'), was previously published in Kurzawińska (2019).

"Kocham" was first published in a compilation entitled *Listopad* ('November', Niemojewski 1896), together with stories regarding the hardships of physical workers.

The short narration presents the existential pain of the narrator, most likely due to losing his home country to invaders. However, the disappointment goes beyond longing for one's homeland. It is a story about the evanescence of childhood, youth, and hopes – replaced by an adulthood filled with sadness, pain, and the pointlessness of life, which ultimately ends in senility and resignation.

Although the Polish version stresses the inner struggle of the narrator, the Japanese wording emphasises his misery, melancholy, and the passing of things. Futabatei's translation also seems to underline the reality of a lost homeland, as if it were imaginable to the Polish reader of the original, but needed to be explained for a reader perceiving the text from a different historical and cultural background.

4.1.1.2. Bolesław Prus

"Michałko"⁶⁶ is a short realistic story by Bolesław Prus, the most recognised Polish author of the Positivist period.

Michałko, the protagonist, is a village boy with nowhere to go, so he decides to take a train to Warsaw. There, he finds work at a construction site and meets a girl he begins to care for. The girl is often abused by a journeyman. Michałko

⁶⁵ In: Futabatei Shimei 1985. *Futabatei Shimei zenshū dai san kan* ['the collected works of Futabatei Shimei, volume 3']. Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō. pp. 493–5.
二葉亭四迷 1985. 二葉亭四迷全集第三卷. 東京：筑摩書房.

⁶⁶ First published in magazine *Kurier Warszawski* 234–6, 1880.

works twice as hard to complete not only his own tasks but also hers, and he supports her financially.

Each time the girl receives money from Michałko, she gives it to the journeyman. Michałko cannot understand her loyalty to her abuser. Eventually, he realises that the girl was in love with the journeyman and that the construction workers had been mocking him all along for his naïveté toward her. The girl leaves with the journeyman, never to be seen again by the protagonist.

The Polish story continues with other episodes about Michałko, but Futabatei's Japanese translation, entitled *Muku-no Mihairo*⁶⁷ ('Mihairo the bumpkin'), ends with the scene in which the girl leaves for good. The focus was placed on the episode featuring the girl, perhaps due to the fact that the story was published in *Sekai Fujin*, a magazine targeting a Japanese female audience.

One sentence by Futabatei seems to underline a difference in gender-based behaviour in Poland and Japan. The original text stresses that "the girl went out to town with others, including the journeyman".⁶⁸ However, the Japanese translation states that "the girl returned to somewhere with other girls, and sometimes with the journeyman"⁶⁹ as if there was an interpretation that a girl should usually team up with other girls for social reasons.

Michałko bought bread and soup for the girl. Some regionally recognised food, like borscht, was replaced with "something warm" in the Japanese version. Additionally, the price was adjusted to Japanese reality, with the currency presented in *zeni* – Japanese coins of lower value than 1 yen.

The most important translation omissions occur in scenes with the journeyman. In the original, the journeyman is visibly abusive toward the girl – he advises Michałko that such girls need to be "beaten up and treated like a dog"⁷⁰ to make them behave as one wants, and even threatens to kill the girl. Despite such brutal statements, the girl follows him after work.

In the Japanese version, none of this brutality is reflected. Michałko does not know that the girl left work following the journeyman's orders. He experiences loneliness after her disappearance, but he never learns about her relationship with the journeyman. The journeyman yells, "Are you coming with me or not?" in a harsh manner, but no other derogatory statements are made, and the physical brutality is not as apparent.

⁶⁷ In: Futabatei Shimei 1985. *Futabatei Shimei zenshū dai san kan* ['the collected works of Futabatei Shimei, volume 3']. Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, pp. 496–8.
二葉亭四迷 1985. 二葉亭四迷全集第三卷. 東京：筑摩書房.

⁶⁸ Prus, Bolesław 1919. *Michałko*. Warszawa: M. Brzeziński, p. 7.

⁶⁹ Futabatei 1985: 496–8.

⁷⁰ Prus 1919: 10.

The story could have been received in a simplified version by Futabatei, but it might also have been censored and slightly re-written by him or his editors. Many translation theories stress the role of the translator in relocating the traditional meaning to a new culture and space. Cultural mediation theory assumes that the translator is a mediator between cultures, who translates not only language, but also values into the other language. Skopos theory underlines the fact that a translation has an assigned aim for which it is produced.

The aim of the Japanese translation might have been to present Michałko's poverty, underline his low social standing and lack of education, and at the same time show his spontaneous acts of kindness toward the girl – while preventing readers from exposure to violence. On the other hand, it focuses on Michałko's melancholy, which is an emotion often expressed in Japanese aesthetics.

While there are visible differences between the original text and its translation, the translation itself is a rare example of Polish-Japanese literary cooperation in the 19th century.

4.1.1.3. Pyotr Sergeyevich Polivanov

One of the stories Bronisław sent to Futabatei, which was successfully translated into Japanese, was “Konchilsya” (‘he died’, translated to Japanese as *Shishi-no makki*) by Pyotr Sergeyevich Polivanov (CWBP 1: 31).

Polivanov was a young Russian revolutionary and a member of *Narodnaya Volya*. He was arrested for murdering a policeman while attempting to free his friend Novitsky from Saratov Prison. In 1882, he was sentenced to death by a military court, but the sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment – first in the Alexeyevsky Ravelin of the Peter and Paul Fortress, and later in the Shlisselburg Fortress.⁷¹

In jail, Polivanov experienced severe trauma, extreme starvation, and torture. He was later sentenced to Siberian exile, from which he escaped to France and joined the Socialist Revolutionary Party. He was supposed to participate in the assassination of Vyacheslav K. Plehve, the Russian Empire's Minister of the Interior and Director of the Secret Police, but after years in prison, he was

⁷¹ Polivanov, Pyotr S. 1903. “Konchilsya”. Tipografiya Partii Sotsialistov-Revolutsionerov.

Поливанов, Петр С. 1903. “Кончился”. Типография Партии Социалистов-Революционеров.

no longer mentally capable of carrying out revolutionary actions. He committed suicide by shooting himself in the head in 1903.⁷²

“Konchilsya” is dedicated to the memory of Polivanov’s “dear and young” friends, who died in the Aleksandrovsk Central Penal Labour Colony between 1829 and 1884. It is a story of carrying out the assassination duty of a revolutionary.

For Futabatei, who was interested in Russian revolutionary movements, the story must have been very informative about the conditions under which Russian revolutionary prisoners were held.

Polivanov was said to have been open to people of different nationalities, and to have possessed knowledge of foreign languages, such as Spanish, German, French, and Italian (*ibid.*). This characteristic resembles that of multilingual Japanese socialists, who acquired new languages while in prison.

4.1.1.4. Futabatei in Polish

As mentioned in 4.1.1, Bronisław often inquired about the status of Futabatei’s novels, as he was very eager to translate them into Polish. However, a translation of Futabatei’s most well-known book, *Sono omokage*, was published only a few years after both Bronisław’s and Futabatei’s deaths.

It appeared under the title *Ster na lewo: powieść japońska* (‘helm to port: a Japanese novel’, Warszawa: Księgarnia Perzyński, Niklewicz i S-ka 1925), translated by Halina Borowikowa, a female translator known under the nickname Jerzy Marlicz, who was also a specialist on the American writer, James Oliver Curwood. She had previously translated his adventure novels and even wrote a sequel to them, titled *Łowcy przygód* (‘adventurers’, Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha 1932).

Borowikowa also translated another Japanese novel, titled *Nami-ko: powieść* (‘Nami-ko: a novel’, Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha 1924). Its author is listed as “Kenzyro Tukotomi”, which was meant to refer to the Japanese writer Kenjirō Tokutomi, who published under the pen name “Tokutomi Roka”.

Another two-volume edition of *Nami-ko* (Warszawa: s.n. 1905) was translated from English by Emilia Węśławska. The original title of the novel was *Hototogisu* (‘the cuckoo’, serialised in *Kokumin Shimbun* 1898–9, book edition Tōkyō: Min’yūsha 1900).

“Namiko” is the name of the novel’s main heroine. She is happily married to a military man named Isao. However, one day she contracts deadly tuberculosis,

⁷² Rumyantsev, Vyacheslav 2000. “Pyotr Sergeyevich Polivanov”. Khronos [on-line biographical entries]. http://www.hrono.ru/biograf/bio_p/polivanov_ps.php.
Румянцев, Вячеслав 2000. “Поливанов, Петр Сергеевич”. Хронос.

which leads to the couple's divorce. After that, Isao is dispatched to fight in the First Sino-Japanese War, which highlights the tragedy of those turbulent times. The novel criticises the position of women in Japanese society, but also shows how war and illness can bring tragedy, breaking entire families.

4.1.1.5. Esperanto

One more motif in Futabatei's biography brings him closer to Poland: his sincere interest in Esperanto. The language was created by Ludwik Zamenhof, a Polish ophthalmologist of Jewish origin, with the aim of establishing one universal language, easy to learn for anyone.

Futabatei was a member of the Russian Esperanto Association and the author of Japan's first textbook on Esperanto, entitled *Sekaigo* ('the international language', Tōkyō: Saiunkaku 1906), designed for practising grammar, reading, and writing.

Futabatei wrote an essay entitled *Esperanto-no hanashi* ('talks about Esperanto', 1906), in which he mentioned Dr. Zamenhof from Poland as the creator of Esperanto and noted that a previous attempt at an international language, Volapük, had failed because it was not intuitive enough to use. Futabatei recognised that many nations would prefer their own language to be chosen as the international one, and therefore none should be.⁷³

Futabatei first learned Esperanto in Vladivostok, and later, while in Beijing, he received a letter in Esperanto from Paris, probably sent by a French Esperanto association. He also received a postcard from Mexico while he was in Japan, with someone asking to exchange letters in Esperanto (*ibid.*).

Futabatei recommended Esperanto, noting that it had only around 16 grammar rules and approximately 1,000 word roots. Among the works translated into Esperanto, he mentioned *Hamlet* by Shakespeare, *A Christmas carol* by Dickens, poetry by Heine and Goethe, as well as works by Byron, Pushkin, Tolstoy, and Turgenev. Futabatei expected that within 50 years, Esperanto would become a compulsory subject in schools around the world (*ibid.*)

Since Esperanto tended to take on the characteristics of its speakers, Futabatei hoped that, with the help of others, they could create a version of Esperanto with a distinctly Japanese character (*ibid.*).

Futabatei's essay demonstrated his enthusiasm for Esperanto. At the same time, it might also have served as an advertisement for his Esperanto textbook.

⁷³ Futabatei Shimei 1971. "Esperanto-no hanashi" ['talks about Esperanto']. Reprint in: *Gendai nihon bungaku taikei 1: seiji shōsetsu, Tsubouchi Shōyō, Futabatei Shimei*. Tōkyō: Chikuba Shobō. https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/000006/files/46659_25721.html.

二葉亭四迷 1971. エスペラントの話. 現代日本文学大系 1. 政治小説・坪内逍遙・二葉亭四迷集.

4.2. Gennosuke Yokoyama

Gennosuke Yokoyama (1871 Uozu–1915 Tokyo) collected materials from Bronisław regarding Russian revolutionaries for his journalistic research.

Yokoyama was a Japanese “poverty journalist”, who focused on documenting the life of the *hinmin*⁷⁴, the poor strata of society. He was the author of several books on social inequality, including *Nihon-no kasō shakai* (‘the lower strata of Japanese society’, Tōkyō: Kyōbunkan 1899) and *Naichi zakkyōgo-no Nihon* (‘Japan after the lifting of restrictions on mixed residence in the mainland’, Tokyo: Rōdō Shimbunsha 1899).

Yokoyama came from a poor background himself. He was the son of an unmarried fisherman and a housemaid. At times, he slept at friends’ homes, Buddhist temples, and flophouses (Huffman 2018: 174).

He joined *Mainichi Shimbun* in 1894 at the age of 24 and began documenting various social injustices, including life in the slums of Tokyo and Osaka, working conditions at the Ashio Copper Mine and Japanese textile factories, and the lives of Japanese emigrants in Korea. His goal was to give visibility to the nameless citizens, in contrast to the prevailing trend of focusing only on those with status or recognition (Huffman 2019: 211).

During the Meiji period, female textile workers walked through the snow in straw sandals to the mills for work. The primary goal was for the girls to remain there until summer, giving their families one less mouth to feed. The workers stayed in dormitories that were locked at night, with metal screens on the windows to prevent escape, effectively turning them into prisons. Despite these conditions, some women still attempted to flee. Yokoyama interviewed these girls and wrote about the experiences of women in Japan’s factory labour force (Sievers 1983: 54-66, 206).

It is important to note that Yokoyama’s works are not a glorification of the poor. He often criticised their spending habits on food and drinks, including alcohol, as well as their laziness and poor character. There was a prevailing belief that poverty was the result of an individual’s irresponsibility (Huffman 2019: 218-9, 228).

In 1899, Yokoyama conducted a famous survey of Tokyo’s lower classes, which revealed that schoolteachers earned less than middle-class labourers (13 yen compared to 16.25 yen). It was a time of great demand for teachers, yet the profession was experiencing a severe crisis. Due to the shortage

⁷⁴ Due to the similarity in names, a distinction must be made. *Hinmin* 貧民 in Japanese means “the poor”, whereas *hinin* 非人 refers to a social outcast, someone who worked in a role viewed negatively, such as a beggar, street performer, or body-burier. Additionally, there were the *burakumin* 部落民, whose ancestors held jobs considered dirty in Japanese society, such as executioner, butcher, or leather tanner. Yokoyama’s interest was in the *hinmin*, which could, in part, include *hinin* and *burakumin*.

of educators, those who were brought in to teach children were often unprepared, working on temporary contracts, and required to move from region to region or switch to another profession (Gluck 1985: 151-2).

Yokoyama also noted the lack of solidarity among factory workers and advocated for them to form a unified front and strike more actively to defend their rights and support each other (Huffman 2018: 165-6).

Yokoyama's mission as a poverty journalist was the factor that convinced Futabatei (cf. Section 4.1) it would be a good idea to introduce him to Bronisław Piłsudski, who also shared a deep concern for the weak and marginalised. This judgment proved correct, as the moment Bronisław heard about the *burakumin*, he went to Kameoka-chō in Asakusa to see for himself how these people were living (Sawada 2021: 206; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/57).

Yokoyama first met Bronisław on an early spring day in 1906, in the presence of Futabatei. The meeting took place at the Fukuryūkan Guest House in the Hongō District, where Yokoyama was living at the time. During their conversation, Bronisław asked Yokoyama why Japanese researchers ignored the Ainu. Yokoyama interpreted this as an indication that Bronisław did not view the Ainu merely as research subjects, but rather approached them with the humanitarian perspective of a social activist (Sawada 2021: 205; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/56).

Interestingly, Bronisław was not the first Pole to inquire in Japan about their policies concerning the northern regions, now known as Hokkaido, and their plans for addressing them. In fact, more than a hundred years before Bronisław's arrival in Japan, another Polish exile (born in Hungary) came to Japan in 1771 and warned the Japanese that Russia was planning to attack from the north and subjugate the nation in the near future (Linkhoeva 2020: 15).

This person was Maurycy Beniowski, a magnate from the Kingdom of Hungary and Poland. He escaped his Siberian exile in Kamchatka and began traveling across Asia and other parts of the world (Kamchatka, Japan, China, Argentina, France, Madagascar). His adventures inspired many literary works, two of which are connected to figures frequently mentioned in this thesis. The first is Juliusz Słowacki, who composed a digressive poem titled *Beniowski* (1841). The second is none other than Wacław Sieroszewski, who wrote a novel of the same title, *Beniowski* (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze w Warszawie 1916) (Linkhoeva 2020: 15; Nicholson 1904: vii).

And so, through Beniowski's case, Japan began to realise that Russia was a vast empire, distinct from the rest of Europe and Asia, and capable of posing a threat from the north (*hoppō-no kyōi*). In response, Japan began exploring the northern territories, assessing their possessions and defences, especially after Russia requested trade in 1778 and made its presence felt on Sakhalin. At the time, Japan's knowledge of Russia was largely based on books from China and the Netherlands (Linkhoeva 2020: 15-7).

The government was less concerned about a direct attack on Japan and more worried that Russian influence in the East would lead to the loss of Ainu lands, which Japan considered its own, protected by the Matsumae clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate (cf. Section 5.2; *ibid.*).

This way, twice in history, Japan was reminded of its neglect of the north by Polish Siberian exiles.

Yokoyama, a student of Futabatei, can be described as having observed the bond between Futabatei and Bronisław both as a bystander and a curious journalist. He recorded Futabatei's belief that Russian socialists needed support in the transformation of Russia. Yokoyama also witnessed Ōkuma stating that Siberia should become a republic, independent from the Russian Empire (cf. information regarding Potanin in Section 5.2). Additionally, he noted Futabatei's regret for having supported the Russian revolutionaries, as he realised they were driven more by theory and idealism than by practical skills and leadership (Sawada 2021: 198, 201-2; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 53-5).

Bronisław was different. He feared revolution and remained supportive of the movement only because it was the only path he knew. He may not have fit into the brutal realities of Galician politics or the forceful nature of revolution, but when removed from the Polish and Russian contexts, he was the most original and thought-provoking of them all. Delicate and kind, childlike in his enthusiasm yet grayed from stress and burdened by his experiences, he was fascinating to interact with from an intercultural perspective. Spontaneous and emotional, when he realised he was returning to his homeland, he went to Futabatei's house and cried tears of joy (Sawada 2021: 203, 205; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 57).

Furthermore, Bronisław had connections to the Russian literary world, which was highly appealing. At that time, Russian-language education in Japan was just beginning. The first language courses and textbooks were provided by archimandrite Nikolay, though these focused on religious practice and the teachings of the Russian Orthodox Church (cf. Section 4.7). Later, the Tokyo Foreign Language School opened, offering a secular approach to Russian studies, attracting students who wanted to learn the language outside of a religious context, drawing them away from Nikolay. Then came Futabatei, Japan's greatest specialist in Russian studies. There was no better source of books, magazines, and cultural, political, and historical information for him than the Russian community in Japan – particularly the Russian revolutionaries from Tokyo and Nagasaki (Sawada 2021: 203; Fukuyasu 2014: 21-36).

Yokoyama also seized the opportunity and used information from Bronisław for two articles during his journalistic career. The first was a biography of

Lyudmila Volkenshteyn,⁷⁵ *Rokoku kakumei fujin* ('the Russian female revolutionary'), published in April 1906 in the magazine *Jogaku Sekai* ('schoolgirl world'). The second was a biography of Nikolay Russel titled *Raiyūchū-no Hawaii satō ō. Rokoku kakumeitō-no kinshu* ('the Hawaiian sugar king visiting Japan. Patron of Russian revolutionaries'), first published in *Shōgyōkai* ('world of commerce') (Sawada 2021: 206-7; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 57-8).

Both articles were later revised and published in Yokoyama's book *Bonjin hibonjin* ('ordinary men and extraordinary men', Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1911) under slightly different titles: *Hōdan-ni taoretaru fujin* ('a woman killed by bullets') and *Rokoku-no bōmei kyaku* ('Russian émigré'). Yokoyama also asked Bronisław to write an introduction to one of his books, *Kaigai katsudō-no Nihonjin* ('Japanese engagement in overseas activities', Shōkadō 1906), but Bronisław declined out of humility (Sawada 2021: 206-7; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 57-8).

4.3. Naoe Kinoshita

Naoe Kinoshita (1869 Matsumoto–1937 Tokyo), a friend of Futabatei Shimei, was active in the same socialist circles in Tokyo as Bronisław.

Kinoshita was a Japanese Christian writer, journalist, lawyer, and critic of the Russo-Japanese War. Along with his colleagues, he co-founded the Japanese Social Democratic Party (*Shakai minshūtō*) on May 22, 1901. However, the party was banned by the state on the very day it was established (Stanley 1982: 36-7).

In 1896, floods from the Watarase River, containing chemical compounds including arsenic and zinc, ruined 84,000 acres of land, inflicted 90 villages, destroyed 16,470 homes and left more than 7,000 fishermen without jobs. It was the pollution from the Ashio Copper Mine, which at the time produced one-third of Japan's copper supply. The miners had already been working under terrible conditions before the catastrophe, but the disaster brought a sudden rise in public awareness. This led to strikes, the emergence of environmental activism,

⁷⁵ Lyudmila Aleksandrovna Volkenshteyn was a Russian revolutionary and a member of *Narodnaya Volya*. She was arrested after the assassination of Dmitriy Nikolayevich Kropotkin and spent 13 years in the Shlisselburg Fortress. She was later exiled to Sakhalin, where she worked as a feldsher. Her husband, physician Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Volkenshteyn, was likely the only man to voluntarily join his wife in exile on Sakhalin. Lyudmila was killed during a street demonstration on January 10, 1906, in Vladivostok, which deeply shocked and saddened Bronisław. He spoke about the incident to various colleagues in Japan (cf. Sections 3.1 and 4.14; Majewicz 2020: 238; 80).

and numerous student trips to Ashio to witness the devastation firsthand (Huffman 2019: 202-10).

At that time, Kinoshita worked as a journalist for *Mainichi Shimbun* and involved himself in the fight for anti-pollution regulations. He wrote that he had been waiting for a *golden age*, but what he got was an industrial fight for gold. He wanted people and the environment to be a higher priority than the state (*ibid.*). Alongside his fellow journalists, he created a series of 95 articles describing the scale of the tragedy. Following this, together with other activists, in 1900 he established the Volunteer Society to Investigate Mine Pollution (*Kōdoku Chōsa Yūshikai*), which cooperated with the female sister organisation, the Women's Association for the Relief of Mine-Polluted Areas (*Kōdokuchi Kyūsai Fujinkai*), raising funds for the survivors. It could be that partly due to their relentless journalistic and activist work, a committee was formed in 1901 to inspect the Ashio devastation (Patessio 2011: 185; Huffman 1997: 238, 259).

Kinoshita, along with Sakai (cf. Section 4.6), felt empathy towards the women's rights movement. However, even within the *Heiminsha*, their involvement was very limited. Kinoshita was unique in this regard because his younger sister, Iwako Sugaya, was a socialist speaker herself (Sievers 1983: 119-20). When the *Heiminsha* dissolved, Kinoshita joined the Christian socialist faction centered around the magazine *Shinkigen* ('the new age'). He criticised the use of geisha to promote publicly sponsored events in Osaka. The sympathy he showed towards women made him attractive to them (*ibid.* 124, 142, 146).

Kinoshita supported women's rights to participate in political speeches. In his autobiography, he recalled that his grandmother always took him to such lectures at the local temple and she was very excited about the energy of each assembly. At that time, women and children were not prohibited to attend public gatherings, so Kinoshita accompanied his grandmother to these meetings. What is more, during the speeches, he witnessed a passionate young fellow calling the audience to build a less oppressive state. He was deeply moved by the emotions (Patessio 2011: 145; Kim 2007: 224-5).

Kinoshita advocated for better state protection for the poorest social strata – *hinmin* (cf. Section 4.2). He shared an example of a talented factory worker who fell ill and lost his youngest child during childbirth. The man sold his elder daughter to become a geisha, entrusted his wife and children to the protection of neighbours, and then drowned himself in the Kanda River. While it is possible that Kinoshita fabricated this story, it effectively illustrates the lack of savings among the poorer classes and the absence of supportive state structures (Huffman 2018: 127).

The above-mentioned case study was presented by Kinoshita in his book *Hino hashira* (*The pillar of fire*, Tōkyō: Shunjūsha 1929. Originally serialised in *Mainichi Shimbun*, English translation by Kenneth Strong), which was deeply influenced by the following socialists: Tolstoy and Shūko Shirayanagi, who wrote *Ekifu nikki* ('diary of a train station worker', Tōkyō: *Shinshōsetsu*

magazine 1907), realistically describing the life of a labour-class individual (Filler 2012: 47). *Hi-no hashira* presents socialism as the *heart of God, which Christ declared* (Huffman 1997: 295).

Kanson Arahata's (cf. Section 4.6) story "Tōhisha" ('those in hiding', *Seikatsu-to Geijutsu* magazine, Tōkyō 1913) depicts Kinoshita as someone who left the socialist movement after years of government persecution and sheer exhaustion (Filler 2012: 50). One example of the challenges he faced was his detailed coverage of the 1898 elections in Matsumoto. Due to press censorship laws, he was fined half a month's salary (10 yen) and sentenced to 8 months in jail (Huffman 1997: 265).

Since Kinoshita was an acquaintance of Futabatei (cf. Section 4.1), the latter had the opportunity to introduce Bronisław to Kinoshita in 1906, when the two men visited the *Mainichi Shimbun* office. In his recollections, Kinoshita described Bronisław as a foreign revolutionary who had escaped Siberia and noted that, despite being in his prime, he looked older than his years⁷⁶ (Sawada 2021: 209; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/60).

Bronisław probably encountered Kinoshita and his wife, Misako, on numerous occasions, particularly during dinners with *Shinkigen* journalists at the Iroha Beef and Chicken Restaurant in Ogawa-machi, Kanda Ward. One such event took place on February 25, 1906. On this day, Bronisław attended a Presbyterian Church meeting in Mitoshiro-chō. A commemorative photo featuring Bronisław with Japanese Christian socialists provides evidence of this interaction. The photo includes figures such as Hideko Fukuda (cf. 4.1.1, 4.6 and 4.14), Kikue Hemmi, Naoe Kinoshita, Misako Kinoshita, Hyōma Yokota, Sanshirō Ishikawa (cf. Ishikawa 1978), and Isoo Abe (cf. Subsection 1.3.2). Sometime later, Bronisław expressed his desire to subscribe to *Shinkigen* (Sawada 2021: 214–215; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/66).

In 1907, Futabatei sent Bronisław an English translation of Kinoshita's novel *Ryōjin-no jihaku* ('confessions of a husband'), which Bronisław subsequently translated into Polish.⁷⁷ However, the Polish version has not been found in any Polish archives to date (Sawada 2022: 209; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/59).

⁷⁶ After: Kinoshita Naoe 1934. "Hasegawa Futabatei-kun" [Mr Hasegawa Futabatei]. In: *Kami, ningen, jiyū* (*God, Man, Liberty*), Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, p. 244.

⁷⁷ After: Piłsudski Bronisław. Letters to Futabatei, dated October 5, 1907 and January 30, 1908. In: *Futabatei Shimei 1984-1993, Futabatei Shimei zenshū* ['Complete Works of Futabatei Shimei'], Supplement, pp. 141, 158. Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō.

4.4. Kimiko Torii

Bronisław acquainted Kimiko Torii (1881 Tokushima–1959 Tokyo) through her husband Ryūzo, who was a renowned Japanese ethnographer, Ainu researcher and translator of Bronisław’s article regarding Ainu to Japanese.

Kimiko Torii, née Kimi Ichihara, was an ethnographer just like her husband, and a specialist in Mongolian studies as well. After graduating from the female department of Tokushima Teacher’s School, she worked as an elementary school teacher. Later, she enrolled to Music School in Ueno, Tokyo. During her studies, she met Ryūzō Torii and the couple married in 1901 (⁷⁸; Sawada 2021: 229).

Bronisław, during his stay in Japan, befriended Ryūzō. He was one of the first researchers to use a photo camera and phonograph wax cylinders, just like Bronisław. Throughout his career, he traveled to many countries, including Manchuria, Mongolia, Korea, Taiwan, China, South America, the Kurils, Sakhalin, the Amur Region, and the Ryūkyū Islands. He was an associate professor at Tokyo Imperial University, a professor at Kokugakuin and Sophia University, and a visiting professor at the Harvard-Yenching Institute. He was also the author of a book significant to the development of Ainu studies, *Chishima Ainu* (‘the Ainu from the Kuril Islands’, Tōkyō: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 1903) (Sawada 2021: 227; Majewicz 2020: 151; ⁷⁹).

A newspaper article from the *Tōkyō Asahi Shimbun*, dated February 8, 1906, titled *The Russian Anthropologist* reported that Ryūzō had taken Bronisław to the Nishigahara *kaizuka* shell mounds, where ancient people used to dump their domestic waste. The Japanese *kaizuka* were discovered by American zoologist and archaeologist Edward Morse (cf. Section 4.18). Thanks to Ryūzō, Bronisław managed to collect some ceramic and stone vessels. As a token of his gratitude, Bronisław gave him an article from the April 28, 1885 issue of *Vladivostok* on the Amur Bay shell mounds by Vasiliy Margaritov, a Russian ethnographer and archeologist, and a specialist on the indigenous peoples of Kamchatka (Sawada 2021: 227-8; Grądzka & Majewicz 2019: 145).

On February 9, 1906, Bronisław visited the Torii family home, but Ryūzō was already asleep. The following day, Kimiko sent him an apology letter in

⁷⁸ Nobayashi Atsushi n.d. “Torii Kimiko (1881-1959)”, biographical entry by National Museum of Ethnology. https://ifm.minpaku.ac.jp/hoya/en/detail_collector/?id=301.

⁷⁹ Tokushima Kenritsu Torii Ryūzō Kinen Hakubutsukan n.d. “Torii Ryūzō-no shōgai nenpyō-hen” [‘The life of Torii Ryūzō: chronological table’], a biographical timeline by Tokushima Prefectural Torii Ryūzō Memorial Museum. <https://torii-museum.bunmori.tokushima.jp/chronology.htm>.

徳島県立鳥居龍蔵記念博物館 n.d. 鳥居龍蔵の生涯 年表編.

a mix of French and Japanese, written in Latin script (Sawada 2021: 229; Grądzka & Majewicz 2019: 148-50).

In 1906, Kimiko Torii was offered a position as a teacher at a girls' school in Harqin (Kharachin), Inner Mongolia, founded by Prince Gungsangnorbu, who sought to model Mongolia's reforms on Japan (Grądzka & Majewicz 2019: 147).

Bronisław went to Shimbashi Station to see her off, and she recalled his modest tip of the hat as particularly touching. Her husband joined her two months later, and together they worked and conducted research in Mongolia (Sawada 2021: 229; Majewicz 2020: 148-51).

Torii received her teacher post after Misako Kawahara, a former student of the very influential female school teacher and headmistress Utako Shimoda (cf. Section 4.15). Shimoda recommended Kawahara to work in the female college Wuben Nūshu in Shanghai. She started in 1901 and was the only female teacher on site. Later, the Japanese politician Yasugorō Sasaki, known for his delegations to Taiwan and Mongolia, recommended her to Prince Gungsangnorbu and she took up the position of a girls' school teacher in Harqin from December 1903 (Judge 2001: 778; Grądzka & Majewicz 2019: 146-7).

During the Russo-Japanese War, Kawahara spied on the movements of Russian troops and reported them to the Japanese army. In January 1906, she returned to Japan accompanied by three daughters of a vassal important to Mongolia. The girls came to Shimoda for their education (Grądzka & Majewicz 2019: 147).

Kawahara's educational success in Mongolia and her departure from the post in favour of Kimiko were mentioned in Bronisław's article *Przebudzenie Mongolii* ('the awakening of Mongolia'), published in issue 21 of PLDV on June 18, 1906 (Majewicz 2020: 148-51).

Returning to Torii, her strong command of Mongolian greatly assisted her in her academic publications. Some of her works include: *Mōkokō* ('a journey to Mongolia', Tōkyō: Yomiuri Shimbunsha 1906), *Dozokugakujō yori mitaru Mōko* ('Mongolia from the perspective of Folk Studies', Tōkyō: Daitōkaku 1927) and *Manmō-o futatabi saguru* ('exploring Manchuria and Inner Mongolia again' 1932, co-written with her husband) (Sawada 2021: 230; Konagaya n.d.).

The Torii family collected archaeological artifacts for museum collections. For example, in 1953, they donated copperware collected in Weixian, Shandong Province, China, and a stone statue from Longchang, Anshan County, Liaoning Province, to the Hoya Museum of the Japanese Society of Ethnology.⁸⁰

The ethnographers travelled around Asia with their children, who eventually became active participants in the expeditions. It is said that Kimiko's ability to

⁸⁰ Nobayashi Atsushi n.d. "Torii Kimiko (1881–1959)", biographical entry by National Museum of Ethnology. https://ifm.minpaku.ac.jp/hoya/en/detail_collector/?id=301.

balance her professional life with her role as a mother made her trustworthy in the eyes of local women (Yamane 2024).

Interestingly, in October 1909, Ryūzō published in *Jinruigaku Zasshi* ('anthropology journal') a translation of the article by Margaritov that he had received from Bronisław. In 1911, he published Bronisław's article *Die Urbewohner von Sachalin*, which he translated from German into Japanese as *Karafuto-ni okeru senjūmin* in three separate journals: *Sekai*, *Jinruigaku Zasshi*, and *Hokuto* ('the big dipper'). He must have considered the articles important, as several years had passed since the time when he and Bronisław met regularly (Sawada 2021: 227-8; CWBP 1: 33; CWBP 2: x; CWBP 3: 1; Majewicz 2020: 150-1).

An article by Torii and her husband, "Études archéologiques et ethnologiques. Populations Primitives de la Mongolie Orientale" was published in volume 36 (1914) in the *Journal of the College of Science* of the Imperial University of Tokyo. The article detailed their 2.5-year research expedition to eastern Mongolia. They made numerous archeological discoveries and studied the life, customs, and manners of Mongolia's inhabitants, as well as their physical characteristics. They visited Neolithic sites, collected artefacts, and compared them with others found in the region. They also studied the archaeological remains of the Tong-Hou aborigines and attempted to explore the connection between the Tong-Hou and the contemporary inhabitants of Mongolia (Casanowicz 1915; Maspero 1914).

The article was translated into French and reviewed in 1914 by European scholars, Henri Maspero, a French sinologist from Sorbonne and Immanuel M. Casanowicz from the Smithsonian Institute⁸¹ in Washington D.C., assistant curator to the Division of Old World Archeology, United States National Museum (Casanowicz 1924).

Casanowicz's (1915) review focused on the archaeological aspects of the expedition, highlighting the Torii's findings of stone and bone implements, pottery, iron scoria, bronzes, jewellery, and glass beads, as well as the decoration and use of materials. Maspero (1914), on the other hand, emphasised the anthropological aspects of the work, discussing whether the Evenks were descendants of the ancient Tong-Hou. At the same time, Maspero noted the need for a high-quality translation of the discussed article, indicating the interest in the Torii's findings in Europe.

In 1965, the Tokushima Prefectural Torii Memorial Museum was opened in Tokushima to honor the life and legacy of the Torii family. In 2010, the name was changed to the Tokushima Prefectural Ryūzō Torii Memorial Museum.⁸²

⁸¹ The Smithsonian Institute (or: Institution) was mentioned in Bronisław's letters as one of the places he wanted to visit during his stay in the USA (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 125).

⁸² cf. footnote 79.

In February 2024, the first ever children's book about Kimiko Torii's academic achievements was published, telling the story of her life. It was originally intended to be a book about Ryūzō, but the author, Hiroko Takeuchi, changed direction. Torii appears on the cover with her husband, but the entire book is written to celebrate her as a female pioneer in Japanese ethnological research. The book is titled *Torii Kimiko, kazoku-to firudo wāku-o susumeta jinruigakusha* ('Kimiko Torii, an anthropologist who did fieldwork with her family', Tōkyō: Kumon Shuppan 2024).⁸³

In this way, Kimiko has been recognised as a distinguished ethnographer in her own right.

4.5. Zen'ichirō Oyabe

Zen'ichirō⁸⁴ Oyabe (1867 Akita–1941 Ōi Motoshiba) invited Bronisław to his home in Hokkaido so he could continue his research on the Ainu.

Oyabe was a Japanese writer, pastor and researcher (Kasai 2019: 89, 102).

His mother died during childbirth and he was raised by his relatives, whilst his father was pursuing a civil service career in Tokyo. After falling out with his father over his future plans, Oyabe decided to move out and live together with Hokkaido Ainu. He was adopted by the Ainu chief's family and cohabited together with them⁸⁵, similarly to how Bronisław lived in Sakhalin.

At that time, Oyabe heard about John Batchelor,⁸⁶ a famous British missionary and educator of Ainu. Wanting to become the next Batchelor, Oyabe traveled to the US, the "land of freedom", to study (Kasai 2019: 90). However, after arrival, he experienced racism as an Asian and was given counterfeit coins when expecting proper change. This discovery disappointed him.⁸⁷

⁸³ Yamane, Ayaka 2024. "Jinruigaku Torii Kimiko-no kō" ['Anthropology – the achievements of Kimiko Torii'], *Yomiuri Shimbun* on-line, February 28. <https://www.yomiuri.co.jp/local/tokushima/news/20240225-OYTNT50019/>.

山根彩花 2024. 人類学 鳥居きみ子の功績. 2月28日、読売新聞オンライン.

⁸⁴ In Oyabe's English books his name is usually written *Jenichiro*.

⁸⁵ Robinson, Greg 2010. "The great unknown and the unknown great: Oyabe's adventures", *Nichi Bei News*, March 4. <https://www.nichibei.org/2010/03/pictures-the-great-unknown-and-the-unknown-great-oyabe%E2%80%99s-adventures/>.

⁸⁶ John Batchelor was a British Anglican missionary, who lived amongst Ainu for many years. He published numerous works on Ainu language and culture, including *An Ainu-English-Japanese dictionary* (Tokyo: Methodist publishing house 1905). The dictionary came in very handy as there were not many specialists who knew all three languages.

⁸⁷ Robinson 2010.

Oyabe studied first at the Hampton Agricultural and Industrial School in Virginia, then at Howard University in Washington D.C., where he gained a degree in divinity, and finally at Yale University in New Haven (*ibid.*).

Majewicz (2020: 188) mistakes Oyabe's enrolment to Howard University (*Hawādo Daigaku*) for Harvard University (*Hābādo Daigaku*), probably due to the similarity of pronunciation in Japanese. However, there is a big difference between these two institutions.

Both universities, Howard and Hampton, were founded to educate African Americans freed from slavery after the American Civil War (1861-5), as well as Native Americans, and are still listed as *Historically Black Colleges and Universities* (HBCU). Harvard, on the other hand, is an Ivy League university associated with the most privileged and wealthy American citizens.

Oyabe did not mention the issue of race in his most important work, the autobiographical book *A Japanese Robinson Crusoe* (Boston–Chicago: Pilgrim Press 1898), written and published in English (Kasai 2019: 90). Nevertheless, it may have been his multicultural environment that further inspired him to become an educator of the Ainu, who were in a similar political situation to the Native Americans at the time.

After returning to Japan, Oyabe married Kikuyo Ishikawa⁸⁸ and started a life as a pastor in Yokohama, but he soon realised he was getting paid less money than foreign preachers. Moreover, the church where he worked caught fire. For an instance, Oyabe thought of exploring Shintō, but as he were Christian, he was greeted with prejudice (*ibid.* 90-1).

Aware that the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act had recently been enacted, Oyabe set out to establish an elementary and vocational school for the Ainu. He founded Abuta⁸⁹ Gakuen and hired Iwao Yoshida,⁹⁰ a prolific Ainu researcher, to work there (*ibid.* 91-2).

⁸⁸ Kikuyo Ishikawa was chosen by Oyabe as his wife based on the criteria that he needed a strong, calm partner without significant financial means. Ishikawa's family had connections with Christian organisations. It is possible that Ishikawa assisted Oyabe in preparing clean copies of his manuscripts (Kasai 2019: 90-1, 102).

⁸⁹ Currently, *Abuta* is the name of a district in Hokkaido. However, there was once a town in Hokkaido with the same name. That town is now part of the newly formed town of Tōyako (Iburi Subprefecture).

⁹⁰ Iwao Yoshida was a very dedicated Ainu teacher and researcher. He collected materials on Ainu history, language and culture. His work was recognised and awarded by the Hokkaido Ministry of Culture. From 1895 to 1963, Yoshida wrote a diary, although its published edition only covers entries up to 1931. He started to document his life when he was 13 years old and continued until his last years (Nagata & Myōjin 2000: 15, 27). These rich materials are mainly studied in Japan, but could provide a good basis for international research into Ainu history.

On February 14, 1906, Oyabe sent a letter to Bronisław inviting him to stay at his residence in Abuta, Hokkaido. It would have given a chance for Bronisław to conduct research on Hokkaido Ainu (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 1/359, 2/74). A yet unexplored topic is whether Bronisław was interested only in befriending Oyabe, or the other Ainu specialist, Yoshida, as well.

Oyabe is sometimes referred to as a *doctor of philosophy* in the introductions to his works. Sawada (2021: 231) treats this title as a fact, while Kasai (2019: 97) argues that he was able to double-check official documents only up to Oyabe's master's degree.

There are two publications by Oyabe that are particularly interesting. One is *Jingisukan-wa Minamoto-no Yoshitsune nari* ('Genghis Khan is Yoshitsune Minamoto', Tōkyō: Fuzambō 1924), in which Oyabe tried to prove that Genghis Khan was in reality a hero of the most respected Japanese Minamoto line. Despite the abstract nature of this thesis, he was not the only researcher to write publications on this subject. For more information on this matter, see Section 4.18.

Another intriguing work by Oyabe is *Nihon oyobi nihon kokumin-no kigen* ('the origin of Japan and Japanese people', Tōkyō: Kōseikaku 1929). In this one, Oyabe suggested that the ancestors of the Japanese were Hebrew. The thesis was based solely on similarities of symbols and rituals in the Jewish and Japanese tradition. For example, just as the Japanese torii gate is built with two columns, each symbolising something distinct, Oyabe argued that King Solomon also erected two columns in front of the temple in Jerusalem, each with its own unique meaning. Also, Oyabe believed that the Japanese name for the emperor *mikado* came from an Israeli man named Gad, who was the head of his tribe. *Gad* became *Kado* and was given a respective prefix *mi-*. Furthermore, Gad named his eldest son *Jippon* (Ziphion), which resembles the Japanese word for "Japan" – *Nippon*. Oyabe presented his work to the emperor, who accepted the gift.⁹¹

4.6. Toshihiko Sakai

Toshihiko Sakai (1871 Miyako, Fukuoka Prefecture–1933 Tokyo) introduced Bronisław to Japanese feminists and female educators during Bronisław's stay in Japan. He left written accounts of his meetings with Bronisław.

Sakai was a Japanese socialist journalist who wrote under the pen name Sakai Kosen. Together with his colleagues, he founded the Japan Socialist Party,

⁹¹ Jewish Telegraphic Agency 1929. "Japanese author traces Nippon origin to Hebrew race", *Jewish Daily Bulletin* VI, 1441, 3–4. <https://www.jta.org/archive/japanese-author-traces-nippon-origin-to-hebrew-race>.

which was almost immediately banned. At that time, forming labour unions in Japan was strictly forbidden, and the rapid industrialisation largely ignored workers' rights (Sievers 1983: 117-8).

Sakai worked for the magazine *Yorozu Chōhō* (a Tokyo daily newspaper), where he frequently criticised the government. Starting in 1903, he became an editor of *Katei Zasshi* ('home magazine'), writing extensively about women's issues in Japanese society. In a 1904 issue of *Yorozu Chōhō*, he responded to a letter from a female rape victim, taking her side and condemning the male perpetrator. His genuine concern for women's rights earned him respect and support from many Japanese women (ibid. 117-8, 145).

Sakai's activities had a significant influence on the further emancipation efforts of Hideko Fukuda, who was determined to establish schools for women despite her own financial difficulties. In 1901, Sakai became Fukuda's neighbour. Regarding his family life, Sakai was the brother-in-law of Yasuko Hori,⁹² and his colleagues often gathered at her house to discuss socialist issues and give speeches. Hori was also the wife of Sakae Ōsugi (cf. Section 4.12), which created not only a community connection but also a family bond between the two men. It was Sakai who sparked Ōsugi's interest in women's social issues. In Kanson Arahata's⁹³ story "Tōhisha" ('those in hiding'), the character "S" (Sakai) is the one whose house serves as a secret meeting place for socialists (Raichō Kenkyūkai 2001: 146, 149, 197; Sievers 1983: 117-8; Filler 2012: 49).

Sakai was one of the leaders of the *Shakaishugi Kenkyūkai* ('society for the study of socialism') and praised Ōsugi when the latter attended a meeting for the first time and spoke out against the toxicity of army life. However, after Ōsugi became involved in a public love triangle scandal involving Yasuko Hori, which ended with the so-called *Hikage chaya jiken* (incident at the Hikage Teahouse, cf. Section 4.12), Sakai became Ōsugi's harshest critic, and the two men never reconciled (Stanley 1982: 36, 107).

⁹² Yasuko Hori was a Japanese socialist active in the circles of *Sekirankai* ('The Red Wave Society'), a Japanese socialist-feminist organisation, alongside Sakai's wife, Tameko, and daughter, Magara. Hori was pressured into marriage with Sakae Ōsugi, who threatened to burn himself to death if she did not agree. She eventually divorced him after the "Incident at the Hikage Teahouse."

⁹³ Kanson Arahata was a Japanese writer and journalist, and the publishing partner of Sakae Ōsugi in *Kindai Shisō* (cf. Section 4.12). Arahata was initially a co-founder of Japan's anarchist movement, but in later years he shifted towards communism, co-founding the Japanese Communist Party in 1922 alongside Sakai. After the Second World War, he became a democratic socialist. Arahata's numerous short stories and his autobiography *Kanson jiden* ('Kanson's autobiography', Tōkyō: Ronsōsha 1961) provide valuable source material on Japanese socialist movements of the 20th century (Filler 2021: 47-9).

When the editor of *Yorozu Chōhō*, Ruikō Kuroiwa, suddenly shifted to support the Russo-Japanese War, Sakai, along with his comrades who opposed this new direction, formed the *Heiminsha* ('Commoners' Association'). The association established a new magazine called *Heimin Shimbun* ('Commoners' News'). Its editors were frequently accused of violating press laws. As a result, Sakai was fined and jailed, and in 1904, the *Heiminsha* was ordered to disband. The socialists then fragmented into smaller groups, and Sakai, together with other materialists, founded a new magazine called *Hikari* ('light') (Sievers 1983: 119-25, 130-1).

In 1907, *Heimin Shimbun* was reintroduced. Tameko Nobuoka, a member of *Heiminsha* who supported the community by performing kitchen tasks and other duties, married Sakai and worked alongside him on *Hikari*. Sakai also made significant contributions to Fukuda's feminist magazine *Sekai Fujin* ('women of the world'), which launched on January 1, 1907. In this magazine, he advocated for changes in the role of women within Japanese families (Sievers 1983: 119-125, 130-13; ⁹⁴).

Furthermore, he also translated *The gynaecocentric theory* into Japanese as *Josei chūshinsetsu*. This work is part of a larger whole, the *Junsei shakaigaku* (*Pure Sociology*, New York: The Macmillan Company 1903) by Lester Frank Ward,⁹⁵ a piece that made an impact on Japanese feminism. One more section, *Maternal love* (*Haha-no ai*), was translated by Raichō Hiratsuka⁹⁶ (Raichō kenkyūkai 2001: 22, 207).

⁹⁴ Nichigai Associates 2004 "Sakai Tameko". In: *20-seiki Nihonjinmei Jiten*. Tokyo: Nichigai Associates.

日外アソシエーツ 2024. 堺為子. 20世紀日本人名事典. 東京: 日外アソシエーツ.

⁹⁵ Lester Frank Ward was the first president of the American Sociological Society, a professor at Brown University, and a contributor to biology, geology, anthropology, and sociology. His *Pure Sociology* rejected the claim of the natural dominance of men over women, arguing that women were superior prior to the discovery of paternity and property, which subsequently turned women into the property of men. The work was quickly translated into French, German, Spanish, and Japanese (Finlay 1999: 151-4).

⁹⁶ Raichō Hiratsuka, born Haru Hiratsuka, was a leader in the Japanese feminist movement. Her essay *Genshi josei-wa taiyō-de atta* (*In the beginning, woman was the sun*, 1911] opened the first issue of the *Seitō* feminist magazine. The essay emphasized the same idea as Ward's: that matriarchy preceded the rule of men. Hiratsuka lived a long life of 85 years, and throughout it, she consistently worked to advance the rights of women, promoting their education, health, marriage and divorce rights, and employment rights.

Another author important to the Japanese feminist movement was Olive Schreiner⁹⁷. Translations of her works were published in 1906 in *Katei Zasshi*, while Sakai was its editor. It was a section from Schreiner's work *Dreams* (*Yume*, 1890), titled *Life's gifts* (*Inochi-no tamamono*) (Raichō kenkyūkai 2001: 211).

Sakai was an active participant in street demonstrations, including the Red Flag Incident (*akahata jiken*) on June 22, 1908, during which socialists waved flags bearing slogans such as "Anarchism" and "Anarcho-Communism". As a result of his involvement, he was arrested and sentenced to two years in jail (Sievers 1983: 154-155).

Sakai mentioned Bronisław Piłsudski in some of his works, providing evidence that the two men knew and met each other during Bronisław's stay in Japan. For instance, in his *Hikari* magazine, on February 5, 1906, information about a welcoming party for Sen Katayama,⁹⁸ scheduled for the next day, was published. Piłsudski was introduced as "a Polish comrade who had been exiled to Sakhalin for 12 years as a political offender". Additionally, the next day, the newspaper *Mainichi Shimbun* reported that "a member of the Russian Socialist Party would also be attending" (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/64).

In a 1906 work titled *Pōrando-no chinkyaku* ('a visitor from Poland'), Sakai mentioned meeting Bronisław Piłsudski, describing him as a man with silver hair despite his relatively young age of 39. Sakai portrayed him as an innocent and kind soul who had endured much suffering (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/65). He also recalled joking with Bronisław that many Japanese fathers were eager to marry off their daughters to foreigners – a detail that Bronisław would later report in a serious tone in his article *Z życia na Wschodzie przez Bronisława P. 2* ('from life in the East by Bronisław P. 2') for the January 18, 1908 issue of the magazine *Prawda* ('the truth') (Majewicz 2020: 209-13, 226).

⁹⁷ Olive Emilie Albertina Schreiner was a South African writer and advocate for the rights of Afrikaners, Jews, Indians, and other marginalised minorities. In an era dominated by male thinkers such as Freud, Engels, Darwin, and Spencer (cf. Section 5.3), she sought to create a narrative that was suitable for women. A section from her non-fiction feminist work *Women and Labour*, titled *The Woman Question* was published in New York's *Cosmopolitan* in 1899. She was a staunch critic of British colonialism and rapid industrialisation. In her private life, she married a man eight years her junior, who adopted her surname and became known as Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner (Burdett 2001).

⁹⁸ Sen Katayama was one of Japan's socialist pioneers and a publisher of the first Japanese labour newspaper, *Rōdō Sekai*. He graduated from Yale University in the US. Katayama frequently faced censorship in Japan. In 1913, he left Japan permanently and became actively involved in communist activities in Russia. He contributed numerous articles on socialism to *Communist International* (Kublin 1951: 71).

Bronisław became intrigued about the topic of mixed marriages, and after a conversation with Sakai in February 1906, he sent a letter the following day, proposing to find a Polish husband for Sakai's 3-year-old daughter, Magara.

Furthermore, an English letter written by Sakai to Bronisław indicates that Sakai introduced him to Japanese female educators and feminists such as Utako Imai (cf. Section 4.14) and Chiyoko Kōtoku, the wife of Shūsui Kōtoku (cf. Section 4.8), from whom Bronisław received a silk handkerchief with a drawing of a Japanese plum. Sakai also assisted Bronisław's friend Nicholas Russel (cf. Subsection 1.3.4 and Section 4.1) in purchasing printing equipment in Tokyo (Sawada 2021: 211-3; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/64-5).

Moreover, in (Piłsudski 1907: 9/213-7), Bronisław described Sakai as his friend, editor, and publisher of *Katei Zasshi*, who agreed to accompany him on a visit to meet Japan's "new women". This referred to his first meeting with Utako Imai at her editorial office (cf. Section 4.14).

Prior to this successful meeting, Sakai attempted to visit Bronisław's home with his wife, Tameko, and Utako Imai. However, Bronisław was in Yokohama at the time, around March 2 or 12, 1906 (Majewicz 2020: 225-6).

The socialist movement, in which Sakai was an active participant, significantly diminished after the assassination attempt on Emperor Meiji, known as the High Treason Incident (*taigyaku jiken*) of 1910. Many socialists were arrested and sentenced to death, making it nearly impossible for the movement's members to continue their activities or make a living.

In December 1910, Sakai established *Baibunsha* ('the purveying literature company') to support himself and other radical activists. He published anything that could generate income, including translations, advertisements, and commentaries (Stanley 1982: 55).

After the Russian Revolution of 1917, Sakai remained a socialist and became a pro-Bolshevik (*ibid.* 127).

4.7. Susumi Ueda

Susumi Ueda (?–1912) was Bronisław's linguistic assistant and local guide in and around Tokyo, as well as the translator of his first Japanese-language publication on the Ainu.

Ueda was a Japanese journalist and translator from Morioka City. He was a student at the Orthodox Theological Seminary, founded in Tokyo by Archimandrite Nikolay⁹⁹ in 1875 (Sawada 2021: 218; CWBP 1: 30).

Ueda knew Russian and was regarded as a gifted translator within the Orthodox Church community. He worked as an editor for the Japanese Orthodox Church magazine and translated many liturgical books into Japanese. As part of his work for Nikolay, Ueda prepared the Japanese version of John of Kronstadt's diary (in Section 3.1 of this thesis, the figure of John of Kronstadt appeared in one of Yuvachov's Sakhalin dreams about Bronisław) (Sawada 2021: 218-9; Majewicz 2020: 310-11).

At a later time, Ueda was supposed to be commissioned the translation of archbishop's John Chrysostom's¹⁰⁰ works into Japanese. He was also the author of four original religious works (Sawada 2021: 218-9; Majewicz 2020: 310-11).

Ueda was one of Bronisław's greatest helpers during his stay in Japan, serving as his eyes on the country. Most importantly, he translated Bronisław's article *Karafuto Ainu-no jōtai* ('the situation of the Sakhalin Ainu') into Japanese. It was published in issues 26 and 27 of the Japanese magazine *Sekai* ('the world') in 1906 and was Bronisław's first article on the Ainu to appear in print. The Japanese version was probably shortened for translation, as a longer version of the same article appeared in *Vladivostok* magazine in 1907 (as an article and a separate brochure) (CWBP 1: 30, 33; CWBP 3: 43; Majewicz 2020: 320; Sawada 2021: 218).

Bronisław's Japanese correspondence passed through Ueda's hands and was translated back and forth between Russian and Japanese. For example, the second letter from the pianist Itoe Tachibana (cf. Section 4.16) to Bronisław was addressed to Susumi Ueda, as it was intended to reach *Mr Pilsudski* (Sawada 2021: 256; Majewicz 2020: 310).

A reply to Ueda's letter from Sentarō Kemuyama (cf. Section 4.8), dated February 25, 1906 confirms that Bronisław made arrangements with Japanese

⁹⁹ Archimandrite (later bishop) Nikolay, St. Nicholas of Japan, born Ivan Dimitriyevich Kasatkin, was an envoy of the Russian Orthodox Church to Japan and was active within Tokyo's Orthodox community. He was an original religious thinker, with many ideas on theological issues. He opposed the works of the spiritual advisor to Nicholas I, Alexander II, and Alexander III, criticising him for acting as if there were no God above the tsar. His thoughts often addressed the relationship between Church and state. During the Russo-Japanese War, this became a major issue for Nikolay, as strong antagonism arose among the Japanese toward Russians, leading them to demand changes from the Tokyo Church (Lukin & Puzanova 2022: 12-4).

¹⁰⁰ John Chrysostom was a renowned Christian preacher and Archbishop of Constantinople who made significant contributions to the development of Eastern Christianity. He is venerated as a saint in many Christian traditions, including the Catholic and Orthodox Churches. A prolific writer, he is credited with 800 authentic works, with an additional set of writings attributed to him (De Wet & Mayer 2019: 1).

men of letters through Ueda. In the letter, Kemuyama agrees to meet Ueda and Bronisław at Waseda University in the afternoon on Wednesday, February 28, 1906 (Majewicz 2020: 323).

Another letter, from the nurse Kōko Sōmiya (cf. Section 4.15), dated July 12, 1906, mentions that she had received a letter from Bronisław via Ueda. Sōmiya wrote of a young lady, who accompanied Bronisław to Ōmori. Sawada suggests that this may have been Ueda's daughter. Additionally, one more postcard Ueda sent to Bronisław by himself on July 1, 1907 (Majewicz 2020: 320, 337).

Furthermore, Ueda likely translated articles from Japanese newspapers for Bronisław to help him understand contemporary issues in Japan. Bronisław's series of articles *Iz Yaponii* ('from Japan') demonstrates a strong understanding of the country's most pressing problems (Sawada 2021: 345; Majewicz 2020: 321).

Ueda was a journalist for the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shimbun* newspaper, so he must have been well-informed about what to recommend to Bronisław. He also supported the publication of the Russian magazine *Volya* in Japan. The magazine brought together Russians and Poles who had fled to Japan after the defeat in the Russo-Japanese War and the failed 1905 revolution. Ueda collected subscriptions and accepted advertisements for *Volya* in Tokyo (Sawada 2021: 186, CWBP 1: 33; Majewicz 2020: 320).

He was also the author of a Japanese-Russian phrasebook, which proved to be very useful for communicating with Russian nationals in Japan. As Majewicz noted, it went into its 15th edition, indicating that it successfully met the needs of the time (Majewicz 2020: 321)..

Finally, it can be said that Ueda cared for Bronisław as a friend. Bronisław's notes describe a moment just before an earthquake, when his mysterious friend "U." returned shortly after they had parted to warn him about the impending disaster. It is highly probable that "U." referred to Ueda (*ibid.* 314-5).

4.8. Sentarō Kemuyama

A letter by Sentarō Kemuyama (1876 Ōkawame Village –1954 Hiroshima), in which he agrees to Ueda's (cf. Section 4.7) proposition to meet with Bronisław and Ueda, is archived in the Polish PAU/PAN Academic Library. It is still not determined whether the meeting had taken place (Majewicz 2020: 319-23).

Kemuyama was a lecturer in the Department of Western History at Waseda University. In 1911, he became a professor, and by 1919, he was appointed head of the History Department. He taught courses on modern history, including

European and political history, with a particular focus on Russian and Jewish history (¹⁰¹; Majewicz 2020: 319).

Kemuyama graduated from Tokyo Imperial University. From 1897 to 1899, he studied in the Department of History before transferring to the Department of Philosophy, where he continued his studies from 1899 to 1902.¹⁰²

As mentioned in Section 4.7, Kemuyama sent a letter to Susumi Ueda on February 12, 1906, agreeing to meet with Ueda and Bronisław on February 28 at 1 p.m. at Waseda University (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/70, 2/84; Majewicz 2020: 311).

Between 1922 and 1924, Kemuyama studied abroad in the Middle East and various European countries as an exchange student from Waseda University.¹⁰³

A year before his death, he converted to Christianity and was baptised in Hiroshima (*ibid.*).

Kemuyama was the author of numerous academic history books, including *Kinsei museifushugi* ('modern anarchism', Tōkyō: Tokyo Semmon Gakkō Shuppanbu 1902), *Doitsu teikoku bōchō shiron* ('the expansion of the German Empire', Tōkyō: Daitōkaku 1918), *Doitsu shakai minshutō* ('German social democratic party', Tōkyō: Gaikō Jihōsha Shuppanbu 1919), *Seiyō saikinseishi* ('recent history of Western countries', Tōkyō: Waseda Daigaku Shuppanbu 1922), *Eikoku gendaishi* ('contemporary history of Britain', Tōkyō: Keibundō Shoten 1930), and several others.

His most influential work was *Kinsei museifushugi*, which is said to have made a significant impact on contemporary socialists, including Shūsui Kōtoku.¹⁰⁴ The "modern anarchism" discussed in the book also addressed the phenomenon of terrorism (¹⁰⁵; Majewicz 2020: 319). A publication by

¹⁰¹ Waseda Daigaku Bunka Shigen Dētabēsu n.d. "Kemuyama Sentarō", biographical entry from the Waseda University Cultural Resource Database. [https://archive.waseda.jp/archive/detail.html?arg={"subDB_id":"16","id":"677"}&lang=jp](https://archive.waseda.jp/archive/detail.html?arg={). 早稲田大学文化資源データベース n.d. 煙山専太郎.

¹⁰² cf. footnote 101.

¹⁰³ cf. footnote 101.

¹⁰⁴ Shūsui Kōtoku, born Denjirō Kōtoku, was a Japanese journalist, anarchist, and radical socialist who was involved in planning to assassinate the emperor in what became known as the High Treason Incident of 1910. He was executed along with twelve other conspirators. In the aftermath of this case, the Japanese press faced increased restrictions, and the development of caricatures and political satire significantly declined. Husband of Chiyoko Kōtoku, who acquainted Bronisław (Karlin 2014: 38-9; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/64).

¹⁰⁵ Morioka-shi 2007. "Kemuyama Sentarō", biographical entry, on-line resources of Morioka City. <https://www.city.morioka.iwate.jp/kankou/kankou/1037106/1009526/1024995/1024997/1025117.html>. 盛岡市 2007. 煙山専太郎 (けむやませんたろう).

Kobayashi (1972: 332-70), *Shōsetsu "Dong'ou nu haojie"-no sakusha* ('author of the novel "the heroic women of Eastern Europe"'), mentions the book's profound influence on the earliest works of Chinese literature about anarchism. The heroes and heroines of the novel are historical figures from the Russian revolutionary movements of the 1870s, primarily members of *Narodnaya Volya*. The author wrote under the pen name *Yuyi Nushi* ('lady with a feathered robe'). Some speculate that the novel might have been written by Zhang Zhujun¹⁰⁶ or Luo Pu.¹⁰⁷ However, it is widely agreed that the knowledge of Russian revolutionaries came from Kemuyama's book.

The Chinese translation of *Kinsei museifushugi*, entitled *Ziyou xue* ('freedom for blood'), was done by a well-known Chinese poet of that time, writer, and revolutionary, Jin Songcen. One anarchist act it inspired was Wu Ye's terrorist suicide attack on five government ministers at a station in Beijing in September 1905. Wu was a member of the Northern Assassination Corps, which aimed to revolutionise China by putting terror into practice (Majewicz 2020: 320).

Today, Kemuyama is celebrated as a Waseda professor in his academic circles. Some publications by the Department of History of Waseda University include: Masayuki Kobayashi's "Kemuyama Sentarō-sensei-no kaisō" ('recollections of professor Sentarō Kemuyama', *Shikan* 42, 70-7, 1954), "Kemuyama Sentarō-sensei chosaku mokuroku" ('bibliography of Professor Sentarō Kemuyama's works', *Shikan* 34-5, 198-213, 1951), and Tokio Kimura's "Kaisō-no Kemuyama Sentarō-sensei" ('professor Sentarō Kemuyama – recollections', *Waseda Daigaku Shikiyō* 36, 35-43, 2004).

A book on Kemuyama was published by Mizuo Chiba under the title *Ai-to senken-no hito Kemuyama Sentarō* ('Sentarō Kemuyama, a man of love and foresight', Morioka: Iwate Nippōsha 1985). One of the latest publications referring to Kemuyama is Li's (2024: 77-110) *Ryūgakusei Shū Jūjin-no "kojin"-no bunmyaku-ni okeru "Shutirunā": kanete "Kagakushi" Kemuyama Sentarō-onronzu* ("Stirner" in the context of the "individual" by the student Shū Jūjin: with a discussion of "kagakushi" Sentarō Kemuyama'). The title refers to Max

¹⁰⁶ Zhang Zhujun was a Chinese female doctor, educator, and revolutionary. She served in the Red Cross during military conflicts, providing essential medical aid, and was a strong advocate for girls' education and public hygiene. Zhang supported the 1911 Xinhai Revolution against the Qing dynasty, contributing to the establishment of the Republic of China. After the Russo-Japanese War, she founded in Shanghai the Yuxian Girls' School and the Shanghai Western and Chinese Medicine School.

¹⁰⁷ Luo Pu, whose real name was Wen Ti, was a Chinese writer. After the Hundred Days' Reform of 1898 ended in failure, he went to Japan and became the first Chinese student at Waseda University. During his stay in Japan, Luo Pu was a member of the Brotherhood of Thirteen on Enoshima Island, a meeting place for Chinese intellectuals who had fled in the aftermath of the reform. They continued to promote its ideals, such as the modernisation of education, while in Japan.

Stirner,¹⁰⁸ a German philosopher, and Shū Jūjin, the Japanese name for Lu Xun,¹⁰⁹ a famous Chinese writer. It also touches upon Kemuyama and his relationship with these ideas.

4.9. Tarōji Sentoku

Tarōji Sentoku (1872 Naibuchi–1929), also known as Tutekośe Taronci, was Bronisław's student and later his interpreter during Bronisław's research expedition with Sieroszewski to Hokkaido.

Sentoku was a Japanese-Ainu-Russian translator from Naibuchi (now Bykov, Sakhalin, Russia), and was regarded as the most educated among the Ainu. He was born to a Japanese father and an Ainu mother. Sentoku attended an Ainu comprehensive school in Tsuishikari, where he learned Japanese. In 1895, he returned to Sakhalin, where he met Bronisław (Sawada 2021: 132, 166).

In years 1901–3, Sentoku learned Russian from Bronisław. At the same time, he worked as a teacher in Bronisław's school for Ainu children, which operated between 1902 and 1905. Later, with the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, the children's parents were too afraid to send them to classes. Sentoku was very useful as a teacher, because he could communicate freely in three languages (Sawada 2021: 132-3; CWBP 3: 5; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 278-9, 2/351-3).

In 1903, Bronisław hired Sentoku as a translator for his research expedition with Sieroszewski to Hokkaido (cf. Section 5.2). Their journey lasted from June 20 to September 24, 1903. During the trip, he provided cultural explanations and advice at moments, when Bronisław and Sieroszewski were at a loss. For example, when they met the Ainu and Bronisław was very eager to pay them for

¹⁰⁸ Max Stirner is often regarded as a forerunner of existentialism. He promoted anarchism and radical individualism, calling for the rejection of all values and societal norms. His most famous work, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand 1895), has been translated into English under two titles: *The ego and its own* (New York: Benj. R. Tucker 1907) and *The unique and its property* (Baltimore: Underworld Amusements 2017).

¹⁰⁹ Lu Xun, born Zhou Zhangshou, was one of the greatest Chinese writers of the 20th century. His social influence is comparable to that of Shakespeare, Tolstoy, Mark Twain, and Goethe. After his death, a state-sponsored field of study called Lu Xun studies was established. The writer first came to Japan in 1902 on a government scholarship. He lived in Tokyo (1902-1904) and Sendai (1904-1906). He then returned to Tokyo again, working as a translator and writer (1906-1909). He translated some of Poland's greatest literature into Chinese, including works by Adam Mickiewicz. Together with his brothers, most notably Zhou Zuoren, they translated the works of Henryk Sienkiewicz, Wiktor Gomułicki, Maria Konopnicka, Bolesław Prus, and Adam Szymański. Zhou Zuoren also translated Żeromski (cf. Section 5.1; Davies 2013: 1-3; Li 2015: 43-50).

their help, Sentoku quietly moderated the situation so that Bronisław would not lose too much. He interpreted some situations related to the Ainu's worries about money. And of course, Santoku was particularly useful as an interpreter at meetings with Japanese officials, since neither Bronisław nor Sieroszewski understood Japanese (Sieroszewski 1935; Sawada 2021: 141-9; CWBP 3: 5; Majewicz 2020: 339).

Sentoku's role evolved over time. He worked as an interpreter for the Russian army for a period, and after the Japanese took control of Sakhalin, he served at the Indigenous Learning Centre in years 1912–20. He was also appointed as the chief of Naibuchi village, recognized as the most educated Ainu (Sawada 2021: 132, 134, 166; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/230).

Sentoku lived 10 kilometers away from Ai, where Bronisław had left his Ainu wife and children when he departed from Sakhalin. Sentoku kept Bronisław informed about the contemporary issues the Ainu were facing. Three letters written in the Ainu language using the Russian Cyrillic alphabet have been preserved in the Cracow Library of the Academy of Sciences (PAN). The letters are dated June 4, June 15, and August 11, 1906. In all of them, Sentoku reports that Chuhsamma, along with her two children, a boy and a girl, is waiting for Bronisław and remains faithful to him (Sawada 2021: 164; Majewicz 2020: 339-52; CWBP 1: 727; CWBP 3: 5).

Furthermore, Sentoku writes extensively about village life – who was born into which family, and who died in which village. He emphasises that everyone is healthy, but unfortunately, there are no means of education because the school has been closed due to the war (Majewicz 2020: 339-52; CWBP 3: 700-30).

However, the most urgent issue for Sentoku is the Japanese government's seizure of the Ainu's fishing grounds. The Ainu are no longer allowed to fish with nets from the shore, which poses a significant threat to their economic survival. The Ainu's sense of time and seasons is closely tied to the types of fish they catch, where they catch them, who does the fishing, and whether the catch is sufficient. Sentoku asks Bronisław to petition the Russian tsar or Russian officials to grant the Ainu some fishing grounds in Siberia or Kamchatka, as the situation is worsening day by day. Sentoku appears confident that Bronisław could secure land from the tsar, which is an interesting reflection of Sentoku's perception of Bronisław's influence (Majewicz 2020: 339-352; CWBP 3: 700-30).

As mentioned earlier, the letters were written by Sentoku using Ainu words transcribed into the Russian Cyrillic alphabet. A detailed linguistic study of Sentoku's transcription was published in Japanese by Ogihara & Tangiku (2001). This paper is an important contribution to the study of the Ainu language and its adaptation to different alphabets. It highlights the distinction between errors made by Sentoku and the inability of contemporary people to fully grasp the authentic sound of the Ainu language, which Sentoku knew well.

As is often mentioned, Sentoku also wrote a book on the Ainu titled *Karafuto Ainu sōwa* ('a collection of stories on the Sakhalin Ainu'). Although the book is frequently referred to, its contents have not been sufficiently discussed (Sawada 2021: 166; Majewicz 2020: 339-40; CWBP 1: 727).

The title may suggest that the book contains a simplified collection of Ainu stories for children or serves as light reading for adults. In reality, a more accurate title would be: 'The chronicles of the Ainu around the time of the Russo-Japanese War'. It is a highly detailed study of the Ainu's situation, based on the author's personal experience and knowledge. Some examples of the book's chapter titles include:

Names of aborigines from Sakhalin Islands

Customs and living conditions of the Oroks

Giving names to Ainu

Customs and lifestyle of the Ainu people

The actual situation of fishery operations from Hokkaido to Sakhalin in Date-Suhara's¹¹⁰ time

Simplified form of penalty code

The Ainu people of Date-Suhara's times

Women's customs and summer and winter clothing

Seal species of the East Coast

Exchange between Sakhalin and Kuril Islands

(Sentoku 1929: 1-3)

Sentoku's reflection on Ainu names is worth noting. He argues that the word *-ainu* could be used as an honorific for Ainu male names, similar to the Japanese suffixes *-sama* or *-dono* added to Japanese names. What is most interesting about his statements is that Sentoku draws from examples in his everyday life, including Bronisław's Ainu family as part of his observations (*ibid.* 6).

For male name examples, he mentions Bafunke-ainu, Shireku-ainu, Sarushi-ainu, and others. For female names ending in *-ma*, he includes Chuhsamma, Saramma, Itokounma, and so on (*ibid.*)

Moreover, Chapter 38 of the book explains the origins of the village of Ai, which means "bow arrow". Sentoku provides a detailed description of the family connections within the Ai tribe. Interestingly, in this chapter, Sentoku mentions Chuhsamma's relationship with Bronisław and refers to Piłsudski as a "Polish bachelor of science" who came from Moscow University before the Russo-Japanese War to conduct anthropological research in Sakhalin. Sentoku's

¹¹⁰ *Date* 伊達 and *Suhara* 栖原 were the most influential Japanese fishing families who hired the Ainu to work.

statement, along with his earlier belief that Bronisław could petition the Russian tsar for fishing grounds for the Ainu, raises questions about how Sentoku perceived Bronisław's identity (*ibid.* 64-5).

It is worth noting that the book is not solely about the Ainu, even though they are mentioned in the title. For example, Sentoku writes about the Uilta and how they travel across the land accompanied by reindeer. When the reindeer run out of food, they move to another location. This book aims to explain the culture of the indigenous peoples of Sakhalin to the Japanese (*ibid.* 7-8).

In this context, while Sentoku's letters to Bronisław are an extremely important resource, it is crucial to recognise that his legacy should not be viewed solely through the prism of these letters, but also through his book – a valuable work on Ainu culture. It was always Bronisław's dream to be equal to Polish university academics, but lacking financial resources, he relied on the support of better-connected individuals (cf. Sections 3.3 and 5.5). The education that Bronisław, as a political convict, could not fully utilise was, for Sentoku, an opportunity – allowing him to grow as an author of a book on a subject important to him and to translate for the Russian military, Polish explorers, schoolchildren, and more.

As noted by Ogiwara and Tangiku (2001: 189), Sentoku's relatives are still living in Japan, though contact with them has not been established. It is possible, however, that they possess materials on Sentoku and Bronisław, which may eventually come to light in the future.

4.10. Ekiken Kaibara

Ekiken Kaibara (1630 Fukuoka–1714 Fukuoka), also called Ekken or Atsunobu, was a Confucian scholar and herbalist. He was an author of books on a wide variety of topics, with the two most significant being *Onna daigaku* ('greater learning for women', 1716) and *Yamato honzō* (*Medicinal herbs of Japan*, 1709). Kaibara believed women should follow the traditional Confucian Three Obediences, which were: obeying their fathers, submitting to their husbands and sacrificing for their sons. Kaibara considered the female sex faulty of being jealous, silly, discontent, indocile and slander. As a remedy, he proposed Confucian virtues for healing weaknesses such as obedience, modesty, goodwill and purity (Copeland 2006: 13; Joby 2021: 121).

The broken wing (*Koware yubiwa*, 1891) is a work by Japanese feminist Shikin Shimizu¹¹¹, which describes a home built on values praised by Kaibara. The author's mother took deep pride in following the steps advised by him. She always kneeled in the doorway in front of her husband whilst speaking to him and treated him like a distinguished guest. Furthermore, she forced her daughter into an unwanted marriage only to not disobey her husband. Her daughter's dream was to graduate from a teacher's school in Tokyo, but the girl was forced to give it up in order not to discontent her father. It is a story of crushed dreams, deep hurt and waiting for love. Fortunately, it ends on a positive note, as the author learns to recognise her own worth and successfully convinces her father to support her future choices (Jennison 2006: 231-9).

Bronisław mentioned Kaibara's views on female obedience in his article "Kobiety Wschodu. Japonka (Bronisław Piłsudski on late Meiji Japan women)" published in 1907 (Piłsudski 1907: 7/172-6). He divagated on the taciturnity of Japanese women and attributed it to Kaibara's teachings on female silliness and narrow-mindedness. He stated that according to those teachings, female talkativeness was enough a reason for a man to demand a divorce. Bronisław felt that those beliefs were still very strong amongst Japanese men, who often criticised Japanese women in front of European foreigners and preferred to hear compliments about their looks and charm rather than support their fight for freedom and independence, which they considered incomprehensible (Majewicz 2020: 222-3).

Thinking about the rise of the socialist and feminist movement in the Meiji period, one must consider that in the preceding Edo period, censorship applied to everyone and it was impossible to criticise the government without the permission of a superior. Kaibara's Confucian perspective on this matter is clearly illustrated in the following quote: "To criticise superiors – to criticise the country's administration – that becomes a serious breach of loyalty and piety" (Altman 1986: 232).¹¹² Some researchers disagree with the trend of focusing only on *Onna daigaku* in order to describe gender relations in Edo. They view the issue as socially more complex and state that not every female from Tokugawa period was obedient or relied on Kaibara's outlook on the world (Anderson 2011: 20-1).

¹¹¹ Real name Toyoko Shimizu. Shimizu was a Japanese journalist, writer and female rights activist during the Meiji period. She worked for a magazine called *Jogaku Zasshi* ('schoolgirl magazine'), where she published essays on female education, marriage and equality. She fought against the discrimination of *buramin* – descendants of people whose occupations were associated with blood (e.g. butchers, executioners).

¹¹² Altman cites here Kaibara's *Kadōkun*, quoted in Dan Fenno Henderson, *Conciliation and Japanese Law* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), vol. 1, p. 401.

Kaibara is thought to have further developed a writing style called *zatsubuntai*, which is a sub-style of *kambun*.¹¹³ This style appeared first in the great historic works, for example *Heike monogatari* (*The tale of the Heike*, 13th century) and *Taiheiki* (*Chronicle of Medieval Japan*, 1370)¹¹⁴, and continued to be used in the Edo period (1603–1868). It was a style based on translated word order, which was convenient because it did not require jumping throughout the word order to read a sentence like in *kambun*. It was also used to translate Western texts. Kaibara's works served as examples for Meiji scholars, who were searching for a way to replace the outdated *kambun* with their own national *kokugo*¹¹⁵ (Ueda 2021: 50, 56).

4.11. Inazō Nitobe

Inazō Nitobe (1862 Morioka–1933 Victoria, British Columbia) was a Japanese politician, diplomat, and writer.

He studied in United States and was trained to lead Christian congregations in Japan. When Nitobe was a student, a very popular advice to young males in Japan was *Boys, be ambitious!* This slogan was strongly associated with the Christian community (Jones & Inouye 2017: 23).

Nitobe's book *Bushidō: the soul of Japan* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons 1900) skilfully presented the then modern Japan as a great descendant of Edo's samurai moral code. The concept was very well accepted in the West and compared to Victorian chivalry. One example of its influence on Japan's International affairs is presented in the diary of Baroness d'Anethan,¹¹⁶ the wife of Baron Albert d'Anethan, who was an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of the Belgians in Japan. The Baroness lived in Japan for 14 years, from 1893 to 1906, and shared her experience in *Fourteen years of diplomatic life in Japan: leaves from the diary of Baroness Albert D'Anethan* (London: Stanley Paul & Co. 1912). Her diary gives an insight into

¹¹³ Literary Chinese based on ancient Chinese vocabulary and grammar. It was used in Japan until the 20th century. It did not resemble spoken language and was considered a writing system for correspondence and intellectual texts. Its role is comparable to Latin in Europe.

¹¹⁴ *Heike monogatari* is an epic account presenting the Gempei War (1180–5) conducted by two Japanese clans, Taira and Minamoto, over who would rule Japan.

Taiheiki is a historical epic featuring the battle for power between the Northern Court in Kyoto and Southern Court in Yoshino.

¹¹⁵ A native Japanese language

¹¹⁶ Born Eleanora Mary Haggard.

late-Meiji politics and social life (Sterry 2009: 142). In her work, she cited numerous instances where war victories were accompanied by references to *bushidō*, along with commentary on the excellence and readiness for death displayed by the Japanese military. The Baroness described visits to Japanese officers at the Red Cross Hospital. The soldiers were extremely proud to show their war wounds to her. She also recalled a festival in Kamakura in September 1904, where an enormous wood model celebrating war, portraying guns and funnels, was carried by people throughout the village, supported by music, yells and cries (*ibid.* 165-6). For more examples of *Bushidō* in international affairs, cf. Section 4.18.

Nitobe's views on *bushidō* are sometimes discussed as appropriation of the term, which used to be associated with the ideal of indigenous masculinity and affirmation of the heroic qualities of past leaders (Karlin 2014: 65, 71).

Bronisław mentioned Nitobe in his article (Piłsudski 1907: 7/172-6). He stated that even the famous *Bushidō* writer, well-educated and married to an American woman, still expressed regret that Japanese women absorb European ideas of female freedom and fight for their rights. Bronisław wrote that Nitobe was uncertain if the reforms would compensate the loss of the charm and values of traditional Japanese women (Majewicz 2020: 224).

After the Russo-Japanese War, some argued that *bushidō* seen as the *Way of Warrior* must now transform into *jitsugyōdō* – the *Way of Business*. This shift would set the base for Japanese capitalism and rational business by teaching employees the moral code of working for the nation (Sagers 2018: 112).

As a politician, Nitobe was a colonialist. He devoted himself to the research on Japanese colonial thought, for which in 1908 he was named the first chair of colonial studies at Tokyo University. He wrote Japanese colonialism into the context of the colonial global phenomenon rather than just using it as an economic theory. Furthermore, he published papers on colonialism history, in which he for instance argued that before the 19th century Japanese language did not have a proper word for 'colony' and the term *shokumin* ('colonisation') was first used in an English-Japanese dictionary from 1862. Alongside other scholars, Nitobe discussed the proper behaviour of a colony owner towards "primitive peoples", methods of governing and administrating colonial territories, and initiating assimilation (Peattie 1984: 80, 86, 88, 91, 93-5, 99, 114).

4.12. Sakae Ōsugi

Sakae Ōsugi (1885 Marugame–1923 Tokyo) was a Japanese anarchist writer and activist.

He was born to a military family in Kagawa Prefecture as one of nine siblings and raised in Niigata Prefecture. From his childhood, Ōsugi remembered his father, a military officer, preparing excitedly for a war with Russia long before it was officially announced (Filler 2012: 52; Stanley 1982: 1, 5).

Ōsugi himself entered the Nagoya Kadet School but quit after a knife fight¹¹⁷ in 1899. He then enrolled in the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages to study French, where he became involved in student movements. It was through these experiences that he joined *Heiminsha* and became a socialist (Filler 2012: 52).

It is important to note that Ōsugi had been a very disturbed child and carried his fury into adulthood. His own recollections suggest that he would kill cats and dogs, get into very serious fights with other children and spit in teachers' faces. Moreover, he went through sexual initiation at only 10 years old and was forced into homosexual relationships by elder students in military school (Filler 2012: 59; Stanley 1982: 10-3).

Another factor which set him apart from others was that his modern education did not emphasise the knowledge of Confucian classics. He was younger than other socialists and very peculiar in his way of thinking (Stanley 1982: 15).

One more very distinctive characteristic was that Ōsugi stuttered, especially on the syllables starting with *k* or *g*. In later years, his fellow socialist Sakai (cf. Section 4.6) would joke that Ōsugi *stuttered fluently in five or six languages* (*ibid.* 9).

Ōsugi started his literary career abiding to rules and censorship regulations of those days. However, it was completely out of his character. In the last number of his magazine *Kindai Shisō* ('modern thought'), he called the efforts a *literary masturbation*. He wanted a life full of individuality and freedom of action. Instead, he felt like it was over theorised and compromised. He aimed to act without overthinking when it felt right. This philosophy Ōsugi is said to have taken from stories about brave samurai warriors (Filler 2012: 53, 56-7; Stanley 1982: 21).

After attending a speech by the female authors of the Japanese feminist magazine *Seitō* (the Japanese version of the British *Bluestocking*, issued in years 1911–6), he published a commentary expressing his hope that they would not

¹¹⁷ The resignation was denied by Nagoya Kadet School and changed to an expulsion (Stanley 1982: 25).

only focus on literature but also be actively engaged in social issues (Raichō kenkyūkai 2001: 197).

In the magazine *Shin Kōron* ('new public debate'), he criticised some of the views presented in *Seitō*. He suggested that a broader social context should be considered when discussing the topic of female virginity and that women's sexuality should be examined in relation to the commodification inherent in the capitalist market (Bardsley 2007: 78).

There are some questions regarding the true authorship of certain papers published in *Seitō*. It is speculated that Ōsugi may have been the actual author of a piece published under his wife Yasuko Hori's (cf. Section 4.6) name. The article expressed that the old, feudal structure of society made it impossible for women to become "new women" (*atarashii onna*) (Bardsley 2007: 17; Sievers 1983: 177).

Of all the contributors to *Seitō*, Ōsugi was most interested in Noe Itō. He published her essay, *The drama of women's emancipation*, in the May 1914 issue of his magazine *Kindai Shisō*, and rewarded her for it (Raichō Kenkyūkai 2001: 197).

Furthermore, he recommended publishing translations of Olive Schreiner's *Dreams* in *Seitō*, which had first appeared in *Katei Zasshi* (cf. Section 4.6; Raichō Kenkyūkai 2001: 211).

His first legal wife, Yasuko, participated in the creation of various publications such as *Katei Zasshi*, *Kindai Shisō* (published 1912–4 and 1915–6), *Heimin Shimbun*, and *Azami* (Filler 2012: 52; Raichō Kenkyūkai 2001: 148).

Ōsugi believed in "free love", which he defined as consisting of the economic independence of partners, not living together, and respecting each other's sexual choices (Raichō Kenkyūkai 2001: 197). However, this idea of love was not shared by his legal wife, Yasuko Hori, who referred to herself as an "old woman" (*furui onna*) in contrast to the *Seitō* movement's "new woman" (*atarashii onna*). Furthermore, it was not even accepted by journalist and writer Ichiko Kamichika, one of Ōsugi's lovers, who attempted to stab him in the neck after discovering his simultaneous affairs with both her and Noe Itō. This event, known as the Incident at the Hikage Teahouse (*Hikage chaya jiken*), took place on February 9, 1916, and was widely covered by the press (Raichō Kenkyūkai 2001: 76, 79, 148).

Itō began planning to live with Ōsugi while he was still married to Yasuko Hori and involved with Ichiko Kamichika. Later, they formalised their relationship and were together for seven years until their deaths (Sievers 1983: 185–6).

Ōsugi had five children with Itō, while she had two additional children from a previous marriage, whom she left in the care of her ex-husband (Sievers 1983: 185–186; Bardsley 2007: 120, 126–7, 143).

Ōsugi was a colleague of Bronisław's socialist friend, Hyōma Yokota. Both Japanese men were involved with *Heimin Shimbun*, and their activities were of

great interest to the police, who were actively working to suppress the radical revolutionary movement and detain its most extreme members (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/66).

Bronisław reported on significant Japanese social events, one of which Ōsugi participated in. Ōsugi was arrested as a member of the Japanese Socialist Party when protests against increasing railroad fares escalated into a riot. These protests took place in Tokyo's Hibiya Park on March 11 and 15, 1906. Among the arrested were the editors of the socialist magazine *Hikari*. Bronisław documented these events in his articles "Iz Yaponii" ('from Japan'), dated March 26 and April 2, 1906, for the Russian magazine *Priroda i lyudi Dal'nego Vostoka* ('nature and people of the Far East'). He noted witnessing around 10 to 15 windows broken by protesters at the tram management board building (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/85; Majewicz 2020: 120-5; Sawada 2021: 243).

This protest ended any possibility for Ōsugi to work as a language instructor for the army, a career path he had believed would be his future. At that time, he was already experienced in translating texts into Japanese from English, French, German, and Italian. He had applied for the position of a language teacher in the military and was sent to prison just a few days before he was supposed to receive feedback from army officials (Stanley 1982: 41-2).

Fortunately, Ōsugi did not entirely give up on translating, which eventually led to him interpreting from English to French during Bronisław's first meeting with feminist magazine editor Utako Imai. This event is mentioned in (Piłsudski 1907: 9/213-7)

Later, Ōsugi participated in another riot – the Red Flag Incident (cf. Section 4.6). Together with Sakai, Arahata, and other socialist journalists, he was arrested for waving propaganda flags. Ōsugi was sentenced to 2,5 years in prison and fined 25 yen. He was incarcerated in Chiba Prison, where one of the guards recognised him as the son of officer Azuma Ōsugi, which raised some eyebrows (Sievers 1983: 154-5; Stanley 1982: 3).

Ōsugi often studied languages while in jail, becoming multilingual. He learned French, English, German, Russian, Italian, and Esperanto. He translated works by Darwin, Fabre (*Souvenirs Entomologiques*, Paris: Librairie Delagrave 1879), and Kropotkin (Majewicz 2020: 231; Stanley 1982: 47; Filler 2012: 55).

Ōsugi was also depicted in the works of his colleagues. In Arahata's story "Tōhisha" ('those in hiding'), Ōsugi was portrayed as a loyal comrade to Arahata, with both men discussing the future of their significantly diminished movement (Filler 2012: 50).

In 1922, Ōsugi traveled to Europe and made acquaintance with Western anarchists. During his stay in France, he witnessed unbelievable amount of filth, poverty and prostitution. The leading Japanese anarchist was extremely surprised by the French lack of order and called it hell. Eventually, he was deported from France after causing a riot at a May Day meeting near Paris (Stanley 1982: 145-6; Filler 2012: 52).

After the Russian Revolution of 1917, Ōsugi decided to fully support anarchism over socialism. However, he still cooperated with socialists and traveled to Shanghai to meet with their Chinese branch (127, 132). Sakai was very unhappy about Ōsugi's activities, and the two men were in deep conflict. Ōsugi even coined the nickname "Sakai Bokehiko" ('Sakai the feeble-minded') to criticise his rival for being pro-Bolshevik. Ōsugi himself was a strong opponent of dictatorship and Lenin (Stanley 1982: 127-140).

Unfortunately, Ōsugi was murdered in 1923 by the police, along with his partner Noe Itō and a 7-year-old nephew, shortly after the destructive Great Kantō Earthquake hit the region, which gave the authorities an excuse to eliminate political enemies (Bardsley 2007: 120).

After Ōsugi's tragic death, his former wife Yasuko Hori commemorated him, but also remembered him as a man who was like a little child – *shōni-no yō-na otoko* (Raichō kenkyūkai 2001: 149).

4.13. Norinaga Motoori

Norinaga Motoori (1730 Matsusaka, Ise Province¹¹⁸–1801 Matsusaka) was a Japanese scholar, who specialised in Shintō and Japanese classics. He took part in the *kokugaku* (national learning) movement, which aimed to distinguish the most Japanese motifs in literature, art and religion and separate them from foreign influence, e.g. Chinese Confucianism and Buddhism. He also took part in the discussion on the definition of *kokutai*, which can mean a harmonious union between the emperor and his nation, comparable to a family led by a father (Irokawa & Jansen 1985: 249, 265). For more on *kokutai*, see Section 4.18. At the end of the shogunate, Motoori's interpretation of responsibility towards the emperor made village headman feel less inferior to feudal lords (Motoyama 1997: 35-7).

Motoori searched for the sound of the traditional Japanese language in classics such as *Kojiki*¹¹⁹ (712). He tried not only to understand the *kanji* characters in writing but also to imagine the sound it might have represented before it was converted into a Chinese character (Ueda 2021: 31).

His most exemplary commentary *Kojiki-den* (1798) to this day is the door to understanding and reading Japanese classics. It contains pronunciation details, which would be forgotten by now, as well as Motoori's interpretations of the texts. In the Meiji period, his works were further popularised and became more

¹¹⁸ Currently Mie Prefecture.

¹¹⁹ *Kojiki* is a combination of Japanese mythology and history chronicles from the 8th century. It describes the mythological genesis of Japan created by gods Izanami and Izanagi. Japan's emperors are said to be descendants of gods and legendary emperor Jimmu.

affordable because of the progress in printing technology (Wachutka 2013: 227).

Confucianism and Buddhism in Motoori's view were ideas, which brought demotion to Japan's traditional *kami* – animistic gods and creatures representing themselves through nature. The scholar was against merging Shintō and Buddhism into a dual religion (Collcutt 1986: 145). Moreover, he opposed to the stiff and superficial morality promoted by Confucianism. Japanese literature and mythology was rich in sexual allusions and very open about human physiology. Confucianism criticised this kind of content. That inspired Motoori to write essays in support of human expression. In this way, he was protecting Japanese literature from being marginalised as immoral nonsense (Walker 1979: 13).

Other motifs Motoori believed to be Japanese were the sensitive poems, emotionality, and the concept of *mono-no aware* ('pathos of things'). He contrasted it with what he considered Chinese intellect and cold calculation (Copeland 2000: 33). The 'Japanese spirit' he named *yamatogokoro* and the Chinese spirit *karagokoro* (Saitō 2021: 25-6).

Motoori had around 400 disciples, some of which created their own literary research schools. In the future, the best students could for example serve as literary specialists at the Imperial Household Ministry at the Office for Poetry (Wachutka 2013: 3, 81). Motoori's great-grandchild in-law, Toyokai Motoori, continued the legacy of Mootori school. He taught *kokugaku* at leading schools in Tokyo. In 1896, he started tutoring the crown prince, who would then become Emperor Taishō (*ibid.* 267). This concludes that Mootori's works were influential not only in the Edo and Meiji period but Taishō (1912–26) as well.

Bronisław mentioned Motoori in (Piłsudski 1907: 9/216-7). He quoted a poem by the scholar and named it the most popular amongst Japanese youth, both boys and girls. He heard that it best presented the Japanese spirit (*yamatogokoro*) (Majewicz 2020: 225, 232-3).

敷島の
大和心を人とはば
朝日に匂ふ
山桜花

Shikishima-no
Yamatogokoro-o hito towaba
Asahi-ni niou
Yamazakurabana

Should anyone ask me
About the Japanese spirit,

It is the wild cherry blossoms
Blooming in the morning sun¹²⁰

Matsumoto (1974: 101-2) argues the above poem was misinterpreted for military propaganda reasons for so long that almost exact words were cited by Shōichi Yokoi, a sergeant who survived 28 years alone in the cave of Guam after losing a battle to the US forces. He felt guilty for outliving his comrades instead of dying on duty and was embarrassed to return home after World War 2 ended. However, what Motoori was trying to achieve by his poem was simply describing his feeling about *mono-no aware* and *yamatogokoro*. The poem was not written as an encouragement to give away life.

4.14. Kiyo Endō

Bronisław knew Kiyo Endō (1882–1920) personally and remained in contact with her through letters to stay informed on matters important to him, especially as he researched the situation of Japanese women during the period of fundamental social changes from feudalism to capitalism.

Endō, known also under the name Kiyo Iwano, was a Japanese teacher, writer, journalist, social activist and contributor to the Japanese feminist magazine *Seitō*.

She inherited her surname after her grandmother (her father's was Kimura) and very early in life became the head of Endō family. She wanted to become a teacher or a journalist, because her father's job was not satisfactory for her (Raichō kenkyūkai 2001: 44).

Endō was very emotional when it came to relationships. In 1909, she tried to commit suicide by throwing herself into the ocean, when a married man Nakao Gorō wanted to break up with her (Bardsley 2007: 148-9).

¹²⁰ Matsumoto 1974. Translation after: Matsumoto Shigeru 1970. *Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801)*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, p. 169.

Original after: Ōkubo Tadashi (ed.). *Motoori Norinaga zenshū* ['collected works of Norinaga Motoori'], vol. XV, p. 462. Year not given by author.

Later, she was introduced to the naturalist writer Hōmei Iwano by a mutual socialist friend, Utako Imai.¹²¹ She moved in with him 10 days after they met, though Endō's condition was that they would live as friends and wait for a spiritual connection between them before pursuing a physical relationship (*ibid.*).

Hōmei encouraged her to write short novels, and she produced titles such as *Antō* ('secret struggle') and *Karekusa* ('withered grass'). She began writing for *Seitō* from its early days in 1911 and contributed a total of 20 pieces. Her inspirations included writers like Charlotte Perkins Gilman¹²² and Olive Schreiner (cf. Section 4.6; Bardsley 2007: 149, 154; Raichō kenkyūkai 2001: 44-5).

In her writings, she introduced topics such as living a healthy life in the countryside rather than in the city, self-discovery, self-cultivation, and intellectual development as the most important duties of women. She also emphasised independence and solitude as means of searching for self-awareness. In addition, she translated significant foreign works. It is believed

¹²¹ Although in this thesis Imai is presented in a limited context, Yang (2017: 1-22) argues that her impact on the Japanese social movement was significant. Prior to the contributions often mentioned in connection with Bronisław's biography, she most likely worked for magazines such as *Chokugen* ('frankly speaking', 1905), *Nikkan Heimin Shimbun* ('daily commoners' news', 1907), and *Shūkan Heimin Shimbun* ('weekly commoners' news' 1903-5). Imai attended Japan Women's University, but due to poor health, she resigned before graduation. Before her resignation, she helped establish a student association for foreign students (e.g. from India and Burma). Given the time period, she likely received the best education available to her. She was introduced to the *Heiminsha* community by Tokijirō Katō (cf. Subsection 1.3.2), a physician and the principal of Heimin Hospital, where Imai often underwent treatment. This provides an interesting perspective on how the *Heiminsha* may have recruited some of its members.

¹²² Charlotte Perkins Gilman was an American writer, feminist, and socialist. She joined the socialist movement in 1890, aiming to support the early stages of socialism, the kind that was humanitarian in nature, such as that of Robert Owen (cf. Section 4.17). Gilman hoped that Americans would free themselves from the tyranny of money, just as they had with religion (during the Protestant Reformation) and royalty. She believed that only economic and industrial freedom could provide workers with the true ability to vote for their own interests, as they often voted in favour of their employers rather than for themselves. Gilman argued that society would be wealthier and better off if women were allowed to perform a wider variety of jobs. She also wrote extensively about marriage, comparing it to prostitution, arguing that women in both situations competed not on moral grounds, but economically, in the same marketplace. In her view, a woman's economic value was exploited by men both at home and at work, though at least in the workplace, she could receive payment (Van Wienen 2012: 23-51).

that Endō may have been the translator of *Monna Vanna* by Maeterlinck¹²³ and Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, both published in Japan in 1914 (Bardsley 2007: 38, 83, 91-2, 239; Sawada 2021: 259).

Many women came to *Bluestocking* for advice, sometimes traveling by train from outside Tokyo. Endō herself had such an encounter at her doorstep (Bardsley 2007: 8). The efforts of *Seitō* to improve women's lives emerged amidst rapid industrialisation and the inevitable challenges of hard labour.

Together with Fukuda (cf. Sections 4.3 and 4.6) and Imai, Endō fought to abolish Article Five of the 1890 Police Security Regulations, which forbade women from joining political parties and publicly discussing political issues. Between 1904 and 1909, she actively participated in the socialist Commoners' Society (*Heiminsha*) activities, collecting signatures and visiting the Diet to advocate for change (Bardsley 2007: 12, 149; Yang 2017: 14).

On February 15, 1913, Endō delivered an influential speech at the *Bluestocking's* public lecture event at Kanda Youth Hall, titled On Intellectual and Economic Independence. She strongly believed in the awakening of women and their self-awareness. She criticised women for passively accepting things as they were, without engaging in the mental work required to understand the state of affairs and going through the thought process of building their own individual character, rather than merely surrendering to the opinions of their husbands and parents (Bardsley 2007: 156).

She wanted women to resign from the benefit of staying at home, where the most challenging duties were only shopping and childcare. Instead, she provoked them to learn law and politics. She wished for women to go out to the streets. In her opinion, building a self-aware character without taking part in social activism was the same as her young naive self seeking ever-lasting spiritual love, whilst treating physical touch as only a faraway option, not necessity (*ibid.*).

Endō wished for every woman to be independent economically from her family, basing her opinion on her own experience of performing various jobs. She even argued that women have children only once in 2–3 years, which is not a huge barrier for working professionally. It disheartened her that, while some modern, educated men supported her views, many women rejected them and were even agitated by them (*ibid.*).

In 1920, she joined the new-established New Women's Society (*Shinfujin Kyōkai*), where she criticised child-labour and the state's regulations for women (*ibid.* 153).

After Endō and her husband's eldest son was born, Hōmei became a lover of Fusae Kanbara. Disappointed with marriage, romance and the nature of men,

¹²³ Maurice Polydore Marie Bernard Maeterlinck was a Belgian playwright and poet known for his contributions to the Symbolist movement. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1911.

Endō sued her unfaithful husband Hōmei to demand he would come back home, where he had left not only his wife, but also his son Tamio and another child from a previous marriage. Endō stated that she knew Hōmei's love was over and that he will not come back. However, she consistently fought for a higher social standing for women. She believed the institution of wife should be legally protected. Especially that in her own previous affair with a married man, she was led to believe that he would leave his wife for her. As for Hōmei, he was content with having both a wife and a lover and saw no issue with his romance with Fusae Kanbara, as long as all of his needs were met (*ibid.* 153, 157-8, 169).

Endō believed in individualism and freedom of choice to the point that she asked Hōmei son from his previous marriage, whether he wanted to leave with his father or stay with her. The boy chose Endō over his blood-related parent (*ibid.*).

Endō's constant fight for women's rights brought her to Bronisław's attention, as he studied the status and situation of Japanese women for research and journalistic purposes. Endō, on the other hand, might have been intrigued by Bronisław, seeing him as a true European socialist and revolutionary.

An English letter from Endō to Bronisław, dated July 17, 1906, is preserved in the archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences Library in Cracow. The letter reflects the period when Bronisław relocated to Nagasaki, where he reconnected with Russian and Polish revolutionaries he had known previously. Among them was his friend from Sakhalin, Edmund Płoski (cf. Subsection 1.3.1 and Sections 1.2, 2.1, 2.2, 2.4 and 3.1), the founder of the Polish "Proletariat" Party (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/47, 102; Sawada 2021: 189).

While in Nagasaki, Bronisław's colleague, V. Alekseyevskiy, asked him for help in finding a job as a Russian teacher in the Tokyo area. In the aforementioned letter, Endō promised her support for Alekseyevskiy should he come to Tokyo to establish a private Russian language school. She also apologised for not being able to bid Bronisław farewell before he left Tokyo for Nagasaki (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/47, 102; Sawada 2021: 189).

It may also be assumed that Endō was mentioned by Yokota in a French postcard to Bronisław dated March 30, 1906, where he writes: "As scheduled, I will visit you at 6 pm on April 1st, along with the ladies of various ages". Endō could have been one of the ladies (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/67; Sawada 2021: 215).

Bronisław mentioned meeting Endō in (Piłsudski 1907: 10/239-45). He saw Endō when he visited the home of Utako Imai, the founder of the Women's Hokkaido Association (*Hokkaidō fujin dōshikai*). The Women's Hokkaido Association aimed to support women who had moved from Hokkaido to mainland Japan. It had ties to Masanosuke Katō, a journalist, politician, member of the Japanese House of Representatives, and founder of *Hokkaidō Shimbun* ('Hokkaido news'). He was the 7th president of Daitō Bunka Academy – an institution established by Japanese nobility, which developed from the idea of

Chinese Studies. Katō's wife, Yasuko, served as vice president of the association. While membership was initially limited to women of Hokkaido origin, it gradually expanded to include members from Tokyo and even one from the United States. Imai's own connections to Hokkaido remain uncertain, though a family with the same surname owned a chain of department stores, which eventually became *Hokkaido Marui-Imai* (Yang 2017: 25-8).

Imai's home served as the editorial board for the women's magazine *Nijūseiki-no Fujin* ('twentieth century woman'). It was there that Endō was introduced to Bronisław as an enthusiastic collaborator and editor of the magazine. She assumed the role of editor in May 1906, starting with volume 3, due to Imai's illness (Sawada 2022: 261).

During their meeting, both women asked Bronisław numerous questions about the sudden murder of Lyudmila Volkenshteyn (cf. Section 4.2). Imai stated that the Japanese women were prepared to fight for their rights if necessary (Majewicz 2020: 234-9).

Although Endō exchanged letters with Bronisław about Alekseyevskiy in 1906, in his article from 1907, he referred to the meeting at Imai's place as though he was learning about Endō for the first time.

Bronisław mentioned in the article that he visited Imai and Endō when they had just returned from a gathering of the Club for Collaborators of Female Magazines (*Fujinbu kisha kurabu*). They were two of only four women who could attend such events, the other two being Fukuda and Sakai's wife (Sawada 2022: 261). Unfortunately, at that time, it was difficult for women to participate in social activities alongside men. Even when they shared similar thoughts and ideals – such as socialism and feminism in this case – it was still challenging for men to accept women as equals in discussions about social issues.

Another source on Bronisław and Endō is an English draft of a letter from Bronisław to Endō dated September 22, 1908, in which he asked her about the reason for stopping publishing *Nijūseiki-no Fujin* and requested to send him a bibliography of works on the subject of the Japanese suffragette movement in European languages. He also inquired about whether some Japanese women were planning to come to Europe (Sawada 2022: 262).

Endō truly tried to live by the principles of economic independence that she advocated. She opened a flower shop to support herself financially, but it did not succeed, prompting her to write an article titled *Bimbō-no ichinen* ('one year of poverty') for the women's magazine *Fujin Kōron*. Unfortunately, Endō passed away at the young age of 38 after visiting the family home of her second husband, Tatsunosuke, in Kyoto. She fell ill and died following surgery (Raichō Kenkyūkai 2001: 44-5).

In 1935, the Bluestockings funded a memorial for Endō in Yanaka Temple in Tokyo, as well as for her son Tamio, who died prematurely in the Great Kantō Earthquake in 1923 (Bardsley 2007: 153-4).

4.15. Utako Shimoda

Utako Shimoda (1854 Iwamura–1936 Tokyo) was the most influential and best-connected female lecturer Bronisław acquainted in Japan.

Shimoda was a well-known Japanese educator of women. She initially served as the headmistress of the Peeresses' School (*Kazoku Jogakkō*) and was a prominent figure in the Patriotic Women's Society (*Aikoku Fujinkai*).¹²⁴ Later, she became the headmistress of Jissen Girls' School (*Jissen Jogakkō*) in Tokyo, which she founded in 1899 (Suzuki 2013: 2).

Her school was one of the first to accept Chinese students, attracting many women from China who sought a modern education. One reason for this was that both Chinese and Japanese educational systems were grounded in Confucianism, providing a shared foundation for understanding reality (*ibid.*).

Shimoda herself came from a family of Confucian scholars. As a child, she read both Chinese and Japanese texts. Two Chinese Confucian thinkers, the traditional Zhu Xi and the more liberal Wang Yangming, formed part of the classical canon she studied (Racel 2022: 78-81).

Drawing from Confucianism, Shimoda taught her students that the Japanese Emperor was a father figure to the nation and that all his subjects should be loyal and dedicated to their country. She emphasised that women, in particular, should strive to become “good wives, wise mothers” (*ryōsai kembo*) for the nation (*ibid.*).

For Shimoda, the Emperor's power was something she genuinely believed in. Her father had previously been placed under house arrest for supporting the “revere the Emperor, expel the barbarians” (*sonnō jōi*) movement, which sided with the Emperor and called for the end of the Shogunate. Furthermore, it was said that her grandmother's ancestor from the 14th century was deeply dedicated to the Southern Court Imperial Family, when the center of power shifted to the Ashikaga Shogunate in the Northern Court (*ibid.*).

Shimoda herself began serving as a lady-in-waiting to Empress Shōken at the age of 19 and received the name *Utako*¹²⁵ from the Empress in appreciation of her poetry (Suzuki 2013: 2).

Shimoda's thinking was shaped by Confucianism, family ties with aristocracy, and traditional guidebooks like Ekiken Kaibara's *Onna daigaku* (‘greater learning for women’) (*ibid.* 3; cf. Section 4.10). Additionally, she also studied eugenics and strongly believed in the superiority of Japan compared to other Asian countries. Chinese students at her school reported feeling embarrassed and inferior. Nevertheless, attending the Academy was life-

¹²⁴ The organisation is, among other things, known for having cared for the victims of the Great Kanto Earthquake (Racel 2022: 77).

¹²⁵ *Uta* 歌 means poem in Japanese.

changing for them. They were asked to untie their feet to enter the school, tie their hair in a Japanese style, and wear a kimono (Judge 2001: 780).

Shimoda was regarded as one of the most influential foreign women in Qing China. She started a publishing house in Shanghai in 1901 by the name of “Society for Renewal” (*Zuoxinshe*). Chinese Empress Dowager Cixi even wanted Shimoda to open a girls’ school in the Summer Palace outside Beijing. Furthermore, the prominent Chinese revolutionary Sun Yatsen asked Shimoda for the privilege of admitting Fu Wenyu, a young Chinese woman, to her school (*ibid.* 773, 777-8).

The paradox of the situation is well represented amongst Shimoda’s graduates. A student named Chen Yan'an transformed at Shimoda’s school from a radical young lady into a very traditional teacher and Qiu Jin became a revolutionary and was executed for planning an uprising against China’s government (Suzuki 2013: 2, 6).

Of course, Shimoda's influence was even stronger in her motherland Japan. She earned a yearly salary of 5,000 yen and was named by Tokyo’s newspapers the highest-earning female employee (Sawada 2022: 274; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/106).

Although Shimoda wrote many guidebooks on how to become an ideal traditional housewife, it is important to note that the Meiji period was far from traditional. Shimoda herself started adapting more modern household strategies. She visited Europe and the US for two years. It helped her introduce to Japan a new field called domestic science, which meant maintaining a house with “scientifically backed techniques and terms” (Suzuki 2013: 2-3).

At that time, professional nursing was only just being introduced in Japan. It was housewives who took on the responsibility of caring for the sick and elderly, assisting doctors, maintaining household hygiene, checking the pulse and temperature of family members, isolating the sick, and so on. However, it is unrealistic to expect that after acquiring strong patient care skills, a woman would continue to be just a traditional housewife (*ibid.* 5). Education brings self-reflection. Some of these women began pursuing careers as professional nurses and became actively involved in social movements. Shimoda was alarmed to learn that some of her students had joined the Japanese Red Cross as a way of expressing resistance against Russia. This was not what she had envisioned for her pupils (Judge 2001: 793). To her, communism, feminism, and individualism were troubling negative trends in the post-Russo-Japanese War era (Racel 2022: 82).

She strongly criticised the Japanese feminist group *Seitō* for their views. Many educators saw them as a dangerous group lacking morals. *Seitō* members, such as Itō (cf. Section 4.12) and Hiratsuka (cf. Section 4.6), published provocative articles targeting Shimoda, including one titled *To [Educator] Lady Shimoda Utako* in September 1914, urging her to use her influence to support their movement (Bardsley 2007: 92, 124, 143; Sievers 1983: 179).

However, Shimoda was focused on educating Japan's female elite. Despite her prominent role as headmistress and member of the Japan Women's Patriotic Association (even authoring its program), she did not engage in the debate to revise Article 5 and did not support feminist causes. In *Seitō's* view, Shimoda was a defender of the status quo, advocating that women should submit to men to secure economic stability (Sievers 1983: 129, 179).

Naturally, Bronisław, who conducted academic and journalistic research on Japanese women, was enthusiastic about meeting such a prominent figure as Shimoda. He was introduced to her by a nurse known by the initial "K."¹²⁶ and interviewed her about women's education in Japan (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/105-6; Majewicz 2020: 263-4; Sawada 2022: 267).

In his article *The awakening of Mongolia*, Bronisław describes how the Mongolian Princess Örléma was about to arrive in Tokyo to enroll in the Jissen Girls' School. She was the wife of Prince Palta, who studied at *Shimbu Gakkō*, a Tokyo school for Chinese students. At that time, three other Mongolian women were already attending the Jissen Girls' School (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/82; Sawada 2022: 239; Majewicz 2020: 148).

Bronisław reported another event related to Shimoda in an article from August 30, 1908 called "Iz yaponskoy zhizni" ('from life in Japan').

In April 1906, the Jissen Girl's School was annexed to *Gakushūin* ('Peers' School'). Shimoda moved on from being the headmistress to the position of Women Department's dean.

Bronisław recorded that in January 1907, General Maresuke Nogi was appointed the new president of *Gakushūin*. He insisted that boys and girls would be introduced to military education. Shimoda opposed the idea together with the female students and in November the same year, she resigned from the post, whilst defending the values she believed in (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/105-6; Sawada 2022: 274; Majewicz 2020: 264-5). According to her, nothing destroyed a woman's social status more than the warrior rule (Racel 2022: 80-1).

In the article, Bronisław emphasised the fact that the female students did not want to resign from wearing silk kimonos, fashionable skirts and hairstyles for the new president (Majewicz 2020: 264).

Shimoda's peak fame ended after a series of articles in *Heimin Shimbun* accused her of sexual involvement with several influential politicians, including former Prime Minister Hirobumi Itō. Although the government banned these articles, few prominent figures came to Shimoda's defense. The era when notable individuals attended Jissen School's graduation ceremonies to show support for Japan-China relations was gradually coming to an end (Suzuki 2013: 6-7).

¹²⁶ Japanese Red Cross nurse Kōko Sōmiya 宗宮幸子.

In 1990, a book titled *Mikado-no onna* ('the emperor's woman') by Mariko Hayashi, a Naoki Prize-winning author,¹²⁷ was published, based on the rumours about Shimoda's double-standard life. The book brought renewed public attention to the life and work of this Meiji-era aristocratic female educator (*ibid.*).

4.16. Shigenobu Ōkuma

Shigenobu Ōkuma (1838 Saga–1922 Tokyo) was the longest-living and longest-serving politician of Japan's Meiji period, whom Bronisław truly admired. He met with Ōkuma to collect information on the future of Russian refugees in Japan and had high hopes that Ōkuma's activities in promoting culture and education would benefit Japan-Poland relations (cf. Subsection 5.1.6).

Ōkuma was born to a wealthy samurai family. He was politically active during the Meiji restoration and then proceeded to serve again in the Taishō period. Throughout his career, he was appointed Minister of Finance, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce and Prime Minister. He worked to abolish Japan's feudal system and establish a constitutional government.

His vision for Japan was to transform it into a British-style parliamentary cabinet system centered around a national assembly. He did not disclose this plan to the Meiji government and instead tried to submit it as a secret memorial to the throne. His opponents accused him of leaking information about government corruption to the public, which triggered protests. As a result, he was removed from the government in 1881. However, his actions sped up the process toward the enactment of a new constitution. Subsequently, an imperial rescript was issued, calling for the establishment of a national assembly (Takii 2023: 7).

In the meantime, Ōkuma founded Tokyo College (*Tōkyō Semmon Gakkō*) in 1882, which was renamed Waseda University in 1902. Today, it remains a prestigious educational institution. In 2023, Waseda University ranked 14th in the Times Higher Education Japanese Universities Ranking.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ The Naoki Prize is a prestigious Japanese literary prize, awarded biannually to the most promising young authors.

¹²⁸ THE Nihon Daigaku Rankingu 2023. "Sōgō rankingu" [general ranking], Japanese universities ranking by Benesse Corporation. <https://japanuniversityrankings.jp/rankings/>. THE 日本大学ランキング 2023. 総合ランキング, Benesse Corporation.

According to Mrs Fraser,¹²⁹ in 1889 a suicidal attack on Ōkuma took place during his discussions on treaty revisions. A neat young man threw a parcel at Ōkuma and as it exploded, he killed himself by cutting his throat. Ōkuma lost his leg in this attack. At that time, Japan's priority was to abolish unfair treaties, approving extraterritoriality for foreigners (Sterry, 2009: 130-1). However, Ōkuma's endeavours did not satisfy the public because the new projects were viewed as equally uneven. A nationalistic song called the *Treaty Revision Song*, depicting foreigners in a satiric way, became known in this time of conflict (Gluck 1985: 114-5).

Ōkuma was aware that foreign trade in the times of industrial revolution was what made a nation influential or weak and he supported the *shokusan kōgyō* (promotion of industry) movement (Duns 1984: 131-3). These were the times when *zaibatsu*, the biggest Japanese concerns, started growing. For example, in 1874 the government needed to transport military forces to Formosa, where 54 sailors from Miyakojima in the Ryukyu Island were killed by locals. However, Japan's partner countries wished to remain neutral and Mitsubishi proved to be the only company able to buy and equip 13 ships for the revenge mission. Ōkuma contracted Mitsubishi and gave it permission to keep the ships for free. From there, the state started to invest in Mitsubishi (Cobbing & Itami 2006: 37-9).

In 1915, Ōkuma's cabinet handed the *Twenty-one Demands* to China. Japan wanted further expansion into South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, control over Shandong Province, participation in the exploitation of natural resources in China and more. The demands were accepted by Chinese administration, which led to an outrage in China and further worsening of Japan-China relations. Later, this act was considered a political failure in Japan (Naraoka 2023: 40-7).

As previously mentioned in Section 4.1, Ōkuma was a Japanese statesman to whom Bronisław together with Futabatei came to obtain information, if there was a possible danger of deportation for Russian revolutionaries, who hid from the Russian Empire in Japan (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/54; Sawada 2021: 200-1).

In issue 5 of PLDV (February 26, 1906), which ran Bronisław's series of articles called "Iz Yaponii" ('from Japan'), Bronisław reported that Shigenobu Ōkuma was one of the attendees at a grand ceremony held by Banker's Club in Tokyo on January 15, 1906. Together with prime minister Hirobumi Itō and

¹²⁹ Mary Crawford Fraser was married to the British Minister to Japan, Hugh Fraser. She stayed in Japan in years 1889-94 and while living there she took notes about her experiences. They were later published as *A Diplomast's Wife in Japan. Letters from Home to Home* (London: Hutchinson & Co. 1899).

minister Yoshirō Sakatani¹³⁰ they warned the audience to not to be blind-folded by the slogans of “Shared World Economy” and access to foreign capital. Especially to foreign bank loans, since Japan was already in big debt due to war expenses (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/83; Majewicz 2020: 100-2; Sawada 2021: 239-40).

Ōkuma published his thoughts on economy in *Tōkyō Keizai Zasshi*¹³¹ (‘Tokyo economic journal’). He criticised trade protectionism and promoted trade freedom. Bronisław documented Ōkuma’s opinions in his own essays (*ibid.*).

Another take on Ōkuma’s view of economy Bronisław introduced in his article “Z życia na Wschodzie” (‘trends in contemporary Japan’) dated February 29, 1908, published in *Prawda* (‘the truth’) magazine. The original written version of Ōkuma’s speech came from the magazine *Shinjidai* (‘the new age’). Ōkuma stated that he was a supporter of speculative dealings and saw them as a form of ambition. He believed taking risk in order to obtain success could result in increase in production. He doubted the government’s financial policy and acknowledge the fact that socialist movements have formed in Japan (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/105; Majewicz 2020: 197-8; Sawada 2021: 272).

In issue 8 of PLDV (March 19, 1906), in the series “Iz Yaponii”, Bronisław praised Ōkuma, who as the president of the “Salvation Group for Poor Harvest Areas in the Northeast” of Waseda University organised a charity concert for those struck by famine due to a massive crop failure, a result of cold weather of 1905. This particular concert took place on February 11, 1906 from 1 pm to 4:40 pm in Tokyo Music School (currently the Faculty of Music at the Tokyo University of the Arts) in Ueno. The initiators of the concert were students from areas touched by the disaster (the rice harvest suffered the most in Miyagi, Fukushima and Iwate prefectures) (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/88-90; Majewicz 2020: 111-5; Sawada 2021: 246-8).

In his article, Bronisław described Ōkuma as “the former premier of the most liberal cabinet in Japan, as well as the leader of the progressive party in the Diet, [who] always shows his understanding of all sorts of social enterprises and progressive projects” (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/88). He also presented Ōkuma as someone, who criticised the present government for not taking measures to prevent the disaster, as well as the bureaucrats for not being moved enough by the sad fate of the victims. Bronisław also mentioned two musicians, who introduced Western music to the Japanese audience: pianist Itoe Tachibana (cf.

¹³⁰ Yoshirō Sakatani was a doctor of finance and Minister of Finance in Saionji’s cabinet (1906–8). He administrated finances during the Russo-Japanese War (its budget was based on loans). Mayor of Tokyo in years 1912–5.

¹³¹ An economy magazine published in years 1879–1923. It described social problems from the point of view of free economy.

Section 4.23), who played Chopin's *Ballad* at the concert and Tamaki Fujii,¹³² who sang romances by Bach, Franz and Bruch. He rated their performances very high and judged that the Japanese understand Western music very well (*ibid.*; Majewicz 2020: 111-5).

In issue 10 (April 2, 1906), Bronisław noted that the new government lacked Ōkuma's progressive ideas. He criticised Saionji's¹³³ cabinet for agreeing to pay politicians in order to secure votes for the nationalisation of all private railway lines. The corruption resulted in further distrust in Saionji's cabinet (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/85; Majewicz 2020: 125-8; Sawada 2021: 242).

In issues 14 and 15 (April 30 and May 7, 1906), Bronisław reported the state of Chinese exchange students in Japan. In February 1906, a meeting of Chinese and Japanese students took place in Tokyo. Ōkuma, together with Shūzō Aoki,¹³⁴ made opening remarks there. The speech was about Chinese youth, who showed democratic, although sometimes revolutionary, values. Ōkuma supported Sun Yatsen,¹³⁵ who fled China for Taiwan and his magazine *Minbao*¹³⁶ and another one, *Twentieth-Century China*, which were published in Tokyo (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/86; Majewicz 2020: 129-36; Sawada 2021: 243).

In issue 21, Bronisław wrote about Ōkuma once again. This time, it was in reference to his Society for Publishing Books Important to the Nation (*Kokusho Kankōkai*), which he founded in 1905. Bronisław named book titles and number

¹³² Tamaki Fujii, better known as Tamaki Miura, was a Japanese opera performer and the lead singer in Giacomo Puccini's musical, *Madame Butterfly*. She toured around Europe and the USA.

¹³³ Kimmochi Saionji was Prime Minister of Japan in years 1906–8 and 1911–2. He was awarded the title of a prince and served as advisor to the emperor. His views were in favour of democratic values.

¹³⁴ Shūzō Aoki was Japan's Minister of Foreign Affairs in years 1889–91 and 1898–1900. He served as ambassador in Washington DC and had good relations with US president Theodore Roosevelt (Roosevelt, Theodore 1908. "Letter from Theodore Roosevelt to Shūzō Aoki", on-line resources of the Library of Congress Manuscript Division. <https://www.theodorerooseveltcenter.org/Research/Digital-Library/Record?libID=o205764>).

¹³⁵ Sun Yatsen was a Chinese revolutionist. He played a leading role in abolishing the Qing dynasty. Sun established the Chinese Republic in 1912 and was its first president. He believed in democracy and socialism. Until recently, Taiwan continued his legacy, but it now moves toward severing any historical connection to China.

¹³⁶ 27 issues published throughout 1905–10 in Kanda, Tokyo (China Families n.d. "Historic newspapers published in China available Open Access online", an on-line resource directed by Robert Bickers, Professor of History at the University of Bristol. <https://www.chinafamilies.net/links-for-further-research/newspapers/historic-newspapers-published-in-china-available-open-access-online/>).

of volumes he knew that were about to be published by the Society (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/86; Majewicz 2020: 142-7; Sawada 2021: 244-5).

Ōkuma is also mentioned as a member of the Protector Committee, Economic Management and School Board of Japan's first university for women in Bronisław's article (Piłsudski 1907: 12/320-7). The university by the name *Nihon Joshi Daigakkō* (Japan Women's University) was established in 1901 with Jinzō Naruse¹³⁷ as its headmaster. Bronisław's article emphasises how greatly female education developed from 1880 with 23,5% of girl students until 1903 with 89,6% of girls pursuing education (*ibid.*).

Moreover, Bronisław noted in his article *Iz yaponskoy zhizni* ('from life in Japan') for *Russkiye Vedomosti* ('Russian news') dated August 30, 1908 that Ōkuma contributed greatly to the book *Fifty years of new Japan* (Japanese title *Kaikoku gojūnenshi*, Tōkyō: Kaikoku Gojūnenshi Hakkōjo 1908-9). The publishing process in Japan resulted in 2 volumes and supplements. The English edition was published by Smith, Elder & Co. in London in 1909, under the supervision of Marcus B. Huish.¹³⁸ A Chinese translation was also published in Tokyo. Ōkuma wrote chapters on contemporary diplomacy and political parties, as well as the preface and conclusion (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/105-7; Majewicz 2020: 263, 265-8; Sawada 2021: 273).

In the book, Ōkuma criticised Japan's low level of intellectual culture, incorrect conception of law, underdevelopment of Japan's commerce and industry, and the inadequate standard of living in comparison to contemporary needs. Ōkuma wished for Japanese students to learn more about discussion, argumentation, critical thinking and analysis (*ibid.*).

Ōkuma's participation in writing this book indicated to Bronisław that he resonated deeply with the traditional Japanese *bushidō* spirit, which he interpreted as akin to "knighthood" (*ibid.*).

¹³⁷ Jinzō Naruse was a Japanese teacher dedicated to women's education. He undertook baptism and served as a Christian priest. In 1890, he went to the US to study and after coming back he established Japan Women's University.

¹³⁸ Marcus B. Huish was a chairman of Japan Society (London; 1879–1911) and an artist. He was recognised by the Japanese government and awarded the rank of Chevalier of the Order of the Sacred Treasure (Textile Research Center 2016. "Huish, Marcus Bourne (1843–1921)", biographical entry. <https://trc-leiden.nl/trc-needles/people-and-functions/authors-scholars-and-activists/huish-marcus-bourne-1843-1921>).

4.17. Kumajirō Kiyama

Kumajirō Kiyama (1880–1911) was an educational critic and the publisher of the magazine *Naigai Kyōiku Hyōron* ('domestic & foreign educational review') (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/108). Bronisław collected information about Kiyama to gain a deeper understanding of the direction in which Japanese education was shifting.

Kiyama's publications include *Kibō-no seinen* ('the youth we wish for', Tōkyō: Naigaikyōiku Hyōronsha 1908), where he discusses the development of young people and discusses topics like: what is life? How to live? What to think? How to succeed? It is a study about observing reality and overcoming mental breakdowns and anxiety.

Shakaishugi undōshi ('the history of socialism', Tōkyō: Chūbunsha 1908) explains to the Japanese reader socialist movements in Britain, France and Germany. Kiyama explores the Chartism movement,¹³⁹ Christian socialism, communism, anarchism and academic socialism. He introduces biograms of socialist leaders, eg. Robert Owen¹⁴⁰ and Francois-Noel Babeuf.¹⁴¹ One chapter is dedicated to socialism in Japan.

Ijin Kurozumi Munetada ('the great Munetada Kurozumi', Tōkyō: Naigaikyōiku Hyōronsha 1908) outlines the life and thought of Kurozumi Munetada,¹⁴² the founder of the Shintō religion sect named Kurozumi-kyō.¹⁴³ It

¹³⁹ Chartism was a social movement in years 1838–57 in Great Britain. It demanded that all men aged 21 have a voting right, not only influential land owners. In 1838, the movements announced its People's Charter, with six main reform postulates.

¹⁴⁰ Robert Owen was a Welsh manufacturer, who became known as the "Father of British Socialism". He aimed to create a utopian world without unemployment and poverty. As an employer, he worked towards improving the conditions for his labourers e.g. shorten the work day to 8 hours and provide education for the employees' children.

¹⁴¹ Francois-Noël Babeuf was a radical activist of the French revolution (1789–99). He believed in the abolishment of private property and introduction of equal property rights for everyone. He was arrested and decapitated for conspiring against the French government.

¹⁴² Kurozumi Munetada was born into a family with a long Shintō tradition, and he himself became a priest.

¹⁴³ This Shintō sect focuses on the worship of Amaterasu, the Goddess of the Sun. Daily sun meditations are part of its practice. These rituals stem from Munetada's paranormal experience, during which, while feeling ill, he suddenly sensed the sun drawing closer to him until he felt as though he had swallowed it. As a result, he became known as "The Founder who Swallowed the Sun (Kokugakuin's Encyclopedia of Shintō n.d. "The founder who swallowed the Sun" [on-line academic shintō resources]. <https://d-museum.kokugakuin.ac.jp/eos/detail/?id=9874>).

contains a biographical sketch, state of research, Munetada's origin of thought, values and outlook on life. It explains how Munetada viewed universal brotherhood and introduces anecdotes related to his life. The history of Kurozumi-kyō is also presented.

In *Kokusei-to kyōiku* ('the state and education', Tōkyō: Hakubunkan 1909), Kiyama presents the idea that education is the basis for society's further development. One chapter is dedicated to Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War. Kiyama attributes it to military education. He writes about how society is indifferent to education and the Ministry of Education needs remodelling. Moreover, he explains his views on teacher training, private school management, educational finances and more.

In February 1908, Kiyama gave a lecture at the Ethics Association Lectures. Later, his essay entitled *Motometari saredo ataerarezu* ('sought, but not received') with content based on the February speech was published in the magazine *Naigaikyōiku Hyōron* ('domestic and foreign education review'). Bronisław quoted some parts of the essay in his own article *Iz khizni sovremennoy Yaponii* (no. 162, July 16, 1909) for *Russkiye vedomosti* (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/107-8; Sawada 2021: 276-7; Majewicz 2020: 279).

The aim of the quotations was to present the state of mind of many Japanese youngsters to the European reader. Bronisław calls Kiyama a "prominent publicist" (Majewicz 2020: 281).

Kiyama reported that the government of that time did not understand the needs of Japanese youth. Their minds were full of anarchistic ideas, encountered during their search for existential answers. A wave of pessimism reached the young. In just one month of 1907, 186 cases of suicide were registered. A famous suicide spot was near to the Kegon waterfall in Nikkō. It became known as such after one young man in 1903 took his life there. Before the act, he wrote a very tearful poem. Bronisław noted that he himself visited Nikkō in 1906 and saw the area was guarded and fenced. He concluded the youths must have found a way to pass through unseen (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 108; Sawada 2022: 276-7; Majewicz 2020: 281).

According to Kiyama, one reason for this depression boom might have been the coldness and ignorance of adults towards young people. Experienced elders should show the youth how to search for meaning in life instead of making allegations (Sawada 2022: 276; Majewicz 2020: 282).

Kiyama notes the deepening of social stratification and unequal money distribution. He does not support socialism nor anarchism, but he realises that without change and education, there will be no means to eliminate fascination with socialism in the lower strata. Kiyama fears that Japan will do it by police force (Majewicz 2020: 282-3; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/108).

Kiyama then criticised how difficult it was for young authors to publish their work. A procedure of ghost writing under the names of recognisable authors was one of the most practised ways to publish (Majewicz 2020: 283).

He touches upon the topic of the Imperial Rescript on Education. In theory, it was suppose to act as a document of morality for students. Nevertheless, no one considered the Rescript to be a guideline for building a good future based on values. Quite the reverse. Pornography and gambling were consuming the time of many. Moral standards had been lost and Kiyama was fearful about what will happen next to his country (Majewicz 2020: 284-7).

4.18. Kentarō Kaneko

Kentarō Kaneko (1853 Torikai Village–1942 Tokyo) played an important role in forming Japan's first constitution, the modern Japanese sense of identity, and moral standards for education, which were important aspects for Bronisław, who reported on Kaneko's doings to the Russian press.

Kaneko was a Japanese politician, diplomat and founder of American Friendship Society (*Beiyū kyōkai*). He worked to strengthen the friendship between the United States and Japan and was awarded an honorary doctorate from Harvard University. He was also the author of the official biography of Emperor Meiji, *Meiji-tennō ki* ('chronicles of Emperor Meiji', 1933) (Majewicz 2020: 284).

Kaneko belonged to the "first generation of Meiji youth". A characteristic trait of this generation, born around 1850, was its positive view of politics, in contrast to the later generations of "Meiji culture founders" (Irokawa & Jansen 1985: 201-2).

He participated in forming one of the first Meiji intellectual associations by becoming a member of *Kyōson Dōshū* ('the society for social intercourse'), established in 1874 by the Japanese liberal Tatsui Baba, who had previously founded similar organisations in London. The association held open lectures on law, commerce, hygiene, and education every second and fourth Wednesday of the month. Later, the lectures were published in the magazine *Kyōson Zasshi*, which came out in years 1875-1876 and 1879-1880 (Kim 2007: 156-8).

In 1897, it became forbidden for government officials to participate in public lectures. Since the association was composed mainly of politically active members, they withdrew from participating in *Kyōson Dōshū* (*ibid.* 156-8).

Kaneko was also a member of the *Ōmeisha* ('singing birds society'). The Society was officially established in 1877 and took its name from a verse in the Chinese *Shijing* ('book of poetry', 11th-7th century BC, traditionally attributed to Confucius). It attracted numerous attorneys and judges from the Law Ministry, and after the 1897 ban, also lawyers and journalists. The Society promoted Western knowledge, law, and civil rights, and its members called for the creation of a national assembly. The content of the lectures was later published in the *Ōmei Zasshi* magazine (the last issue under this name was

published in 1883). Initially, members supported the establishment of the Liberal Party, but some later shifted their support to the Constitutional Progressive Party (*ibid.* 163-4, 167-9).

Another association Kaneko joined was the *Kōjunsha* ('exchange and consultation society'), established in 1880 by Keiō University alumni. Their journal, *Kōjun Zasshi*, was published from 1880 to 1901 and covered topics such as law, politics, economy, commerce, agriculture, and industry (*ibid.* 181-2).

Among the associations Kaneko was involved in, all created their own draft proposals for the new Meiji Constitution. It was a very popular topic of discussion among Japanese intellectuals, and the number of civic constitutional drafts introduced publicly from 1868 to 1887 is estimated to be between 66 and 94. The *Ōmeisha* draft included a long paragraph presenting the emperor as a descendant of the legendary Emperor Jimmu, and Kaneko contributed to the work on this document (*ibid.* 331-2).

In 1888, he became a member of the Privy Council, a committee appointed by Hirobumi Itō to prepare the content of the official constitution. It was mandated that the draft be kept secret from the public, with each member having only one copy of the document, which was signed with their name and stored in individual locked briefcases between meetings (*ibid.* 373). The main inspirations for the Japanese constitutionalists were the Prussian and British models. Meiji intellectuals discussed various possibilities and referred to the constitutions of countries like the United States, Spain, France, Poland, Austria, and others (*ibid.* 337, 349).

Kaneko served as a member of the Commerce and Agriculture Ministry under Itō. He believed that Japan could not compete using only agriculture against countries like the United States, Canada, Russia, and Australia. It was during the 1890s that manufacturing began to surpass agriculture, and Japanese leaders were looking for ways to expand into foreign markets (Myers & Peattie 1984: 132, 135).

Kaneko planned to leverage Japan's coal and labor resources to become a manufacturing giant. He proposed exporting traditional artistic crafts such as raw silk, paper, ceramics, and lacquerware to the US market, while targeting the Asia-Pacific region with products like cement, canned goods, matches, flannel, cotton yarn, cotton cloth, and more (*ibid.* 135).

In 1896, foreign traders controlled around 74% of Japan's non-official exports and 70% of its non-official imports. The government was seeking to change this (*ibid.* 148).

Bronisław mentioned Kaneko in his article "Z życia współczesnej Japonii" ('life in contemporary Japan') for *Russkiye Vedomosti* magazine, dated July 16, 1909. He reported Kaneko wanted to promote in the US the idea that the Imperial Rescript on Education, which was mandatory in Japanese schools, could replace the outdated teachings of the Bible. However, it was argued that,

in reality, the Rescript did not show significant pedagogical results even in Japan (Majewicz 2020: 279-84).

A step toward deepening the understanding of Kaneko's comment, as referred to by Bronisław, is to examine the ongoing discussion about *kokutai* taking place in Japan at that time.

In 1884, while Kaneko was Itō's private secretary, he received a letter from court official Takayuki Sasaki asking him to clarify the exact meaning of *kokutai*. *Kokutai*, in its simplest definition, referred to national identity during an era of imperialism, nationalism, and militarism. Sasaki was concerned that the meaning of *kokutai* seemed to be constantly evolving. Kaneko reassured Sasaki that *kokutai* was a constant virtue, but he was then reprimanded by Itō, who wanted *kokutai* to evolve along with the times, aiming to create an ever-developing sense of national identity (Gluck 1985: 144-6).

However, in 1908, after years of reinterpreting *kokutai* with a highly nationalistic approach, Itō took a different stance and stated in his speech that the government could only change the political structure, called *seitai*, while *kokutai* remained unchangeable. In the 1880s, Itō needed an interpretation that would allow him to shape the new Meiji Constitution. By 1908, the reforms were already in place, and a less dynamic interpretation suited his political agenda better. This view of *kokutai* was also shared by Kaneko (*ibid.*).

Finally, the concept of *kokutai* was incorporated into the Imperial Rescript on Education, and Kaneko argued that it should also be taught in the US (*ibid.*). But why exactly was Kaneko in a position to introduce Americans to the Japanese way of thinking?

During the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5, Kaneko was given a special mission by Itō: to win the support of the US government and public opinion for Japan, so that they would side with Japan in the war (Matsumura & Ruxton 2009: 1-6).

Japan was in desperate need of allies after the Triple Intervention and the Boxer Rebellion. Russia had broken its promise to withdraw from Manchuria and seemed poised to dominate Korea as well, which posed a significant threat to Japan's national security. Furthermore, Japan could not tolerate the possibility of China's partition and saw war as the only way to alter the course of its international relations. However, it was also clear that Japan would be unable to defeat Russia without the mediation of a third party. The United States happened to be Japan's only neutral partner at the time (*ibid.*).

Kaneko was assigned the mission on his 51st birthday, February 4, 1904, according to the old lunar calendar, or March 13 in the solar calendar. On that day, Japan officially broke diplomatic relations with Russia via telegram (*ibid.* 7-8). Kaneko was promised funds to purchase several US newspaper titles and control reporters to express solidarity with Japan. However, he chose a different approach, deciding to win over US public opinion by giving speeches,

interviews, and lectures, rather than focusing on just one newspaper (*ibid.* 12, 64-5).

It was the time of Yellow Peril propaganda, where in Europe and the US there was a widespread belief that Asian countries would attack the West, similar to how the Mongols once did. This idea was especially promoted by Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm II. One of Kaneko's goals, therefore, was to convince the foreign public that Japan was a modern, civilised, "almost Catholic" country and to expose the Yellow Peril as a lie (*ibid.* 9, 15-6, 23-4).

Kaneko was the ideal diplomat to dispatch to the US, as he had extensive knowledge of American affairs, years of experience from living in the country, and a wide network of American colleagues.

He first came to the US in 1871 to study in Boston, including a two-year program at Harvard Law School. He entered Harvard in 1876, the same year as Theodore Roosevelt, but the latter enrolled in a four-year liberal arts course at Harvard College, and at that time, they did not meet (*ibid.* 19, 45). In 1889, Kaneko returned to the US to research the parliamentary systems of Europe and America, which was intended to help Japan transition to a modern constitutional government, led by its parliament. Three of Roosevelt's distinguished friends – William Sturgis Bigelow, Edward Sylvester Morse (cf. Section 4.4), and Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, all great enthusiasts of Japanese culture and art – encouraged Kaneko to meet Roosevelt, a man who they believed would become a very important figure in the near future. Kaneko was given an introduction letter by Bigelow and befriended Roosevelt during his second stay (*ibid.* 46-8).

Kaneko's Russo-Japanese War delegation was his fifth visit to the US. Although Roosevelt had declared neutrality toward both Russia and Japan just before Kaneko's arrival, the two men had a good relationship, and Kaneko soon encouraged the president to read Inazō Nitobe's *Bushidō: The soul of Japan* (cf. Section 4.11), as well as *Heroic Japan* by F. W. Eastlake.¹⁴⁴ Roosevelt was so inspired by *Bushidō* that he immediately ordered 30 more copies to distribute to his colleagues and family (*ibid.* 54-5). He was also intrigued by Kaneko's description of traditional Japanese women, who obey their husbands and educate their sons (*ibid.* 290-2). Kaneko indeed proved to be an outstanding and charismatic diplomat, with some of Roosevelt's letters to him ending with the enthusiastic farewell "Banzai!" ('long live Japan') (*ibid.* 285; 363).

¹⁴⁴ *Heroic Japan: A history of the war between China & Japan* (Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh 1896) by Frank Warrington Eastlake and Yoshiaki Yamada, was a publication on the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–5. Eastlake was an English educator, faculty member of Keiō University with a PhD in linguistics. He also worked as a journalist in the predecessor of *The Japan Times*. His father, William Clark Eastlake, a dentist, is considered the father of modern Japanese dentistry (Conchology n.d. "Eastlake, Frank Warrington (PhD)", biographical entry under the category *Shellers from the past and the present*. <https://www.conchology.be>).

Kaneko's mission would not have been successful without his extensive American network. Among his friends were: James Bryce, US ambassador to Great Britain; Henry Adams, Harvard scholar and descendant of two former US presidents; Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Supreme Court justice and Kaneko's mentor at Harvard Law School; Stewart Lyndon Woodford, former US Minister to Spain; and Alexander Graham Bell, president of the National Geographic Society and inventor of the telephone (*ibid.* 48, 57, 60, 66, 222). Additionally, a Harvard Club was founded in Japan, which was highly appreciated by fellow American Harvard alumni (*ibid.* 53).

In his spare time, alongside his diplomatic duties, Kaneko engaged in calligraphy and Chinese poetry (*kanshi*), writing poems that expressed his feelings under the pen name "Keisuiken" (*ibid.* 19).

When he passed away in 1941, despite the outbreak of the Second World War and the rupture in Japan-America relations, the US press remembered him as a close friend of Theodore Roosevelt and an outstanding gentleman (*ibid.* 477-80).

4.19. Kenchō Suematsu

Bronisław, during his research on Japan's opening to the world of international relations and trade, kept track of Kenchō Suematsu's (1855 Maeda Village, Chikuzen Province¹⁴⁵–1920 Yukuhashi) opinions regarding the decay of morality in places open to foreigners.

Suematsu, known also under names Senmatsu and Seihyō, was a Japanese journalist, politician, diplomat, writer, and promoter of Japanese culture in the West. Alongside with Kentarō Kaneko (cf. Section 4.18), he is considered the "first generation of Meiji youth" (Irokawa 1985: 202).

He was born as the fourth son of Shichiuemon Suematsu, the headman of Maeda Village in Fukuoka Prefecture. He initially attended a private school called *Suisaien*, led by the renowned scholar Butsuzan Murakami, where he studied Chinese classics and ancient Japanese texts. After his family lost its favourable social position, he moved to Tokyo to attend Tokyo Normal School but eventually dropped out (Matsumura & Ruxton 2011: 40).

Suematsu's career started when he was in his 20s. He got a job as a journalist of *Tōkyō Nichinichi Shimbun* and wrote articles either using his real name or pen name Hyōji Sasanami. Soon, a famous journalist called Gen'ichirō Fukuchi became the president of the newspaper's company and took a liking in Suematsu. One day in 1875, both men were taking a stroll in Tokyo's prestigious district Ginza, when suddenly a western-style carriage stopped by

¹⁴⁵ Currently Fukuoka Prefecture.

and the two were greeted by Hirobumi Itō, who knew Fukuchi and wanted to have a chat with him. On this occasion, Fukuchi introduced Suematsu to Itō and from there, his journalistic career changed its course towards politics (*ibid.* 6-7).

In January 1876, Suematsu became a commissioner in the Central Office of the Council of State. Soon, he was sent to Korea to assist in the writing of the Japan-Korea Friendship Treaty (Treaty of Kanghwa). In 1877, an internal conflict over Japan's politics towards Korea turned into a rebellion (the Satsuma Rebellion) and Suematsu was appointed an adjutant of General Aritomo Yamagata. Suematsu is said to have drafted the "Letter advising surrender" addressed to the rebellion's leader, Takamori Saigō (cf. Sections 4.1 and 4.20). The content of the letter was widely admired in Japan for presenting courtesy, tact and respect towards the defeated troops (*ibid.* 7-9).

In 1878, Suematsu was sent to Britain to investigate English and French historiography. He studied proper historical methodology to prepare for what would become his life's greatest work, the *Bōchō kaitenshi* (1911–20). In order to succeed in this mission, he was appointed the First Secretary at the Japanese Legation in Britain and entered Cambridge University. The courses he enrolled into were literature, languages and law (*ibid.* 7, 29).

Suematsu's British delegation continued for 8 years straight. In 1882, he became the first person in the world to translate 17 chapters of the Japanese classic *Genji monogatari* into English and publish the translated work (*The tale of Genji*, London: Trubner & Co. 1882). For this accomplishment, he was awarded a PhD in literature by the Japanese Minister of Education (*ibid.* 29-30).

In 1884, Suematsu earned a Bachelor of Law degree and, in 1886, he returned to Japan, where he began applying the knowledge he had gained at Cambridge (*ibid.* 41).

He established a Theatre Reform Society (*Engeki kairyōkai*), which aimed to raise public morals. But most importantly, he put much energy into translating

British novels and poems into Japanese, such as Brame's¹⁴⁶ *Dora Thorne*, Gray's *Elegy*,¹⁴⁷ Shelley's *Cloud*¹⁴⁸ and Byron's *Lines on a skull cup* (*ibid.* 29, 39-41).

He also wrote his own history books: *Shina kobungaku ryakushi* ('a brief history of Chinese Classics', 1880. 1882 edition by Tōkyō: Bungakusha), *Girisha kodai rigaku ippan* ('an outline of the science of Ancient Greece', Tōkyō: Bungakusha 1883), *Girisha kodai tetsugaku ippan* ('an outline of the philosophy of Ancient Greece, Tokyo: Bungakusha 1883) and *The identity of the Great Conqueror Genghis Khan with the Japanese hero Yoshitsune* (London: W.H. and L. Collingridge 1879). In the latter, he presented a very unique and controversial theory, according to which the Mongolian great military strategist Genghis Khan and Japanese samurai warrior Yoshitsune Minamoto were the exact same person (*ibid.*).

Suematsu's greatest life project was the *Bōchō kaitenshi*, which detailed the history of one of the most powerful samurai families, the Mōri clan. They were direct descendants of the Fujiwara, who had played significant roles at the

¹⁴⁶ Charlotte Mary Brame was a British writer, author of around 200 romantic fiction works, which were serialised in London story papers. The same stories appeared later in the US under the name "Bertha M. Clay" due to poor copyright regulations of those times. Between 1855–62, Brame wrote poetry and tales for the *Lamp* magazine under the pen name "Charlotte Law". She was also reported to have contributed to Hinckley and Leicester newspapers, although only one such example was found. She published *Tales from the diary of a sister of mercy* (London: Burns, Oates & Co. 1867) about the feeling of affection in marriage and tales for children *Angels' visits* (London: Burns, Oates & Co. 1869). *Dora Thorne*, serialised in 1871 in the magazine *Family Herald* and chosen by Suematsu for translation, is Brame's most cited and reprinted work. It presents the story about a cross-class romance, much as Shakespear's *Romeo and Juliette*. As *Dora Thorne* was Brame's most recognisable work, her other writings were accompanied by the note "by the autor of *Dora Thorne*" (Law, Graham, Gregory Drozd & Debby McNally 2012. "Charlotte Mary Brame", *Victorian Fiction Research Guide* 36. <https://victorianfictionresearchguides.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/36-Charlotte-May-Brame.pdf>).

¹⁴⁷ *An elegy written in a country church yard* (1751) by Thomas Gray is a meditation on universal themes such as destiny and equality. The passing of Gray's friend, Richard West, in 1742 prompted the artists to write the poem. He published it with the support of another friend, Horace Walpole, who was the son of Prime Minister Robert Walpole. The two toured together through France and Italy during their student days. Later, Walpole became a politician and an author of British Gothic novels (Spiazzi, Marina, Marina Tavella & Margaret Layton 2016. "Thomas Gray". In: *Performer Heritage 1. Italy*: Zanichelli. https://online.scuola.zanichelli.it/performerheritage-files/text-bank/TB26_Thomas_Gray.pdf).

¹⁴⁸ *The cloud*, by British romantic poet Percy Bysshe Shelley, is a poetic interpretation of the life cycle of a cloud. It is Shelley's most frequently reprinted poem, praised by critics for its academic precision in depicting a natural phenomenon through lyrical language (Taylor 1980: 70).

imperial court for decades and, in the Meiji period, became part of the new nobility.

To write the chronicle, Suematsu was hired by the Mōri Family Historical Institute in Tokyo. A special budget was allocated by the government for this project, and a team of Meiji intellectuals was assembled. When Suematsu was appointed as the head of the institute, he hired new staff, including Toshihiko Sakai (cf. Section 4.6). This decision proved beneficial, as the chronicle became a topic of political debate, and Sakai, as a journalist, could publish his own perspectives whenever a controversial article appeared in the newspapers (*ibid.* 29, 44-7; 49-53).

Despite all the ups and downs, the 12 volumes of *Bōchō kaitenshi* took over 10 years to complete, and in 1911, Suematsu finally published its first edition (*ibid.* 192).

In 1889, Suematsu married Hirobumi Itō's beloved second daughter, Ikuko. After the premature loss of his eldest daughter, Ikuko became a particularly cherished member of Itō's family. With such a close personal connection to Itō, Suematsu's political career rapidly advanced, and by 1895, he had become a Baron and a member of the House of Peers (*ibid.* 41-2). At the time when Japan was planning the colonisation of Taiwan, he served as a member of the Taiwan Affairs Bureau (Myers & Peattie 1984: 250). He also strongly advocated for the enforcement of the Peace Police Law of 1900, which banned the Social Democratic Party on the day of its founding (Gluck 1985: 174-5).

It is important to note that Suematsu, as a public figure, was not immune to press scandals. An article from *Yorozu Chōhō* in August 1898 attacked his reputation by insinuating sexual misconduct. Overall, *Yorozu Chōhō* investigated around 480 of Japan's influential leaders, accusing politicians of being responsible for the suffering of Japanese women (Huffman 1997: 252-3).

After the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904, Suematsu was dispatched to London on a special mission to advocate for Japan, strengthen Anglo-Japanese relations, and facilitate the acquisition of war loans (Matsumura & Ruxton 2011: 10).

In England, Suematsu had two influential acquaintances he had known since his time at Cambridge – Austen Chamberlain, the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Balfour Cabinet, and his father, Joseph Chamberlain, the former Colonial Secretary. Both were very fond of Suematsu. The millionaire British statesman, Lord Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice Lansdowne, was a friend of Hirobumi Itō, and a recommendation letter from Itō enabled Suematsu to connect with Lansdowne during his stay in England (*ibid.* XVI, 20, 25-6).

Suematsu was 49 years old when he was assigned this mission. He understood both English and French and was eager to present Japan in the best possible light in Europe. After all, there was a significant dichotomy between Christian and non-Christian countries, the “Yellow Peril” was a widely believed

construct (cf. Section 4.18), and no Asian country wanted to be viewed as a target for a modern-day crusade (*ibid.* 10-2, 18).

During his stay in England, Suematsu did his best to promote Japan as a nation of courageous people with high morals. For example, when the Russian fleet mistakenly attacked British fishermen, thinking their trawlers were Japanese torpedo boats (the Dogger Bank incident, October 21–2, 1904), he wrote numerous articles on topics such as *bushidō*, the rigorous training of Japanese soldiers, the beauty of traditional Japanese women, the *harakiri* tradition, and more. This helped his European readers see the similarities between Japanese morals and European chivalry and feel outraged at the cowardice of the Russian soldiers (*ibid.* 110-9).

Taking into consideration Suematsu's work as a lecturer, writer, translator, and intercultural educator, his mission to England was undoubtedly a success. His moralistic approach can also be seen in Bronisław's writings, where Suematsu is mentioned in (Piłsudski 1907: 7/172-6).

In the article, Bronisław recalled a text published by Suematsu about foreigners arriving at the Yokohama port. Suematsu accused them of introducing their frivolous lifestyles and corrupting Yokohama's beauties. The town became notorious for its loose morals, tarnishing the innocent image of Japanese women by associating the port's females with prostitution. Bronisław found Suematsu's opinion significant enough to reference it in his own writing on Japanese women (*ibid.*).

Suematsu was a hard-working man of letters throughout his life. He died of the Spanish flu, which led to pleurisy. Shortly before his death, he published a revised edition of his life's work, the *Bōchō kaitenshi* (1920). Posthumously, he was awarded the Second Class Order of the Rising Sun –the third highest honor after the Order of the Chrysanthemum and the Order of the Paulownia Flowers, given for meritorious service to Japan (Matsumura & Ruxton 2011: 192).

4.20. Shirō Shiba

Shirō Shiba (1852 Kazusa–1922), pen name Tōkai Sanshi, was a Japanese novelist, journalist, politician, and soldier. Bronisław was interested in Shiba's writing due to the fact that his book mentioned Poland.

At 14 years old, Shiba experienced a traumatic event. His mother and younger sister committed suicide so that the male samurai in his family could fight for the Tokugawa Shogunate without any emotional restraint in their battle against the imperial forces. One of his brothers was killed, his father wounded, and Shiba himself arrested (Sakaki 2000: 84-5). This is the reason why his pen name contains a samurai motif – he is Tōkai Sanshi, which means a samurai

without a master, wandering round and about the Tōkai. Sính (1995: 196) uses the translation “The Wanderer of the Eastern Sea” here. However, the *Tōkai* can also mean the old merchant paths connecting capitals of Japan’s provinces.

With external financial support, Shiba went to the US and stayed there from 1879 to 1885. First he studied at the Pacific Business College in San Francisco, then took audit courses at Harvard in Boston to lastly obtain a Bachelor of Finance from Wharton School,¹⁴⁹ University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (Sakaki 2000: 85).

Shiba was recruited to serve as imperial army’s officer during the Satsuma Rebellion in 1887, when Satsuma’s domain samurai Takamori Saigō led an army of warriors, dissatisfied with sudden cultural and social changes, resulting in their lost of power. His brother Gorō took part in the Boxer Rebellion¹⁵⁰ of 1899–1901 and was promoted to general afterwards (Sính 1995: 196-7).

In the 1880s, political novels (*seiji shōsetsu*) became highly popular amongst the public. This boom indicated how Japanese citizens experienced the changing patterns of the Meiji period: the raising social awareness, exposure to foreign campaigns, wars and militarism, as well as public discussions preparing the nation for Japan’s first Constitution and the formation of the Diet (Sakaki 2000: 83-4).

It was then when Shiba started writing *Kajin-no kigū* (‘unexpected encounters with beauties’). The series consists of 16 volumes and its sales are said to have reached several millions. The first volume was published shortly after Shiba came back from the US. Soon, he became a secretary to the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce Kanjō Tani¹⁵¹ and then a vice-minister of the same field himself. He held delegations to Europe and during his travels, he met

¹⁴⁹ Wharton School to this day is considered a high-ranking business school. Its graduates include the American billionaire businessman and current US president Donald J. Trump, CEO of Tesla Inc., SpaceX and owner of X social media platform Elon Musk. Warren Buffett, a well-known stock investor and one of the richest man in the world, is also a former Wharton student. However, he resigned before graduation.

¹⁵⁰ An anti-foreign uprising led by a secret religious society called the “Righteous and Harmonious Fists” or “Boxers” in North China. Its victims were mostly Chinese Christians, Christian missionaries and foreigners (embassy delegates and envoys). The Boxers first fought in opposition to Qing China, then joined forces against foreign nationals. The rebellion greatly weakened the Qing dynasty and made China’s further dependence from foreign powers possible.

¹⁵¹ A Japanese politician, warrior and physician. Commandant of Imperial Japanese Army Academy. He served in the Boshin War (1868–9) in order to abolish samurai class feudalism. Aware that creating a modern country is the only way to compete against the West, Tani helped to suppress the samurai Saga Rebellion of 1873 and fought in the Satsuma Rebellion (1877). As a member of the cabinet, he opposed the Sino-Japanese War (1894–5), Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–23) and Russo-Japanese War (1904–5).

nationalists movement's leaders from Egypt, Turkey and Hungary (Sakaki 2000: 85; Sinh 1995: 197).

Kajin-no kigū reflects the experience of Shiba's delegations. The main character is Tōkai Sanshi himself. Whilst in the US, he meets two beautiful ladies: a Spanish woman named Irena, a noble, who escaped her country in protection of her life, and Karen,¹⁵² an Irish girl, who's father was killed by tyrants. Tōkai, Irena and Karen start to discuss the political situation of many countries, especially their way to independence as a nation (Sinh 1995: 197-8; Sakaki 2000: 86). What is important in the context of this dissertation, one of the countries discussed is Poland. Tōkai explains the partition of Poland to the ladies and the whole topic is summed up with words: "Upon reading this, who could hold back tears?" (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/275).

Bronisław referenced the fact that Poland is mentioned in Shiba's book in an article titled "Co mówią o nas w kraju Wschodzącego Słońca" ('what they say about us in the Land of the Rising Sun') for *Świat* ('the world') magazine, dated March 19, 1910. However, he did not include the title of the book (Sawada 2021: 279).

Bronisław also probably meant Shiba, when he wrote about a lecture on the British Protectorate of Egypt,¹⁵³ in his article "Iz Yaponii" published in PLDV dated March 19, 1906. The lecture was one of many, which happened every January at the start of the new year. The emperor had a custom of inviting great scholars and listening to their opinions on various topics. Bronisław considered him a bright person, interested in science and contemporary matters. Majewicz (2020: 111-2) considers that, since Shiba was the author of a book called *Ejiputo kinseishi* ('modern history of Egypt', Tōkyō: Hakubundō 1889), he was the specialist on Egypt present at the event.

Shiba's interest in global national movements might have been connected to his traumatic past as an Aizu samurai. In his literary work, the main character Sanshi identifies himself as a survivor of Meiji Restoration's changes (Sinh 1995: 198). In a broader sense, after the Shogunate lost power and the samurai rebellions were quelled, the defeated samurai continued to live within society, acutely aware of the rights that had been taken from them. They understood the pain of becoming a marginalised group, much like Bronisław, who as a Pole, knew what it was like to live under the rule of the Russian Empire.

¹⁵² There are a couple of name interpretations. Sakaki (2000: 86) translates *Yūren* and *Kōren* as *Jolanda* and *Coleen*. Sinh 1995 suggests the names *Irena* and *Corinne* or *Karen*.

¹⁵³ Egypt was under British occupation since 1882. The Suez Canal was a strategic project to connect European and Asian markets. It opened in 1869 but cost Egypt a lot, which resulted in Britain buying its shares. In 1882, an unsuccessful anti-British uprising led by Ahmed Urabi ended with Britain increasing its influence in Egypt ("the British conquest of Egypt"). Some considered Egypt's situation similar to Japan's domination over Korea.

4.21. Naobumi Ochiai

Naobumi Ochiai (1861 Kesennuma–1903 Tokyo), born Morimitsu Ayukai, pen names: Haginoya, Sakuranoya, was an Old-Japanese language professor, poet, pioneer in linguistics education and founder of the Institute of National Language (*Kokugo denshūsho*, 1896). As one of the editors of the twenty-four volume of *Complete collection of Japanese literature* (*Nihon bungaku zensho*, Tōkyō: Hakubunkan 1890), he greatly contributed to the research of Japanese Classics of his times (Wachutka 2013: 125).

Ochiai was a great believer in Nipponism (*Nihonshugi*), which he viewed as an original Japanese-type morality based of Shintō-Confucianism and the Imperial Rescript of Education, a counter movement to Westernism. He felt as if all of the Japanese Classics scholars, the *kokugakusha*, came together to form this movement, regardless their province of origin (*ibid.* 193).

Ochiai was a member of *Ōyashima Gakkai* academic society, which published a leading *kokugaku* journal named *Ōyashima Gakkai Zasshi* and established a Japanese Classics school, *Ōyashima Gakkō*. From lecture transcripts it is known that he was responsible for teaching grammar, the usage of *kana* alphabet, *Makura-no sōshi* and *Kokinshū*.¹⁵⁴ Memoirs state that Ochiai was “much loved by the young students and many of his followers became prodigies” (*ibid.* 193-4, 209, 211). He also owned a poetry school called *Asakasha*, which was open to people from many society layers: artists, musicians, journalists, priests, samurai and commoners of any gender (*ibid.* 219).

Ochiai’s dedication to *kokugaku* is not to be viewed as simple nationalism. In those times, the literacy levels in Japan were very low and intellectuals called for a reform which would standardise the Japanese language. It was feared that international law will interpret Japan as an uncivilised country, which would make it a *land with no possessors* (Ueda 2021: 15-7, 55).

Some scholars called for the abolition of *kanji* characters, arguing that it was imported from China and Japan should not use a foreign invention. In Ochiai’s view however, *kanji* were Japanese but their number should be reduced. He called for standardised grammar (especially particles), conjugation, tenses and suffixes. His thoughts on the matter are presented in *Shōrai-no kokubun* (‘the future of national letters’, Tōkyō: Ōfusha 1975) (*ibid.*).

¹⁵⁴ *Makura-no sōshi* (*The pillow book*, 1002) is a compilation of personal essays written by Sei Shōnagon, who was a court lady in the Heian period (794–1185), when Japanese aristocratic literature was at its bloom. *Kokinshū* or *Kokin wakashū* (*Collection of Japanese poems of ancient and modern times*, 914) is an anthology of Japanese poetry collected in the Heian period under the order of the emperor.

As a poet, Ochiai wrote traditional *waka*¹⁵⁵ poetry, especially *tanka*, with a note of modern times. At some point, his poem *Aoba shigereru sakurai-no* ('sakurai, thick with green leaves') became an anthem of the Japanese Ministry of Education and was sung in schools up to World War II (Saito 2021: 73).

Ochiai is considered to have had a modern view on contemporary *tanka* poetry of the Meiji period. However, he opposed the emergence of the new-style poetry, *shintaiishi*, and the movement to introduce syllabic structures different from those traditionally used in Japanese *tanka* and *chōka*. He opted for the development of *chōka* instead (Ueda 2021: 65, 74).

In Ochiai's poem *Kiba ryokō* ('journey on horseback'), one part called *Pōrando kaiko* ('reminiscences from Poland') relates to Poland under partition. The poet learned about this state of matters from general Yasumasa Fukushima, a Japanese attaché militaire, who in years 1892–3 travelled horseback from Berlin to Vladivostok. Fukushima's mission was to collect information needed to modernise the Japanese Army, as well as build connections in Europe, learn about Siberia and exile in preparation for what became the Russo-Japanese War. He spoke 5 language fluently, which made it possible for him to make Polish acquaintances, when he travelled through Poland (Warsaw, Poznań, Kutno and other).

Bronisław reported on Ochiai's poem in the magazine *Świat* ('the world'), in an article entitled *Co mówią o nas w kraju Wschodzącego Słońca* ('what they say about us in the Land of the Rising Sun') dated March 19, 1910. He noted the poem is taught in Japanese schools as an example of classic poetry and beautiful writing style. The students learned it by heart and later it became a popular military song. The Polish translation of the poem was done by Agnieszka Żuławska-Umeda (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 108-9; Majewicz 2020: 353, 356; Pałasz-Rutkowska 2000: 125-33; Pałasz-Rutkowska & Romer: 2019: 38).

4.22. Pierre Loti

Pierre Loti (1850 Rochefort–1923 Hendaye), born Louis-Marie Julien Viaud, was a French naval officer and writer. He came from a deeply religious Protestant family. He served in many countries, from which Turkey became his biggest interest. He visited Japan two times, in 1885 and 1900–1. There he found inspiration for his novel *Madame Chrysanthème* (Paris: Calman-Lévy

¹⁵⁵ *Waka* is the name for traditional Japanese poetry. There are certain subtypes including *tanka* (*short poem*) with a syllable pattern per unit 5–7–5–7–7 and *chōka* (*long poem*), which is an extended version of *tanka* of an undefined length. It begins with the same 5–7 pattern and ends with 5–7–7. *Shintaiishi* means Japanese poetry from the Meiji period (1868–1912), which breaks the traditional syllable pattern.

1887), which became known globally (Majewicz 2020: 216). The Victorian novel *My Japanese wife* (London: Archibald Constable 1895) by Clive Holland¹⁵⁶ was inspired by Loti and later came its sequel, *Mousmé: a story of the West and East* (London: C. Arthur Pearson, 1901). 1897's novelette *Madame Butterfly* by John Luther Long¹⁵⁷ was influenced both by Loti and Holland (Sterry 2009: 11). The impact of the works resulted in scene adaptations to the opera *Madame Chrysanthème* (1893) by André Messager and *Madama Butterfly* (1904) by Giacomo Puccini (Majewicz 2020: 216).

Bronisław in (Piłsudski 1907: 7/172-6) criticised the poor influence Loti's fiction had on the global perception of Japanese women. In his opinion, through writing about a few-week marriage of a Japanese woman with a foreign man, Loti created an evocative image of a human doll.

The Japanese girl in Loti's novel is as young as 17-years-old. It was arranged for her to marry a Westerner. She seems dependent, sexually available, easy to fetishise and is presented as an antithesis of a European female. On one hand, the Victorian era (1837–1901) is currently associated with prudery and stiffness, on the other hand it was the time when pornographic novels became an industry (Sterry 2009: 9). In Japanese ports, brothels for foreigners were built and furnished with governmental support. Travellers were trying to understand the canon of Japanese beauty analysing geisha, with their white-powdered faces and blackened teeth. Some men reported being bored by geisha entertainment, because they were expecting other types of pleasure or art, not traditional singing and dancing. They were trying to process, think over, understand and accept a different culture. And that is when Loti created his own fantasy image, easy to consume for any standard person (*ibid.* 9-11). With this, he contributed to the rising interest in Japonism of the 19th century France. His works were

¹⁵⁶ Pen name of Charles James Hankinson, a British novelist and journalist. His oriental fiction takes place in Japan and Egypt. As mentioned in the 2nd edition of *My Japanese wife* (1902), the 1st one sold around 60,000 copies.

¹⁵⁷ A lawyer and a writer. He left a diary focused on his lawyer practice but also copies of stories, plays and poetry. His first published work was *Miss Cherry Blossom of Tokyo* (1895). He had never been to Japan. It is said that his *Madame Butterfly* was inspired by a situation reported to his sister, Sarah Jane (Jennie) Correll, the wife of Irvin Correll, a Methodist missionary in Japan. Long's belongings consist of boxes of unpublished manuscripts, several versions of *Madame Butterfly* and a potential sequel (Groos 1991: 126; Long, John Luther 1861–1927. "John Luther Long: an inventory of his papers at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center", on-line John Luther King resources. <https://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/fasearch/pdf/00080.pdf>).

read by a Japanese naturalist writer, Kafū Nagai¹⁵⁸ (Jones & Inouye 2017: 24, 443). A statue commemorating Loti stands in Nagasaki (Majewicz 2020: 215-6).

Given the numerous readily available and detailed European research works on Loti, his successors, and Western Japonism, this dissertation will not expand on them. The primary aim of this section is to highlight the negative impact of this influence on Japanese women, a perspective often overlooked from a Eurocentric viewpoint.

4.23. Itoe Tachibana

Itoe Tachibana (1873 Minamizaki–1939) was most probably Bronisław's unrequited love interest during his stay in Japan.

Tachibana was born in Minamizaki, Mie Prefecture, as the fourth child in the family. A year after her birth, the family moved to Tokyo. Her eldest brother graduated from *Daigaku Tōkō*, presently known as Tokyo University, and worked there as an assistant to German researcher Ernst Tiegel, named „Meiji government's first official professor of hygiene”.^{159 160}

Tachibana went to school in Tokyo for four years between 1879 and 1883 but soon she followed her eldest brother's footsteps to Miyagi Prefecture, where the latter worked as a principal of medical school. After her brother's sudden death in 1883, she returned to Tokyo to finish elementary education.¹⁶¹

In 1886, Tachibana became an apprentice of poet Hirotsuna Sasaki and his son, Nobutsuna. She started learning English and German, guided most probably by Guido Herman Fridolin Verbeck, a Dutch political advisor active in Tokyo during the Meiji period (*ibid.*).

In 1887 Tachibana's second brother, a student from Tokyo University's medical department, passed away (*ibid.*). Tachibana lost her elder brothers very

¹⁵⁸ Pen name of Sōkichi Nagai, from 1910 professor of Keiō University. He studied abroad in USA and France and was deeply influenced by French naturalist Émile Zola. Editor of *Mita bungaku* literary magazine. He was a frequent visitor of Japanese red-light districts and his second wife was a geisha.

¹⁵⁹ Sakamoto Yukio 2009. *Tachibana Itoe kabunshū* (Poetry and prose collection by Itoe Tachibana). Tōkyō: Tanka Shimbunsha. Edited for internet use by Tohru Kobayashi from RIKEN Center for Advanced Photonics (<http://carlschuricht.com/itoe/itoe-bio.htm>). 阪本幸男 2009. 橘糸重歌文集. 東京：短歌新聞社.

¹⁶⁰ Rogaski, Ruth 2005. “Transforming Eisei In Meiji Japan”. In: *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China*. 136-64. Berkeley: University of California Press.

¹⁶¹ Sakamoto Yukio 2009, cf. footnote 159.

early. However, the fact that both of them were medical students while modern medicine was just being introduced to Japan indicates the Tachibana family was very well-positioned in Tokyo and could afford the best education available at that time.

In 1888, Tachibana was admitted to a preparatory course at Tokyo Music School and the following year, she started regular courses, specialising in piano. In 1892, she graduated at the top of the class and started post-graduate studies. She also started to work as a piano teacher at that point. One of her students was Japanese naturalist writer Tōson Shimazaki, which arose speculation that the two might have been engaged romantically. Many works by Tōson introduce an elegant, distinguished, female artist character and are believed to have been inspired by Tachibana (¹⁶²; Sawada 2021: 251-3).

From 1898, Tachibana began taking individual piano lessons from Raphael von Koeber, a Russian-German musician. Tachibana was a talented musician and in 1901, she was awarded the title of Tokyo Music School's professor.¹⁶³ She was the first significant Japanese female pianist to perform Chopin (Majewicz 2020: 114).

Her relationship with her teacher Koeber was strong, and he left her his piano scores and composition manuscripts in his will. After Koeber's death, Tachibana participated in memorial services (¹⁶⁴; Sawada 2021: 252).

Tachibana was not only an accomplished pianist but also a talented poet. She was a prolific author, who left behind around 400 *tanka* poems (Sawada 2021: 252) and short stories. Her artistic activities can be traced through various Meiji period magazines between years 1886-1938.

Some magazines and poetry anthologies featuring Tachibana's poetry include *Nihon-no Jogaku* ('Japanese schoolgirls'), *Yamato Nishiki* ('Japanese brocade'), *Jogaku Sekai* ('schoolgirl world'), *Kokoro-no Hana* ('flowers of the heart'), *Akebono* ('dawn') and *Yomiuri Shimbun*, among others.¹⁶⁵

It is important to note that her poems also appear in the anthology *Chikuhakuenshū* (Tōkyō: Hakubunkan, 1901), edited by the poet Nobutsuna Sasaki, highlighting their relationship as master and apprentice (*ibid.*). In 1937, Tachibana together with Nobutsuna were appointed members of the 1st Imperial Institute of Art (Sawada 2021: 253).

As previously mentioned in Section 4.16, Bronisław saw Tachibana for the first time at a charity concert for victims of poor harvest, which took place on

¹⁶² Sakamoto 2009, cf. footnote 159.

¹⁶³ Sakamoto 2009, cf. footnote 159.

¹⁶⁴ Sakamoto 2009, cf. footnote 159.

¹⁶⁵ Kobayashi Tohru 2024. "Tachibana Itoe tanka sakuhinshū" ('List of Itoe Tachibana's tanka poems'). <http://carlschuricht.com/itoe/itoe-tanka.pdf>.
橘糸重 短歌作品集.

February 11, 1906 at the Tokyo Music School. During the concert, Tachibana performed one of Chopin's ballads and Bronisław felt mesmerised by her talent and elegance.

The concert itself, as well as Bronisław's presence at the event, were recognised by media in Tokyo. For example, the April 1906 issue of the Japanese music magazine *Ongaku* ('music') included an article titled *Rokoku jinrui gakuha Pirudousukī* ('Russian anthropologist Piłsudski'). It mentioned that the foreign researcher attending the concert was most impressed by the performing pianist and vocalist, and would like to come in contact with them (*ibid.*).

Bronisław most likely followed through with his plan and contacted Tachibana, since on February 20, 1906, he received a reply from her, which was addressed to his temporary residence at *Hakodateya* in Ginza. The content of the letter suggests that Bronisław, aside from praising Tachibana's playing, must have written a few words about his own experience with music, his father's musical talent and also included recollections of his homeland (Majewicz 2020: 114-6, 307-12).

In her reply, Tachibana politely thanked Bronisław for the compliments and, with a humility typical of Japanese culture, stated that her playing lacks practice. If it sounds beautiful, it must merely be the influence of her teacher, Koeber. Her reply was written in refined, skilful calligraphy (*ibid.*).

After this initial exchange of thoughts, Bronisław must have sent another letter, asking Tachibana to kindly send him her photograph. However, it was widely known that Tachibana particularly disliked being photographed (Sawada 2021: 256). Thus, on February 27, she replied to Bronisław, stating that she would not grant his request but could only offer him a group photo with her colleagues. Even if sent, it would have reached Bronisław only after he had already left Japan. The second letter to Bronisław was addressed to Susumi Ueda, who acted as his translator. Both letters are stored at the PAU and PAN Academic Library in Cracow (Majewicz 2020: 114-6, 307-12).

4.24. Annual Imperial New Year's Poetry Contest

At present, the Imperial New Year's Poetry Reading party is held annually on the occasion of the New Year. It is known as *utakai hajime*. Although the tradition dates back to the Heian period, when the aristocracy organised gatherings to share not only poems but also pictures and fan paintings, the modern form of the New Year's contest is considered to have begun in 1869, at the start of the Meiji era. By the time Bronisław wrote about it in PLDV (Majewicz 2020: 104–10), the event had already reached its 38th edition, in 1906.

On this occasion, Bronisław discussed many poetic attempts by Japanese citizens, who wrote poems for that year's theme, "New Year's River." Some of them were professionals, while others were amateurs doing their best.

The first prize was won by Ineko Tōyama, who studied poetry under the poet and government official Masakaze Takasaki, later a councillor in the Imperial Court, State Secrets councillor, and head of the Imperial Court's poetry department. Tōyama edited compilations of Takasaki's works: *Takasaki Masakaze enzetsu hikki* ('Masakaze Takasaki's speech transcripts', Kyōto: Sanjō Shōjirō, 1901) and *Uta monogatari* ('poetic tale', Tōkyō: Tōkyōsha, 1912).

Tōyama's own poems were compiled and published after her death as *Ineko ikō* ('Ineko's posthumous manuscripts', Shikishima Hakkōjō 1913). The compilation features not only her 1906 New Year poem but also poems written for other New Year contest's themes from 1902, 1904–5, 1907 and 1910.

The other two awarded contestants mentioned by Bronisław were Kiyofusa Hayashi, a medical orderly at the First Field Hospital of the Sixth Division, who composed a poem about his father in Manchuria, and Fumiko Nagao, the 23-year-old daughter of a lower-ranking police officer in Tokyo, who had completed elementary education and did not have the means to attend a girls' gymnasium, but often read and wrote, and asked her teachers for corrections (Majewicz 2020: 104–10). The choice of winners proves that the contest was open to anyone and promoted literacy across all social strata.

In his article, Bronisław mentioned that Emperor Meiji wrote his own poems, but they were excluded from criticism or opinion-sharing. What Bronisław failed to mention is the extent to which the Meiji Emperor was personally involved in cultural activities. Emperor Meiji is said to have written around 93,000 poems, 1,687 of which were compiled as *Meiji-tennō gyoshū* ('poetry collection by Emperor Meiji', 1922) by the Special Editorial Office of the Ministry of the Imperial Household, established within the Bureau of Imperial Poetry. The selected poems were chosen from a full compilation of 107 volumes titled *Meiji-tennō gyosei* (1878–1919), and divided into three thematic categories: the four seasons, love, and miscellaneous. The emperor's first poems were supervised by his father, the previous emperor, and later by other prominent members of the aristocracy.

The compilation of the book was a meticulous process that lasted three years, between 1916 and 1919. The printing methods and editions were carefully selected, and the manuscript entries were marked in red ink with a brush. A special editorial office was created solely to complete this time-

consuming task. The poems were arranged chronologically, alphabetically, and thematically to avoid repetition in the final edition.¹⁶⁶

4.25. Kokusho Kankōkai publishing project

In an article for PLDV 21, 5–6 (June 18, 1906), Bronisław wrote about the establishment of the “Society for the Publication of Books Important to the Nation” – Kokusho Kankōkai. The project was initiated by Shigenobu Ōkuma in July 1905. Its aim was to publish Japanese history texts and literary works of national significance, previously inaccessible to the public, remaining in the form of handwritten manuscripts kept in libraries and in the houses of the old aristocracy. It was estimated that if 3,000 people subscribed to the project, the price for an individual would be around 2 yen. Bronisław mentioned that the original publishing plan was scheduled for 9 years. In reality, it went on for 13 years, until 1922, with 258 volumes and 2 concertina books published (Majewicz 2020: 144).

In his article, Bronisław named six series that were supposed to be reprinted in the project. The first one, *Kokon yōrankō*,¹⁶⁷ was an encyclopaedia from the late Edo period, consisting of 560 volumes. It was compiled by order of the bakufu shogunate between 1821 and 1842, mainly by Hirokata Yashiro – a scholar from the late Edo period, specialising in classical Japanese literature and culture. The content focuses on the origins and development of old Japanese traditions. It was supposed to include 1000 volumes, but its author died before its completion.¹⁶⁸

The next series was *Zoku-zoku gunsho ruijū*. Its main edition, entitled *Gunsho ruijū*, consisted of 530 volumes of content, published across 665 physical books and one catalogue until 1819. The continuation, with 1150 volumes of content in 1185 physical books, finished publishing in 1911. Overall, the series consisted of 3373 Japanese classical texts, divided into 25 categories, such as “gods and emperors”. The series was edited by Hokinoichi

¹⁶⁶ Toyota Eiko 2016. “Meiji tennō gyoshū-ni tsuite – Meiji shoki-no tensaku-o chūshin-to shite” [‘«collected poems of Emperor Meiji» – on editorial practices in the early Meiji period’]. *Shoryōbu kiyō* 68, 44–64.

豊田恵子 2016. 『明治天皇御集』について—明治初期の添削を中心として. 書陵部紀要 68, 44–64.

¹⁶⁷ Bronisław mentioned the title as *Kokin eranko*. He probably based the reading on the pre-reformed Japanese writing system, which transcribed *yōrankō* as *eurankau*.

¹⁶⁸ Matsumura Akira (ed.) 2006. *Sūpā daijirin*, electronic version of the *Daijirin* Japanese language dictionary Tōkyō: Sanseidō.

松村明 (編) 2006. スーパー大辞林. 東京: 三省堂.

Hanawa, a Japanese classics scholar from the late Edo period, who lost his sight at 15 years old. He started the Wagaku Kōdansho, a Japanese classics lecture class under the patronage of the shogunate, and gained the title of *kengyō*, given to high-ranking blind scholars.¹⁶⁹

The continuation mentioned by Bronisław was published after Hanawa's death. It comprised of 21 volumes published between 1903 and 1909 (Majewicz 2020: 145).

Next mentioned is the *Gyokuyō* – a detailed picture of the political and social situation of the years 1164–1203, in the form of a diary by Kanezane Kujō. Kujō was a well-educated, talented poet and aristocrat from the beginning of the Kamakura period (1192–1333). He served as the emperor's highest consultant, a regent, and a chancellor – all three positions crucial for the court at that historical time. However, due to an internal conflict within the court, he was expelled and joined the priesthood. The diary was later rewritten by Yoshimoto Nijō, a *waka* poet and the co-creator of rules for *renga* poetry – a type of Japanese collaborative poem in which each author adds a stanza in turn. The compilation is also known under another name, *Gyokukai*.¹⁷⁰

Following is the *Arai Hakuseki zenshū* ('complete works of Hakuseki Arai'). Arai was a statesman in the mid-Edo period (1603–1868) and a Neo-Confucian scholar. He served under the Tokugawa shogunate, reforming diplomatic missions to Korea, carrying out improvements to the monetary system, mainly gold and silver coinage, and imposing restrictions on trade in Nagasaki (*ibid.*).

His major works include *Tokushi yoron* ('remarks on reading history', 1712), *Hankampu* ('genealogies of feudal lords', 1894), *Seiyō kibun* ('accounts of the West', 1715), *Sairan igen* ('collected unusual words', 1709) – Japan's first world geography, and *Oritaku shiba-no ki* ('notes taken while breaking brushwood', 1716) – Arai's autobiography (*ibid.*).

Next listed is *Kondō Seisai zenshū* ('complete works of Seisai Kondō'). Seisai Kondō was a pen name of Jūzō Kondō – a Japanese official and one of the pioneers of Japan's diplomacy in Hokkaidō, previously recognised by the Japanese as "Ezo". Kondō sensed that Great Britain and Russia might pose a threat to Japanese land and recommended Japan's expansion towards Ezo. He visited Ezo five times and created its first cartographic maps. He also erected a pole with the sign "Great Japan Etorofu" in 1799 on Iturup (Kuril Islands), in order to prevent Russia from expanding further towards Japan.

Kondō wrote books on the ethnographical, geographical, economic, and historical aspects of various territories. Some examples are *Gaiban tsūsho* ('notes from the outside territories', a compilation of shogunate documents regarding foreign policies) and *Annan kiryakukō* (notes on the history and customs of Vietnam).

¹⁶⁹ Matsumura (ed.) 2006.

¹⁷⁰ Matsumura (ed.) 2006.

The last series mentioned is the *Shingunsho ruijū* – a 10-volume series published in years 1906–8, featuring around 200 rare literary texts from the Edo period, divided into five categories: theatre, songs, bibliographies, dance and *kyōka* poetry, which is a genre of satirical *waka* songs.¹⁷¹

As shown through Bronisław's article, the Meiji government cared for Japan's literary legacy and used it as a means for social integration and for building a new, modernised identity based on tradition. The literary canon Bronisław reported to the Western world showed Kokusho Kankōkai's seriousness in source archiving and the systematisation of knowledge on Japanese culture and history.

¹⁷¹ Matsumura (ed.) 2006.

5. Contacts with literary groups in Galicia

5.1. Stefan Żeromski

Stefan Żeromski (1864 Strawczyn–1925 Warsaw) and his family were close friends of Bronisław. The two often exchanged letters, and their paths frequently crossed in the cultural world of Cracow and Zakopane. Bronisław admired Żeromski's prose and had high hopes for his help in building a Polish-Japanese cultural relationship.

Żeromski was a Polish writer, a social activist and a great patriot. Born in the year of January Uprising, which marked the downfall of Polish hope for independence for many years, he strongly believed in the idea of “work at the roots” (*praca u podstaw*), characteristic for Polish literature of positivism.

His cousins and neighbours suffered repercussions due to participation in the Uprising. The youngest died was 19 years old. The teenager eloped from middle school to fight (Adamczyk 2016: 40-1). Żeromski's mother's dowry decreased by half due to military expenses and the whole neighbourhood was grieving the fall of the Uprising (Załączny 2016: 252-3).

Żeromski stood up for education and work. He criticised explosions of patriotic passion and snap judgements. Whilst he was a librarian at Polish Museum in Rapperswil, he took part in a project to build a mausoleum for Kościuszko's heart at the museum (Adamczyk 2016: 42). In his social activist work, he prepared lectures on Polish history, society and literature. He took part in events dedicated to supporters of Polish Socialist Party (*Polska Partia Socjalistyczna*, abbrev. PPS). His companions at those events were Wacław Sieroszewski (cf. Section 5.2) and Andrzej Niemojewski – both individuals connected to projects by Bronisław Piłsudski (Załączny 2016: 256).

With the help of Sieroszewski, Żeromski collected money for the Society for Aid to Political Prisoners (*Towarzystwo Pomocy Więźniom Politycznym*) by presenting his works at literary evenings. In 1905, he helped Józef Piłsudski write a speech in Zakopane, calling for the collection of funds for the Polish army, and he personally supported this cause financially (*ibid.* 249-71). His family's biography is tightly connected to Marshall's. When Piłsudski was arrested in 1900 and imprisoned in the Warsaw Citadel, he needed to fake mental illness in order to later escape from the psychiatric hospital. To succeed,

he followed instructions of dr Rafał Radziwiłowicz, who was Żeromski's wife Oktawia elder brother (Adamczyk 2016: 43).

Żeromski served briefly as a legionary under Piłsudski. He widely promoted Polish regions and studied their specifics to ensure the people would identify with their motherland (Załączny 2016: 249-71).

All his life, Żeromski was very active socially and politically. The characters he portrayed in his literary works were always full of courage and dedication to the poor, a trait he observed firsthand in his most committed activist colleagues.

One such dedicated patriot was Gustaw Bezmian, briefly mentioned earlier in the Introduction – a character in Żeromski's novel *Uroda życia* (cf. Introduction), modelled after Bronisław Piłsudski.

Gustaw was believed to symbolise the Christian ideal of love for one's neighbours and devotion to the motherland. He was a wanderer, awaiting his return from exile to serve his people. In one scene, he is arrested alongside other Polish educators who worked to preserve Polish culture and language. He is accused of rebelling against tsarist Russia and sent into exile once again (Kuczyński 1992: 4-5 ; Milewska-Młynik 2003: 39-40).

Żeromski's literature is considered of high educational value until today. Currently, there are two works of Żeromski obligatory for every student learning in the Polish public educational system: the novel *Przedwiośnie* (*Spring to come*, Warszawa-Kraków: J. Morkowicz Publishing 1925), which is a bitter commentary on communist revolution and the short story *Rozdziobią nas kruki, wrony...* (*Ravens and crows will peck us to pieces*, 1895). Supplementary for the basic educational program are: *Ludzie bezdomni* ('the homeless', Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Bronisław Natanson 1900) and *Echa leśne* ('forest echoes', 1905). The list has been in force since September 1st, 2021.

5.1.1. A distant connection

Bronisław first read a book by Żeromski in December 1903. He was so moved by its content that, while describing his experience six years later, he referred to it as his first meeting with Żeromski.

The reasons for Bronisław's immediate connection to the book's title and its characters are explained in a Christmas letter he sent to the author.

“Highly-Regarded and Dear Mr Stefan

I’m sending you my sincere Lithuanian¹⁷² wishes for your name day.¹⁷³ I recall the same holidays six years ago, when I first met you and I’ve loved you since. I’ve been living half a year amongst the Ainu in a little settlement thrown into the mountains and forests on the coast of the turbulent and endlessly roaring Sea of Okhotsk.¹⁷⁴ For Christmas, I received a package of Polish books from friends from Vladivostok – among them was also your *Ludzie*

¹⁷² As previously mentioned, since Bronisław’s childhood, it had been a significant topic among him and his friends, whether they were Poles or Lithuanians. Bronisław decided that he saw himself as a Pole of Lithuanian origin and was deeply hurt when other boys called Polish nobility useless. Even in the last years of his life, Bronisław collected funds for Lithuania and worked for its better future, while at the same time drawing a line between himself and Lithuanian nationalists (Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 12, 26-7).

¹⁷³ In Poland and many other Christian countries, each day of the year is assigned two or three saint patrons, and their names appear in calendars –this is the standard. When more than one saint shares the same name, that name may appear multiple times throughout the year. There is a custom to choose one’s name day from the days assigned to the name in the calendar and to celebrate that date with family and friends. Although it is connected to religion, in reality, it functions more as a secular tradition. Name days are especially celebrated by the older generations, while birthdays have become more popular in recent times. Many people celebrate both their name day and birthday.

¹⁷⁴ At that time, Bronisław was living in a village called Ai (today’s Sovetskoye) with his Ainu family. He had been dispatched from Vladivostok on the 8th of July, 1902, to conduct research on the Ainu in Sakhalin. The year he wrote the letter to Żeromski, his first son with Ciuhssamma, Sukezō, was born (Kuczyński 2015a: 53). What he describes here is likely a family moment interrupted by strong recollections of his homeland and the traumatic emotions he had to confront as an exile. The language he uses to describe the Ainu reflects love and affection – a calming influence that Bronisław cannot experience in relation to his own country. It is a rare scene showing a human element in exile, contrasting with the typical image of Siberian cold and suffering, commonly portrayed in journals and diaries. Here, there is access to mail, friends from Vladivostok, a loving Ainu community, and a motif from Polish literature.

*bezdomni*¹⁷⁵. First thing I did was rush to read it, because this is how I titled myself as I wandered around the world – although a very restricted one – not searching for happiness nor escaping from it. Late at night, as I lay on the mats in the silent Ainu hut, I finished reading the beautiful and tragic pages of the modern Polish poem.

I forgot about myself, about my lovely Ainu, who were surprised I didn't want to talk with them that night and I lived with my beset Poland, with those heroes, who destroy themselves and their lives for Her.

Please accept my deep gratitude for helping me to build ties with my homeland, which after several years of separation were very loose and weak.

With deep respect and love for you
Bronisław Piłsudski
26 December 1909”
(Perzyński 1894)

5.1.2. A true start of friendship

It is generally thought that Bronisław first met Żeromski in either Zakopane or Cracow. Żeromski lived there from October 1903 to April 1905, and again from the end of 1908 to autumn 1909. As for Bronisław, he stayed there from November 1906 to the beginning of 1908, then during the summer of 1909 until August, and visited Cracow in February 1910, followed by a longer stay until 1914 with periods of foreign travel (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 2/130-3, Sawada 2021: 326-7, Adamczyk 2016: 48, Kuczyński 2015a: 57). One theory suggests that Żeromski must have met Bronisław at the latter's lectures about Sakhalin, presented to the cultural society in Cracow and Zakopane (Kuczyński 1992: 4).

However, manuscripts from the National Library of Poland provide different information.

¹⁷⁵ *Ludzie bezdomni* ('the homeless') is a novel in the literary trend of Polish positivism. The main character, Tomasz Judym, is a doctor with a big heart for his patients, especially those living in poverty and crisis. His desire for a better life for everyone is misunderstood by his fellow medical practitioners. He cannot find a place in a world where no one is willing to make sacrifices for the helpless and powerless. Even while serving in a health resort in Cisy, he discovers that the management is polluting the water, increasing cases of malaria. Everywhere he goes, he becomes an outsider. Only the love of his life, Joanna Podborska, truly understands him. However, he decides to part ways with her in order to devote his life to treating the poor. It is no wonder that Bronisław felt deeply connected to these characters. His own path toward helping minorities survive parallels some of Judym's choices, and he, too, could have felt homeless for much of his life.

A letter from Bronisław to Żeromski, dated October 6, 1909, and written in Paris, proves that they must have met for the first time in France, although Bronisław had previously made efforts to meet Żeromski in person in Zakopane.

“6 October 1909

To: Mr S. Żeromski, Ernest-Cresson 22, Paris XIV
From: B.P., Paris V, Fossés St. Jaques No 8.

6 XI
Dear Sir.

Our ways never seem to cross. Once in Cracow Gumplowicz¹⁷⁶ was supposed to invite me to meet you – but forgot. At one point I came to Polanka¹⁷⁷ when I was passing through Zakopane and you weren't home. Here, it's the second time I'm trying to visit you. The other day I came with Mrs Woynicz¹⁷⁸ – an English woman, who wanted to send you her regards. But we were told half-way that you're still in Cracow and your wife's also accompanying you. Yesterday evening I came to visit again.

Please write me a card, when we could meet and get to know each other in person.

¹⁷⁶ Władysław Gumplowicz – professor of geography, physician, fluent in German, and columnist for many magazines in Germany, Italy, England, and Poland. As a socialist, he actively participated in the work of the Polish Socialist Party, headquartered in Cracow. With the permission of Józef Piłsudski, he wrote articles for *Robotnik* ('the worker') – the most popular revolutionary magazine of the Polish Socialist Party, printed in secret.

¹⁷⁷ Polanka was a wooden villa in Zakopane, Zamoyskiego St. 11. Żeromski moved there in April 1904 (Adamczyk 2016: 46). It was the heart of Zakopane's cultural life. The Reading Room was a meeting place for intellectuals and artists. The place was then transformed into a Public Library with Żeromski as its chairman. Żeromski left Zakopane in 1905 but the Library remained in Polanka until 1908. The building was partly damaged in World War II and after the war, it served as a girls' dorm. The library itself exists until today at Łukaszówki 4a, Zakopane and is named after Żeromski (Mrózek-Buksa 2015).

¹⁷⁸ Ethel Lilian Voynich was a British writer and the daughter of the famous mathematician George Boole. She studied piano in Berlin and, influenced by revolutionary movements, decided to travel to Russia. Her best-selling book *The Gadfly* (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1897), about the Italian revolution, was an international hit. She married a Polish man, Michał Wojnicz, who was himself a revolutionary and a Siberian exile. Naming himself Wilfrid Michael Voynich, he became an antiquarian book dealer in London and the owner of the most famous and mysterious Voynich manuscript, written in an unrecognisable alphabet and still undecoded today.

With deep respect and worship
Bronisław Piłsudski

To your wife, whom I once met at Gumplowicz's and who was, as Mrs Zielińska¹⁷⁹ told me, my sister's friend – kisses on the hand."

(Perzyński 1894)

In their further letter exchange, Bronisław always shortened his name to "Bron. Piłs." or "Bron. Piłsud." Here, however, he used his full name, as he did in all official correspondence, which is further proof that he did not yet consider Żeromski an acquaintance.

Around November 8, 1909, Żeromski replied to Bronisław's letter with words of gratitude.

"Dear Sir!

Today I visited you to thank you for remembering me, but I didn't have the luck to get a hold of you.

Maybe we could meet at Panthéon patisserie,¹⁸⁰ where several of us are meeting at 8.00 in the evening.

Please accept my highest appreciation. Yours sincerely,
S. Żeromski

My wife asks you, Sir, to visit us anytime between 4-5 PM. We're always home at that time."

(Żeromski 1910)

¹⁷⁹ Iza Zielińska – one of the leaders of Polish expats in Paris, a socialist and anarchist, author of French textbooks for Poles. An activist of the French branch of Polish Socialist Party. Her and her husband Józef's house was always open for Poles. Their guests were Wacław Sieroszewski, Stefan Żeromski, Bolesław Prus and many other writers and artists (Łaniewski 2016). Another *Zielińska* was Eugenia Zielińska – Bronisław Malinowski's secret lover in Zakopane (cf. Section 5.5).

¹⁸⁰ A patisserie in Soufflot St. 3 (Żeromski & Adamczyk 2006: 224).

5.1.3. Memorial project for Juliusz Słowacki

On November 19, 1909, Żeromski mentioned Bronisław's name in a letter to Sieroszewski.

Żeromski was involved in the arrangements to bring back the dead body of Juliusz Słowacki (cf. Sections 2.1, 2.4 and 4.2) to Poland and bury him in Wawel Castle, where many fine Polish kings and important personas lay. For that, the Citizens' Committee for Bringing Słowacki's Body Back to the Country was formed after the decision by the Polish Writers' Association made on a board meeting on July 18, 1909 (Żeromski & Adamczyk 2006: 228-34).

However, the Cracow Catholic Cardinal in charge, Jan Puzyna did not allow this to happen. That is why Żeromski's plan was to build a tomb for Słowacki in the Tatra Mountains and to move it in the future to a more significant spot in Cracow or Warsaw (*ibid.*).

He wrote *An open letter regarding the retrieval of Juliusz Słowacki's body* and mentioned it to Sieroszewski in the following words: "Today we're holding a meeting in relation to this topic (Artur Górski, Strug, Wyrzykowski, Nalepiński, Jan Hempel, Bronisław Piłsudski and me)" (*ibid.* 228).

The letter was signed by 7 signatories and sent to 112 important artists, writers, actors, painters, researchers and social activists. In the end, Bronisław's name was not featured in the letter. Instead, it was signed by Wilhelm Mitarski¹⁸¹ as one of the main signatories. The project gained 52 supporters, all whom placed their name on the list (*ibid.* 233).

5.1.4. The Japan-British Exhibition

The Japan-British Exhibition took place from May 14 to October 29, 1910 near Shepherd's Bush in London. Bronisław had high hopes for the event. Studying the Ainu, networking with prominent European researchers, and acquiring objects for museums were among his goals. His correspondence from that time is filled with details about influential academic figures, Japanese politicians, British culture, London housing, and more.

The impact of the exhibition on Japan-European relations is still discussed today. Some argue that it was an opportunity for Japan to distinguish itself from other Asian countries, which were treated by Europeans as subordinate colonies. It was an enormous fair, featuring attractions such as 40 sumo wrestlers,

¹⁸¹ Artur Górski, Wilhelm Mitarski, Jan Hempel, Andrzej Strug, Stanisław Wyrzykowski and Tadeusz Nalepiński (cf. Section 5.5) were men of letters: poets, journalists, translators, artists and critics Żeromski knew from Cracow, Zakopane and Paris.

a troupe of Japanese jugglers, illuminations, fireworks, gardening, art, and tea. The guidebook was nearly 150 pages long.¹⁸²

As for his friendship with Żeromski, it reached its peak when they made plans to meet at the exhibition. Although previous researchers believed it would be impossible to determine if Bronisław's meeting with the Żeromski family in London had been planned (Kuczyński 1992), manuscripts from the Polish National Library provide undeniable proof that both sides had been in contact for months before they finally united at the Japan-British Exhibition.

“15:00, 8 June 1910
Mr S. Żeromski (Jeromski)
r. Ernest Cresson 22
Paris. XIV, France

45 Shepherd's Bush Green London W.

8/VI 1910

Dear Lovely Mr Stefan

¹⁸² Bakumatsuya 2020. *Japan-British Exhibition Official Guide*. Derby and London: Bemrose & Sons Ltd. <https://www.bakumatsuya.com/shop-description.php?ID=1587750057&La=E#lightbox>.

just now I've received an explanation about Bardos from Baj¹⁸³ (through Denel¹⁸⁴). He ordered in Heflich Aleks.¹⁸⁵ printing house and then others took

¹⁸³ The nickname of Bolesław Antoni Jędrzejowski, who was a revolutionary, PPS member, publisher, writer, and translator. He is best known for writing for Polish and British socialist magazines but also participated in cultural activities. He translated Sienkiewicz's *Krzyżacy* (*The Knights of the Cross*) into English and was the editor of the popular science magazine *Światło* ('the light'). In 1903, he moved to Galicia and became an intern at a popular bookstore. He then co-organised a publishing company called Spółka Nakładowa "Książka" ("Book" Publishing Company) and became one of its directors. The company paid pure profit to Żeromski, Sieroszewski, Orkan, and other fellow Galician authors (Jarosz 1964-5).

¹⁸⁴ Although written without an h, Bronisław must have meant the socialist activist and PPS member Władysław Antoni Dehnel. Very little is known about his writings. He was one of the authors who printed their works at the before-mentioned "Książka" Publishing Company (Jarosz 1964-5; Tych 1986).

¹⁸⁵ Aleksander Heflich was a publisher and writer. In 1903, he was arrested with Niemojewski and other activists for protesting during a funeral a year before. All arrested were volunteers at Czytelnie Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Dobroczynności ('Warsaw Charity Society's Reading Rooms'), which were places closely watched by the Russian police due to censorship avoidance (Tabor 2010: 136). Heflich's letterhead says: „Księgarnia Naukowa, Warszawa, Krucza 44” (Science Bookstore, Warsaw, 44 Krucza St.). In 1905 he published Wilhelm Feldman's book *O twórczości Witkiewicza i Żeromskiego* ('on Witkiewicz and Żeromski's creations'). In 1908, Heflich became a member of the editorial committee for creating *Encyklopedia Ludowa* ('peasant's encyclopedia'), which was supposed to help the lower social strata understand the world. The project was suspended due to its revolutionary content (Miąso 1959: 257).

charge: Sand (from General Bookstore), Fraenkel Leon.¹⁸⁶ in Cracow and Kon Feliks.¹⁸⁷ Several hundred copies. They don't know precisely because no one counted, they're lying in the printing house. They're lying, because they're short on around 200 unpaid kronen. They're willing to give them out to anyone who'll pay the amount under the condition there's going to be a letter from you. But maybe they'll also agree to give them out without payment if someone vouches for you. I wrote a card to the Red Cross's¹⁸⁸ Management, to Ms Majerczak. It would be good to contact someone appropriate in Cracow, who'd you appoint in the letter as the person who'll take the books from the printing house and organise sales there and also send them to here, I'll also send them further to various European and American cities.

The printing house itself is unhappy with the situation, because it has goods burdened with debt from more than 2 years ago.

Maybe Ms Majerczak will have some reply from Warsaw, were she wanted to write in this matter.

¹⁸⁶ Unfortunately, it is impossible to identify who Leon Fraenkel was. The surname can be written Fraenkel or Fränkel. One influential Galician named similarly was Leo Herzberg-Fränkel (1827 Brody–1915 Teplice) – a Jewish author and politician from Brody near Lviv. Brody was a town of Jewish intelligentsia, which gradually became Polish in the wake of Polish nationalism (Rank 2017). Fränkel published novels on Jewish identity in East Europe. He worked for Brody Chamber of Commerce for 40 years (Singer, Isidore & S. Mannheimer 2021. “Herzberg-Fränkel, Leo”. In: Jewish Encyclopedia: The Unedited Full-Text of the 1906 Jewish Encyclopedia. <https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7630-herzberg-frankel-leo>).

He supported Jewish assimilation with Germans (Rank 2017: 329). Another person named Fraenkel was Jonas Fraenkel (1879 Cracow–1965) – a professor and German-Swiss-Polish literature researcher of Cracow origin. He worked at Bern University and maintained contact with Bronisław's colleague, Władysław Orkan (Swiss National Library NL. “Fränkel, Jonas: «Bibliographie seit MCM»” [‘Bibliography since 1900s’], bibliographical registry of Swiss National Library. <https://ead.nb.admin.ch/html/fraenkel.html>; Orkan, Władysław 1914-1918. “Bruliony listów z lat 1914–1918” [‘Draft letters from 1914–1918’], Vol. 3 // archival documents from Jagiellonian Library. <https://polona.pl/preview/e8247ef9-5c23-4c13-8e53-f170e093337a>).

¹⁸⁷ Feliks Kon was a Polish socialist of Jewish origin. Many of his books on Siberian exile were published by Aleksander Heflich. In 1908 together with Heflich he was appointed editorial committee of *Encyklopedia Ludowa*.

¹⁸⁸ The now-functioning Polish Red Cross was founded in 1919. Before, Red Cross organisations were run under many names in every Polish partition. In Galicia the organisation had considerably more freedom than under the Russian reign. Together with another Cracow organisation, Samarytanin Polski (‘the Polish samaritan’), it was preparing to support Polish Legions in World War I (Małopolski Oddział Okręgowy PCK 2023. “Historia PCK” [‘Polish Red Cross's history’], on-line Polish Red Cross resources. <http://pck.malopolska.pl/kim-jestesmy/#1509016131475-f4198844-6517>).

So after contacting the Red Cross's Management (maybe through Mr Jan Stroż.) please write a request to handle you the books and ask for a delay in paying the debt.

Today is the first warmer day here. When are you coming? Best wishes to you and your family.

yours Bron. Piłs.

12:15, 9 July 1910

Mr S. Żeromski

Hotel des Rochers, Ploumanach via Perros-Guivéc
Côtes du Nord, France

45 Sheperd's Bush Green London W.
8/VII

Dear Lovely Mr Stefan.

I'll be waiting for you and I'm putting off many pleasant walks until your arrival. Meanwhile, I'm admiring London from afar, working a lot in the library and at home. Sometimes I visit the exhibition. Today I went there with a Parisian professor, a good friend of mine. On Monday a lot of scholars want to visit the Ainu village under my guidance and I'm going to talk with my friends wearing Ainu clothes.

The Wojnicz family went to Spain for one month I think, or somewhere near there. Mrs Gardener, whom I acquainted, promises to act as guide and translator when you come here.

So far it's cold here, without the touch of summer. Sometimes I miss Polish magazines, because they're not attainable here – maybe I'll get *Świat*¹⁸⁹ from a correspondent named Goldschreider.¹⁹⁰

I'm outraged that in a new book about Japan written by Japanese specialists – Sienkiewicz is considered a Russian author together with Gorky and Tolstoy. I wrote a protest to earl Okuma, the editor of the book. At the same time I'd like to raise again the issue of choosing a couple of better pieces from our literature in foreign translation and sending to the Japanese Cultural Association, which translates better European pieces, so that we as Poles won't be missed out. Can

¹⁸⁹ Eng. 'the world'. A Polish illustrated magazine on social life, literature and art. It discussed contemporary issues, such as recent events in France, Britain, USA and Russia. Published from 1906 to 1939. Started by Stefan Krzywoszewski, who was its first editor.

¹⁹⁰ The correspondent signed himself with initials M. G. under every article he published in *Świat* about Britain.

I hope for the help of Polish Writers' Association. Or will you let me approach maybe another Polish association if there's no hope in the Writers' Association at the moment.

Best wishes to you, your wife, Adaś, the Pstrokońskis¹⁹¹ and the Sienkiewicz family.

Br. Piłsud.

A letter came only from your wife. My general health condition is better. But the illness doesn't go away." (Perzyński 1894)

Below are examples of the correspondence between Bronisław and Żeromski's wife, Oktawia:

"Dear Sir!

Could you write a couple of words about where you are now and will you be staying in London for some time? We'd like to ask about Mr Rajchman's address.

Kind regards
O. Żeromska

Mrs Pomagalska, who knows all the languages, lives in Paris and she's eager to become your secretary.

Wednesday, November 2

Our respected and beloved Mr Bronisław

¹⁹¹ Żeromski together with his wife and son Adaś traveled to Ploumanac'h in France. There they met the Pstrokoński family, who were on very good terms with the Sienkiewicz. Jadwiga, Sienkiewicz's daughter, was a close friend of Zofia Pstrokońska. Zofia was the daughter of Bruno Abakanowicz – an engineer and inventor, the owner of a French mansion. After Abakanowicz's death, Sienkiewicz became Zofia's legal guardian. Abakanowicz installed some dams and locks in the Ploumanac'h harbour. One of the boats there was named Dzinia after Jadwiga Sienkiewicz (Żeromski 1919; Wojtkczak, Łukasz 2021. "Henryk Sienkiewicz wraz z żoną Marią z Babskich w willi Paderewskich w Morges" ['Henryk Sienkiewicz with his wife Maria née Babska in the Paderewski family's villa in Morges'], photography from 1916 owned by the National Museum in Kielce, accompanied by a historical event description.

https://mnki.pl/pl/o_muzeum/zbiory_online/11,palacyk_h_sienkiewicza_w_oblegorku/pokaz/2581,henryk_sienkiewicz_wraz_z_zona_maria_z_babskich_w_willi_paderewskich_w_morges,5?s_a=wszystkie).

Stefan is busy, because he has a guest, a poet named Jan Lemański, so I'm the one replying to your kind letter.

Because you've mentioned you'd want to live near Paris and have a secretary, I did many research. Well, very near, in a distance that could be reached by tram, lives Mrs Pomagalska, a wife of a blue collar worker, but she's a very intelligent person. She finished a course in Paris at Sorbonne. She knows German, French, Russian and Polish perfectly. She used to earn money from translations, she's a daughter of a bookseller and publisher.

And she'd agree to write under your dictation, correct your notes with better Polish language and more. In short, she'd help. It's easy to rent a cheap room near her and she'd provide meals and support you in every undertaking. Her husband, a labourer but talented and intelligent – young – would be a delightful companion.

They live in Amiens outside Paris but it's a suburb 20 minutes by tram. Everything is cheaper there and the air is healthy – clean.

If you'd like this combination, please write a few words to me and I'll ask Mrs Pomagalska to search for good accommodation – monthly.

Mrs Praus still runs her guest house – she has cheap rooms and a guest house on the 5th floor in Fleurus 23 and her own flat on the 3rd floor in Vavin. Mr Praus lives outside Paris in Chaville but he won't be there for long, because he's leaving for Switzerland again, to cure himself. He passed one exam, the one from last year.

His health is getting better now but he's still feverish. Mrs Praus has difficulties this year – the rooms stay unoccupied. Mr Lemański came to us, he'll probably travel to London in a couple of days and he'll reach out to you there. He's a man of letters – a very calm and good man. Anyway, Stefan will write to you before that.

Nów I'm asking you for a reply I could report to Mrs Pomagalska.

Adam in 8th grade is doing good and in the same high school in grade 9 is Władek Sirko,¹⁹² Staś is in 10th grade and little Kazio in 12th.

All of us send you kind regards.

Sincerely yours, O. Żeromska

The Sieroszewski family lives near us in Ernest Cresson 12 [last letters unreadable]

12 January 1911

¹⁹² *Sirko* was the nickname for the surname *Sieroszewski*.

Dear Sir!

We received your card and we're grateful for you remembering us. I reckon you'll still be enjoying London for some time and that's why I give myself permission to ask you if you'd take care of the Witkiewicz family, who is going to be in London for 2 weeks. If you'll going to reply you'll still be in London, maybe then you could come with them here. You're probably waiting for money. Janek Witkiewicz could be of help to you for some time.

The Witkiewicz are coming soon, just please let us know if there's a warm room with a stove where you live.

They can pay good money but they're travelling with a child, so they need to have comfort.

For us, everything is as usual. My brother came for 2 weeks. Also, there was a meeting of the philarets here, everyone was waiting for your brother but he didn't come. I wonder why?

We're in good health, the weather is awful this year but in London where you are it's probably not better.

A friendly handshake to you and greeting from us all. O. Żeromska.

Wednesday morning

Dear Sir! Thank you for your reply and your friendship. The Witkiewicz¹⁹³ family is coming and that's why they're asking for cards with messages, when you are sure to leave because they'd like to arrive at least 2 days before your departure and accommodate.

If on Friday – please telegraph me and if on Sunday, I also ask for your telegram! And if, as often happen in the end, you won't be able to depart this week, please send me a card.

I will also telegraph you about the day of arrival.

They will take two rooms – one bigger and one can be small with a couch. Two beds on one room, no need for anything for the child. They agree to the given conditions – all that matters is to be able to come. Today and tomorrow they cannot. All of us are having a terrible cold at an unfortunate timing because they are so scared you Sir are going to leave.

Both of us, which is all of us, send you a very friendly handshake and greetings. O. Żeromska.” (Żeromski, Piłsudski & Żeromska 1910)

In May 1919, Żeromski wrote a memento for his prematurely deceased son Adam, who died of tuberculosis at 18. It featured various recollections: from the time when Adam was 2 years old, running happily through a courtyard and exploring a beautiful garden, to later discussing the world's phenomena with the

¹⁹³ cf. Section 7.4.

greatest Polish writer of positivism, Bolesław Prus. It also included memories of Adam witnessing Józef Piłsudski and Michał Sokolnicki secretly working on the socialist magazine *Robotnik* ('the worker'), experiencing a search by the Russian military police as a mere toddler, falling ill with dysentery, playing Japanese war games dressed in a kimono painted by Stanisław Witkiewicz (cf. Section 7.4), and being present during the construction of the writer's cottage at "Góra Armatnia"¹⁹⁴ ('cannon mountain') in Nałęczów, among other memories (Żeromski 1919).

Żeromski printed the memoir in 55 copies to give to close friends of the family, who cared for and loved the prematurely deceased boy. Many of these friends were significant figures in the Polish cultural and political world and are still remembered and discussed in Polish schools today: Bolesław Prus, Józef Piłsudski, Stanisław Witkiewicz, and Henryk Sienkiewicz (*ibid.*).

In his works, Żeromski also featured events and people of great importance to the history and fight for Polish independence, who are not widely known, such as Faustyna Morzycka, a socialist teacher from a school in Nałęczów. She was abducted by the military police after helping fugitives escape from the prison located in Lublin Castle. Żeromski was inspired by her dedication to educating the poor and based the main character of his book *Silaczka* ('the strong woman') on her.

Appearing in line with the above-mentioned national heroes is Żeromski's episode with Bronisław Piłsudski. After spending summer vacations in Ploumanac'h, France, together with Henryk Sienkiewicz and his daughter Jadwiga, Adam traveled by ship from Saint-Malo to Southampton and from there took a train to London. There, he met Bronisław, who was attending the London Japanese-British Exhibition (Żeromski 1919).

Adam's experience with Bronisław was described by Żeromski in these words:

"It wasn't long until the kindest, happiest face, grinning with a golden smile, leaned toward him. It was Bronisław Piłsudski, who had been living in this hotel for some time now. The hotel was packed with Japanese people, who came in big crowds for the Japanese-British Exhibition. Hence during morning

¹⁹⁴ This cottage is now known as the Museum of Stefan Żeromski, located at ul. Stefana Żeromskiego 8, 24-150 Nałęczów. The address itself reflects how significant Żeromski's influence was in that area. "Góra Armatnia" ('cannon mountain') is a hill in Nałęczów, named after old cannonballs were discovered there, likely used in the 1700s to salute nobles. These cannonballs are currently on display at the Museum of Stefan Żeromski, and in its backyard, the grave of Adam Żeromski can be found (Butryn, Stefan 2003. "Spór o ulicę «Armatnia Góra» w Nałęczowie" ['the dispute over «Armatnia Góra» Street in Nałęczów'], on-line service of Nałęczów City. <https://www.naleczow.com.pl/historia/ogolna/405-spor-o-ulice-armatnia-gora-w-naleczowie.html>; "Adam Żeromski" n.d. <https://www.ogrodywspomnien.pl/index/showd/91489>).

breakfasts, the Parisian had many observations on every genre of Japanese creatures. “Broniś” Piłsudski spoke the language of long-toothed rodents as well as it were native Polish. The sight-seeing of London has started, the visiting of the Japanese exhibition, the never-ending drive in comfortable cabs, shaky buses and the smoky underground train towards the most diverse points of the immeasurable city.

At the Japanese-English exhibition, amongst a multitude of the most diverse wonders, produced by two island cultures, was also an Ainu family from Sakhalin.

Bronisław Piłsudski, the former “King of Ainu” and the guardian of every “oppressed tribe” was, of course, the father, benefactor, protector and judge of the Ainu in London, for he spoke their language as fluently as Japanese, English, French, Russian and Polish.¹⁹⁵ Amongst bearded Ainu men and women with thick moustaches tattooed on the cheeks up to the ears, there were also several children and one boy in the age of Adaś. This Ainu boy Bronisław befriended to a Parisian high-schooler and the two youngsters walked together, “talked”, exchanged gifts with each other, had fun, raced, played some Ainu game similar to chess in the tent. English men and women, who under the influence of Bronisław’s agitations had already fallen into the state of admiration for the Ainu and formed a special society to research and protect this tribe, during sight-seeing of the campsite and peeking into the tent, where the little ones were playing fiercely, started to point them to one another, naming them “Ainu boys”, who were playing a national game. There was even a photographer, ready to capture this Sakhalin scene. At that time, a less Ainu-ish person escaped to the other end of the exhibition.” (Żeromski 1919: 26-8)

It is important to note that Żeromski’s perspective on these events is rather subjective. Stating that Bronisław was “the father, benefactor, protector, and judge of the Ainu in London” might suggest that he was the curator of the Ainu campsite exhibition. However, his role was that of a visitor and researcher. It took him seven weeks to obtain exhibition tickets, and from the 10 Ainu present from Saru, Hokkaido, he collected 50 folk stories (Sawada 2021: 315-6).

Żeromski had plans to write Bronisław’s biography. For that reason, in 1918, Dr. Dłuska¹⁹⁶ asked Edmund Płoski to write his recollections about Bronisław, without any concern for form, as it would serve as material for Żeromski.

¹⁹⁵ It is questionable whereas Bronisław Piłsudski knew Japanese. It might be the writer’s fantasy. Sieroszewski openly stated that neither he nor Bronisław spoke Japanese.

¹⁹⁶ The person Płoski referred to in his 1933 memoir as “Dr. Dłuska” had already passed away by the time he was writing, so it was unlikely to have been Bronisława Dłuska, the first Polish gynecologist and elder sister of Maria Skłodowska-Curie. However, the Dłuski family had deep connections to the Zakopane community, of which Żeromski was a part, making it highly probable that this “Dr. Dłuska” was someone related to them.

However, Płoski forgot. Between 1924 and 1929, Płoski was asked again, this time by a man named “Pomazański”, a writer from Warsaw. The manuscript, which Płoski delivered in person to Warsaw, was never returned, and the biography was never written (Płoski 1933: 1-2).

5.1.5. Żeromski’s conflict with Niemojewski and Sieroszewski

Andrzej Niemojewski was one of the Polish writers Bronisław made arrangements to be translated to Japanese by Futabatei Shimei.

His short narration “Kocham” from a compilation of stories entitled *Listopad* (‘November’, Lwów: Księgarnia Polska), regarding the narrator’s reminiscences of childhood that soon turned into painful episodes of loss and disappointment, most likely due to the fate of his homeland, was translated to Japanese as *Ai* (‘I love’) and published in volume 3 of *Futabatei Shimei zenshū* (‘collected works of Futabatei Shimei’, Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō 1985, 493-5) (Kurzawińska 2019: 107-16).

In contemporary Poland, Niemojewski is a completely forgotten individual. However, in Bronisław’s social circle he was important and very distinctive. His magazine *Myśl Niepodległa* (‘independent thought’) published strong opinions on public figures, often very critical and shocking. One conflict was related to a very distinguished Polish lawyer, Stanisław Patek. Niemojewski accused him of unethical behaviour towards clients, careerism and making money off the poor. Patek was also said to have bullied political prisoners into thinking they are in danger for financial benefits (¹⁹⁷; Żeromski & Adamczyk 2008: 51).

However, to Niemojewski’s discontent, Patek was known for exactly the opposite of what he was being accused of. His legal assistance for persecuted revolutionaries of 1905 was admired by many. There are many testimonies, especially from Polish female educator and children’s rights activist Stefania Sempołowska, who viewed Patek, her future life partner and husband, as a hero (Gmurczyk-Wrońska 2007: 3-5).

Natalia Jastrzębska, of the Polish Women’s Equality Association and a writer for the feminist magazine *Bluszcz* (‘ivy’), organised a protest against Niemojewski’s accusations and contacted Żeromski for support (Żeromski & Adamczyk 2008: 51).

¹⁹⁷ Niemojewski, Andrzej 1918. “Głośna sprawa sądowa Andrzeja Niemojewskiego, który wystąpił przeciwko frymarcheniu ziemią polską przez spekulantów przy pomocy żydów [...]: Warszawa, 20. VI. 1918” [‘the high-profile court case of Andrzej Niemojewski, who spoke out against trading in Polish land by speculators with the help of Jews [...]: Warsaw, 20. VI. 1918’], leaflet by Lambro (nickname of Niemojewski). Warszawa: s.n. <https://polona.pl/preview/a4528efa-0c5c-496d-a1ba-0c7ddedb1102>.

Żeromski himself had previously been in conflict with Patek regarding the activities of the Polish Museum in Rapperswil. He voiced many concerns about the actions of director Józef Gałęzowski and custodian Włodzimierz Rużycki de Rosenwerth, while Patek was their protector. Nevertheless, as writers, he and Bolesław Prus worked alongside Patek, supporting the effort to help political prisoners and raise money for the dedicated aid fund (Żeromski & Adamczyk 2008: 52; Gmurczyk-Wrońska 2007: 5).

Patek was influential both among imprisoned Poles and within the Russian judiciary. Eventually, his attorney's license was revoked for engaging in activities opposing the interests of the Russian Empire. The decision made headlines in Polish magazines, and even Russian attorneys published a brochure voicing their disapproval (Gmurczyk-Wrońska 2007: 10).

In response to Niemojewski's agitation, Żeromski agreed to sign a joint petition in defense of Patek, but he refused to participate in the scandal as an individual supporter. Furthermore, he began to express disapproval toward Sieroszewski, with whom he had previously been on good terms. He voiced his discontent in a letter to his wife, dated May 9, 1913: "Also, I won't be writing to Sieroszewski. Me and Sieroszewski don't belong in one drawbar¹⁹⁸ anymore" (Żeromski & Adamczyk 2008: 49).

Political differences must have drawn a line between old friends. Additionally, Sieroszewski, along with Niemojewski and Patek, was part of the Progressive-Democratic Union, formed in 1904 to lobby for an independent Polish Kingdom with a constituent assembly in Warsaw. Niemojewski's main goal was to cooperate with Russian liberals (e.g., Lenin), who became very hopeful for change after Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese War. Patek represented lawyers in this effort and was delegated to Moscow numerous times (Gmurczyk-Wrońska 2007: 10-1).

Ironically – friends or foes – each of them: Żeromski, Sieroszewski, and Patek, had their own unique path toward Józef Piłsudski and his military fight for independence. Żeromski briefly joined the legions in 1914, Sieroszewski served until 1915, and Patek went on to become Piłsudski's Minister of Foreign Affairs (1919-20), envoy to Tokyo (1921-6), and Moscow (1927-32). After Piłsudski's death, Patek continued his career as ambassador to Washington (1936-9) and as a senator in the Senate of the Republic of Poland (1936-9), joining Sieroszewski, who served as a senator from 1935 to 1938 (Gmurczyk-Wrońska 2007: 3; Adamczyk 2016: 50-3).

In a letter dated September 16, 1929, Sieroszewski asked Patek to help his daughter Maria (cf. Section 5.2) obtain a visa from Moscow to Warsaw and sent him 100 dollars to deliver to her. Without a doubt, political connections were key to many projects undertaken by activists in the 19th and 20th centuries. In Bronisław's case, it is often emphasised how reluctant he was to engage in the

¹⁹⁸ meaning: *in one team*

political and military sphere. Even so, he deeply felt for his brother Józef and became very emotional, expressing his inability to physically fight. Although he chose the path of research and mostly peaceful discussion, it was still his friend, and at the same time one of Józef Piłsudski's closest political comrades, Michał Sokolnicki (mentioned earlier in Żeromski's memoir), who arranged money and travel permission for Bronisław to embark on another research mission to Japan. If not for the outbreak of the First World War, he would have returned to continue his academic explorations (Sieroszewski 1897; Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 25-6).

5.1.6. Bronisław's initiative to invite Japanese students to Poland

Idealism, sacrifice, sense of mission, will to educate but also tragedy and drama. All these are integral parts of Żeromski's novels. For Żeromski it might have been partly fiction but it raised big hopes for Bronisław that he had found his Polish soul mate. Every time Bronisław acquainted the greatest visionaries of his time, his own possibilities greatly expanded. However, the enthusiasm lasted as long as he was surrounded with true supporters. He thought of projects so big that only another big dreamer could understand them. With the unstable politics of 20th century Europe and the lack of freedom and independence in Poland, there was very little understanding for real cultural exchange and Bronisław's precise knowledge on Japan and China must have been thought of as an entertaining oddness.

The below-quoted letter is preserved in the Polish National Library as Żeromski's correspondence – that means it probably must have been read at least by him. Further research must be conducted to decide, if Bronisław's proposal reached a bigger number of Polish authors and got some positive or negative feedback. However, the Polish Writers' Association itself was formed in March 1909 mainly to protect the writers' interests and publish on good terms. It was more of a business practice than a cultural fund (Żeromski & Adamczyk 2006: 106, 251-2). The relations between authors were not always friendly and the intense atmosphere made Żeromski write to Sieroszewski from Paris: "After my sad experience with the Polish Writers' Association, I'm not willing to have fruitless meetings with any men of letters anymore" (*ibid.* 250).

Why was Bronisław unaware of reality? In his letter to the Polish Writers' Association he mentioned a newly-formed Japanese Cultural Association. What he really meant was the Great Japan's Civilization Association (*Dainihon bunmei kyōkai*) – a very ambitious project to modernize Japanese science by translating significant foreign sources into Japanese. Although Bronisław focused on literature, foreign STEM publications were a huge part of the undertaking with a total number of 241 papers from UK, USA, France and

Germany translated, featuring names such as Ellsworth Huntington, Richard Arman Gregory, James Johnstone, Paul Popenoe, Edwin Ray Lankester (Mizoguchi 1983: 100). Some of the authors worked for *Nature*, which is still one of the most respected scientific journals to the present day.

The initiator of the project was Shigenobu Ōkuma. Ōkuma was nearly 70 when he retired from politics and became president of Waseda University (not to be mistaken with headmaster – they were two different roles.¹⁹⁹ In 1908, he started the Great Japan's Civilisation Association, which was active until 1925. “Japan is still in the era of imitating others. There is a huge need to import knowledge from advanced countries. We created our Civilisation Association with the aim to translate the knowledge of developed countries, which will support our citizens' life and activities” – he explained (Mizoguchi 1983: 99).

Ōkuma wrote an article *Tōa-no heiwa-o ronzu* (‘discussing peace in East Asia’, 1904),²⁰⁰ which touched upon the problems of Central-Eastern Europe, including Poland.

Bronisław, having surrounded himself by big names, influential and powerful individuals like Shigenobu Ōkuma, who were extraordinary history makers – must have overestimated Żeromski's possibilities as a member of the Polish Writers' Association. Thus the letter he sent.

The hand-written original has no paragraphs. They were introduced here to make the meaning of the text more understandable.

“To the Management of Polish Writers' Association

Dear Sirs

Recently I've learned from newspapers that a Cultural Association has formed in Japan with the aim of introducing new currents of thought in Western Europe and masterpieces by most talented European authors to the Japanese.

Within the first 3 years, the Association plans to translate 50 pieces. Wanting to prevent the Japanese from overlooking our great masters of word and thought, I suggest your Association could take care of this matter by choosing a few accurate pieces from the most current elite and send them to Japan, translated into a known in Japan European language. Knowing the president of the above-mentioned Association, earl Okuma, in person and his friendly disposition towards Poles, I'm sure our request would be granted. I don't

¹⁹⁹ Waseda University 2023. “About Waseda. Former presidents”, Waseda University's on-line resources. <https://www.waseda.jp/top/about/work/organizations/office/former-presidents>.

²⁰⁰ Ōkuma, Shigenobu 1904. “Tōa-no heiwa-o ronzu” [‘discussing peace in East Asia’]. *Gaikō Jihō* 84. https://www.aozora.gr.jp/cards/001879/files/57987_67747.html.
大隈重信 1904. 東亜の平和を論ず. 外交時報, 第八四号.

consider appropriate acting personally in this regard, because knowing how little I know of modern Polish literature I wouldn't dare to recommend this or that piece of literature as the most suitable. You Gentlemen, having a thorough knowledge of the subject, would choose authors and works that would give the best idea of our society and of our collective or individual thought. What's more, recommendations of Polish writers would also be of greater importance to the Japanese than those of an individual, who's in addition a complete layman in literature. At the same time, I would like to share with you, Gentlemen, a thought of mine which was born during my stay in Japan and which I hope to materialise – Poland and Poles are receiving sympathy from Eastern peoples: Japan as well as China.

The reasons are very clear. Up until now we have been the only white nation who hadn't participated in colonisation politics towards yellow and black races. Our sad fate was shared until recently by China, the need of colonisation of which was discussed amongst diplomats and journalists as an essential matter or even key to culture's development.

Japan's independence was also endangered at some point in its history. The sympathy is getting weaker however, as there is not enough knowledge on our matter and there may be lies and unrightful things told about us by outsiders. We should cherish and spread this sympathy further. For it is delightful to know or hear in person, which I myself experienced in years 1905 and 1906, how respected there are the same values that we also hold dear. We should also keep in mind that the future of nations doesn't depend on one white race, almighty until today. Other mighty Asian nations are appearing on the horizon and are already highly-valued by the proudest Aryan peoples and the further they'll go, the more respect they'll gain.

That's why I consider essential to build closeness between Poles and their sympathetic mates from the "Land of the Rising Sun and the Heavenly Country". I was promised help and cooperation in Tokyo, under the terms that the initiative and first steps will be taken on our part.

After my come-back to the country I took some measures but I wasn't met with proper understanding of the matter's importance due to the weakening interest in the Far East of Asia right after the end of the war. So I restricted myself just to sharing my thoughts amongst colleagues in my country and sustaining relations with my Japanese friends.

My will to come together with the East was mainly supported by my good friend and professor of literature and Russian language, translator of Russian authors and an outstanding author himself Shimi Hasegawa²⁰¹ – who unfortunately passed away a couple of months ago. From a broad choice of

²⁰¹ Previously, it has been documented that Bronisław used to call his Japanese friend *Shigi Hasegawa*. However, in this letter he has undoubtedly called him *Shimi Hasegawa*, which would be closer to the author's nickname *Shimei*. Was *Shigi* a misprint?

Polish novels and short stories sent to him mainly in Russian translation, he has chosen a few and translated them into Japanese. The first ones were Niemojewski's *Kocham* and Prus's *Michałko*. The short stories were received by the public very keenly and the translator got orders from the publisher to translate short stories for a complete volume of Polish writings. Was there an outcome I don't know, because of my friend's long illness our correspondence stopped as early as half a year before his passing.

This premature death of the most inclinable supporter of my plan provokes me to search for different ways and different methods to bring together Japan and Poland. My opinion was and is that the best first step would be to invite at least one or a couple of young Japanese talents to Poland, who'd like to live among us for a few years, so they'd learn our language, get to know local relations, do field work on our country from an economical and political or historical and geographical or ethnographic point of view and initially they'd serve as ambassadors of thought exchange of two nations bonded by friendship.

As long as I came to know Japanese relations, the government is focused on practical matters of today and won't help with such an undertaking and Japanese authors are usually poor people without the perspective to travel and live for years in a foreign country to study, whereas in their homeland they can live with even a small amount of money. My aim is to influence some of the richer youngsters to help the future specialists of Polish language and culture to make a living here paying minimum cost.

I personally deeply believe that an individual like that could live here with us without great financial means – because the person would be sought-after by everyone – and thanks to the still remaining tradition of Slavic hospitality they wouldn't die from hunger and cold. Previously, I haven't felt comfortable enough to talk someone into or promise to someone this old Polish tradition of hospitality, because I haven't been living in the country for 20 years and now, after spending here 3 years, I still wouldn't be able to offer this kind of proposition. However, any kind of organisation would be able to offer it, especially an institution such as the Polish Writers' Association – having numerous members, respect from the nation and vast influence on various social strata. The thought of sending a young student or writer to Poland didn't seem too abstract or impossible to implement to the Japanese I confided in. The only remark I received was that a wise choice of the right person suited for this honourable and hard mission would be of great importance for the matter.

I was deeply moved when I realised my good friend S. Hasegawa grew enthusiasm towards it and took steps to reach the aim with a true perseverance, characteristic for the East. Namely, he accepted the offer of one of the biggest Japanese newspapers²⁰² to go to St. Petersburg as a correspondent, remembering

²⁰² It was *Asahi Shimbun*, founded in 1879. After almost 150 years, it is still one of the leading Japanese newspapers.

that he had given me his word that he'd come to stay in Poland for longer. His death obliges me to find another ally – but for bigger efficiency this time I'd like an organised group of people to hold negotiations and implement the plan, which many Poles sympathised with – and some of them were writers (I'll name at least a few of them: St. Witkiewicz, W. Sieroszewski, Wł. Orkan,²⁰³ Wł. Gumpłowicz, Wł. Studnicki,²⁰⁴ M. Turzyna and I. Kosmowska).²⁰⁵

Above all, I'm haunted right now by a thought, which was implanted in me in childhood and has been coming back to me in periods of time that I'm being dogged by ill fate and it sends me misfortunes, maybe because of some fault of my ancestors – since I myself am not bad enough to deserve all of what I'm experiencing in life. But what's most important – it's the impression the Japanese will have if I come banging on their door individually. After all, at this point I can't give them vague hope that the plan will gain our society's sympathy or some of its groups, since it's been 3 years and I had the time to test the waters and present something more real to them.

What I mean is that the whole undertaking should be held under the name of an association and the best choice seems to be the Polish Writers' Association. Personally, I'm not refusing you all the help. Indeed, I'm eager to assist you in matters you'd consider appropriate.

I'm going to mention a couple addresses, where friendship for Poles can be found. I believe first and foremost, that contact with earl Okuma, a very active,

²⁰³ Władysław Orkan was a Polish author significant to the Podhale region in the Polish mountains. He was a translator and promoter of Ukrainian literature. His house, Orkanówka, which remained unfinished throughout his life, now serves as a community hub for local integration. A festival is held there in May, along with school rallies.

²⁰⁴ Władysław Studnicki was a Polish politician and columnist. A controversial pro-German antisemite during the Second World War, he wished the best for Poland, but his views differed too much from the main political stance. He authored *Wobec nadchodzącej II wojny światowej* ('in relation to the upcoming Second World War'), which was confiscated by the Prime Minister at the time, Józef Beck. However, some of Studnicki's arguments were very precise and correct. He predicted that the alliance between Poland, Great Britain, and France would be weak and insufficient for war. He planned to cede Poland's western regions to Germany in order to save the eastern regions from the Russians. He opposed the government's wishful thinking and optimism (Studnicki 2018). Nevertheless, Studnicki, even though he was pro-German, was still arrested by the Gestapo and sent to Pawiak – a Warsaw prison synonymous with torture and brutality.

²⁰⁵ Irena Kosmowska was a Polish community worker, supporter of independence, anticlerical columnist for the magazine *Zaranie*, and one of the first female politicians. She became deputy minister in Ignacy Daszyński's self-appointed government. She was once temporarily arrested for speaking out against Józef Piłsudski.

influential and eager to take part in such undertakings man, nick-named the *eternally young old man*,²⁰⁶ is crucial.

If you'd be willing to put your trust in me, I could submit a request and proposal to the Embassy in Paris, asking for advice and instructions. Sometimes the Japanese live longer in Paris or London and encouraging them to study Polish literature might give them the ambition to excel in their societies.

I think this shouldn't be limited to Japan only and attention must be paid also to the Chinese, who with growing eagerness re-introduce European literature's masterpieces and less important writings to build closeness with European culture.

If my proposal couldn't be considered due to the fact I'm not a member of Polish Writers' Association but it would be possible for me to gain the right to be registered and enlisted, please let me know.

I'd be delighted to become a part of such a pleasant association.

In case of refusal of my proposal, in what I wouldn't dare to believe, please contact me too.

I remain in deep respect

Bronisław Piłsudski

15 September 1909" (Perzyński 1894)

With the publication of this previously unknown letter by Bronisław, new details come to light about his collaboration with Futabatei Shimei at the Poland-Japan Society. Additionally, the number of literary figures from the Polish side that Bronisław planned to involve in the project becomes clearer.

What has remained unnoticed until now is that one of the short stories Bronisław planned to have translated into Japanese was written by Stefan Żeromski. It was *Sen o szpadzie* ('dream of the sword', 1905), signed under the pseudonym "Zych." The story opens with a portrait of a Japanese soldier who, upon surrender, decides to donate his last money to the Red Cross and tells his enemy that his family will be well-protected by the Japanese Emperor. The narrator then urges the Polish soldier to remain steadfast and courageous. It was a special request made by Maria Żarnowska through Bronisław to Futabatei that this story be translated into Japanese (Ciesielska 1994: 275). Another important thread in their relationship is the plan to invite Futabatei as a foreign student to

²⁰⁶ Ōkuma had at least two nicknames. One was 統計伯 *tōkei haku*, which means "earl statistics". The nickname came from Ōkuma's continuous need to base everything in the governmental decisions on statistics. The other one was 大隈老侯 *Ōkuma rōkō* – "old marquis Ōkuma", since Ōkuma was very active politically and socially until his death at 85. Bronisław also had a nickname associated with old age, even though he was still young. Friends called him *Dziadek* – "Grandpa" (Miyakawa Tadao 2019. "«Tokeihaku» Ōkuma Shigenobu to Meiji no ronsō" ['the «count of statistics» Ōkuma Shigenobu and the debates of the Meiji Era'], *Bungei Shunjū* 97 (6), 88-90; Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 27).

Poland. The letter suggests that Futabatei has eagerly agreed to the thought and took on the role of a correspondent in St. Petersburg in order to prepare for his Polish voyage. How very exceptional for these two researchers to form such an international mutual understanding. One cannot not wonder, how would Japan-Poland relations look like, if these two progressive thinkers would have been able to live until old age.

The letter also shines light on Bronisław's psychological profile. His teenage *Diary* is proof that he has always felt inferior to Józef. He could not understand how his younger brother always got out of difficult situations, attracted the attention of girls and was considered a leader. But now, with this new information emerging, it is clear that it has been suggested to Bronisław that his misluck might be a curse. Until recently, there was a common practice of educating children by scaring them with stories that had very catastrophic endings. Modern large-scale education is a very new concept. Here, Bronisław confessed to experiencing periods of intrusive thoughts that reappeared throughout his life. His correspondence suggests depression, sensitivity, and a tendency to isolate himself from others. His mental state made it difficult for him to fully engage in his most important project.

This emotional state draws attention away from Bronisław's highly precise thoughts on colonialism (or – as Poles, due to their history and geopolitical context, often refer to it – “the politics of partitioning countries” or simply “Russification”). What Bronisław expressed was not a simple matter in his time (and one could argue, it remains complex even today). Academic racism was a reality. Charles Darwin based his opinion on his theory of evolution, suggesting that the white race represented the highest form of evolution, while Africans were “at the evolutionary level of gorillas” (N'Diaye 2016: 42-3).

This served as an excuse for the 19th century capitalists, for whom black slavery was a beneficial factor in European industrialisation. And although by the time Bronisław was born slavery was supposed to be abolished, a French journalist of his age Albert Londres wrote: “In Africa, slavery was abolished only in ministerial declarations”. He documented that Africans still worked to the extreme and were called “engines for transporting bananas”(N'Diaye 2016: 45). This proves how self-aware of racial issues Bronisław was, before the European academic and industrial world adjusted their standards to stand up for equal treatment.

5.2. Wacław Sieroszewski

Wacław Sieroszewski (1858 Wólka Kozłowska–1945 Piaseczno) was Bronisław's fellow researcher during his first research expedition to Hokkaido.

Sieroszewski left written accounts of the trip, as well as recollections of Bronisław.

Sieroszewski, known also under his nickname *Sirko*, was a Polish writer, ethnographer, Siberian exile, Poland's independence activist and politician.

Sieroszewski's father Leopold fought in the January Uprising of 1864 and was imprisoned in the 10th Citadel Pavilion. After release, he emigrated to Galicia and never returned. Sieroszewski's mother Waleria née Ciemniewska died prematurely and he was to be taken care of by his uncles.²⁰⁷

It was difficult for Sieroszewski to stay longer in any school, because he was expelled for Polish patriotic activities first from gymnasium, later from Ludwik Wojno's²⁰⁸ Technical Railway School. He was imprisoned in the 10th Citadel Pavilion just like his father in the past. In jail, he took part in prisoners' rebellion and was given a sentence of 8 years in Siberian exile (*ibid.*).

Critics consider Sieroszewski's stay in Verkhoyansk, Yakutsk and Irkutsk in years 1879–96 the most fruitful in terms of his writing and scholarly research (Sadowska 2006: 177-8).

In May 1880 Sieroszewski reached Verkhoyansk. There he worked in many different jobs, such as locksmith, hunter, farmer and fisherman. He tried to flee twice, in 1881 and 1882. In result, his locksmith tools were taken away, which made it very hard to make a living. This was greatly troublesome to Sieroszewski, who had just started a family and needed money to support it. His wife, a Yakut woman, had two names: Russian *Anna Sleptsova* and Yakut *Arina Chel'ba Kysa* (Чэльба Кыса). Sieroszewski called her Anna or Annushka. Together they had a Polish-Yakut daughter, Maria Sieroszevska (cf. Section 5.3). Due to the impossibility to properly take care of the child, Maria was sent to Sleptsova's family 20 kilometres away and stayed there until she was 5 years-old (Legutko 2012: 45-49, 51).

In 1883 Sieroszewski, accused of leading the attempted escape, was exiled to most isolated regions of Siberia. First, he went to Andylakh. At the turn of winter 1886 and 1887, Sleptsova died of tuberculosis with pneumonia and for the next seven years, 1887–94, Sieroszewski took care of Maria. First they lived in Namsky District and Bayagantai, Ust-Aldan District. In 1892 Sieroszewski obtained a settlement passport, which allowed him to travel throughout the Russian Empire with the exception of the Kingdom of Poland. He settled with

²⁰⁷ Forum Akademickie 2001. "Sieroszewscy: na podstawie audycji *Rody uczone*, nadanej w programie *Bis* Polskiego Radia SA w marcu 2000 r." [‘the Sieroszewski family: based on the *Families of Scholars* show, aired by the *Bis* program of Polish Radio SA in March 2000’], on-line biographical entry. https://forumakademickie.pl/fa-archiwum/archiwum/2001/12/artykuly/19-rody_uczone.htm.

²⁰⁸ Ludwik Wojno was a Polish engineer and lecturer at Central School in Warsaw. He was an editor of the magazine *Przegląd Techniczny* (‘the technical review’), a monthly magazine dedicated to matters of technology and industry.

Maria in Irkutsk, where Sieroszewski first worked sweeping the streets. However, he soon found a better job, and in the meantime received help from Stanisław Landy²⁰⁹ and Grigory Nikolayevich Potanin,²¹⁰ which opened the way for him to join the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. He started working at the Society's library, as well as the Irkutsk Museum. The Society payed him 50 rubles a month for his scholarly engagement, which enabled him to work as a researcher (*ibid.* 49-52).

In 1894 Sieroszewski left Irkutsk for Petersburg, where he was commissioned to write an academic book about Yakuts. He went alone, leaving his daughter with the Landy family. In 1895 in Petersburg he first met Józef Piłsudski. This encounter influenced his future political directions (*ibid.* 53).

In 1896 Sieroszewski won a golden medal of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society for his book *Yakuty: opyt etnograficheskogo issledovaniya V. L. Seroshevskogo* ('Yakuts: an ethnographic study by V. L. Sieroszewski', S. Peterburg: Tipografiya Glavnogo Upravleniya Udelov 1896). The Polish version of the books is entitled *Dwanaście lat w kraju Jakutów* ('twelve years in the land of the Yakuts', Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy "Biblioteka Polska" 1935). This achievement enabled Sieroszewski to return to Poland after 15 years. He came back alone, leaving Maria behind in Russia with the Landy family (*ibid.*).

Only four years later, in 1900, Sieroszewski faced the danger of exile to Irkutsk again. He was accused together with Żeromski (cf. Section 5.1) of writing a "passionate" proclamation for the workers' manifestation, which took place during the unveiling of Adam Mickiewicz's statue in Warsaw. In reality, it

²⁰⁹ Stanisław Landy was a Polish socialist and Sieroszewski's good friend. Together they shared a cell at the 10th Citadel Pavilion and for hours discussed sociology and political economy. They lived through the prisoners' rebellion and harsh travel to Siberian place of exile. Landy sang to other exiles the French version of the socialist song *Le drapeau rouge* ('the red flag'), unknown at that time in Russia. Landy was separated from Sieroszewski in Irkutsk prison. They reunited in Irkutsk after a couple of years. Landy was working as a sales manager for A.I. Gromova, a fur-selling company. Its chair was a man named M. W. Pichtin, a member of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, who decided to support Sieroszewski's scholarly work on Yakutia (Czachowski 1947: 31-2, 38, 55, 85-6).

²¹⁰ Grigory Nikolayevich Potanin was a Russian ethnographer, explorer of Siberia, Mongolia and China, and founder of the first Siberian university, the Tomsk State University. In 1867 he was accused of supporting the Siberia separatism movement and sentenced to 8 years in jail. In 1905 he supported the revolutionist movement. For years he was in favour of the Siberian autonomy movement but changed his mind after Bolsheviks came to power. The 9915 Potanin asteroid is named after him (Natural History Museum n.d. "Potanin, Grigorii Nikolajevic (1835–1920)", biographical entry, J-Stor on-line resources. <https://plants.jstor.org/stable/10.5555/al.ap.person.bm000325285>).

were the doings of Józef Piłsudski and Stanisław Wojciechowski,²¹¹ but a false accusation hung over Sieroszewski and he was locked up in the Citadel. Thanks to support of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the person of Semyonov²¹² the sentence of exile was exchanged for a research trip on Hokkaido Ainu. Sieroszewski agreed to conduct it under the terms that he would be accompanied by Bronisław Piłsudski (Sieroszewski 1935: 5-8).

This decision was made with the help of Shternberg (cf. Section 3.3), who recommended Bronisław for the trip in a letter to Sieroszewski. A year before in a letter to Shternberg dated September 8, 1902, Bronisław expressed his desire to participate in such a official delegation (Sawada 2021: 139-40). He did it in the words cited below:

²¹¹ Stanisław Wojciechowski was a Polish socialist activist, elected by the National Assembly in 1922 the second president of Poland. As a young person, he participated in many conspiracy organisations: Związek Młodzieży Polskiej “Zet” (‘Polish Youth Union “Zet”’), the Workers' Union and academic student circles. After being arrested twice by Russians, he emigrated to Zurich, Paris and London. He co-established the Związek Zagraniczny Socjalistów Polskich (‘Foreign Association of Polish Socialists’) and PPS. He organised the socialist movement in Russia and had common objectives with Józef Piłsudski. He stayed longer in Britain with his family and returned to Warsaw after 1905. After the First World War he became Poland’s Minister of Internal Affairs, then in 1922 the president of Poland. He held the position until Piłsudski’s May Coup of 1926. After surrendering to Piłsudski’s forces he withdrew from politics, unable to come to terms with the brutality of his times. He focused on developing the idea of cooperatives and his work as a lecturer at the Warsaw Central School of Life Sciences. During the Second World War, his son Edmund died in Auschwitz. Wojciechowski survived the war and died a month after Stalin (Łazora, Jerzy 2022. “Stanisław Wojciechowski – prezydent sprzed wieku” [‘Stanisław Wojciechowski – president from the previous century’, *Gazeta SGH* – college bulletin]. <https://gazeta.sgh.waw.pl/historia/stanislaw-wojciechowski-prezydent-sprzed-wieku>).

²¹² Pyotr Petrovich Semyonov was a Russian geographer, botanist and entomologist. He was an honorary member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1873), the Academy of Arts (1874), chair of the Russian Geography Society (1873) and the Russian Entomology Society (1874). He joined the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in 1849 upon graduating from St. Petersburg Society. He traveled to the best European universities to study and in Berlin University he had a chance to meet Alexander von Humboldt, the great German naturalist and one of the founders of modern geography. His most known expedition to Tian Shan gained him the title of Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky. It was bestowed by a decree of the emperor. To celebrate Semyonov, his name was given to mountains, ridges, glaciers and newly discovered plants and animals. Semyonov conducted the first ever general census of population in Russia. His large insect collection of around 700,000 specimens is located at Russia’s Zoological Museum of the Academy of Sciences. Semyonov’s work contributed greatly to the understanding of Central Asian ecosystems (PL n.d. “Birthday anniversary of Pyotr Petrovich Semenov-Tyan-Shansky, Russian geographer”, biographical entry of the Russian Presidential Library. <https://www.prilib.ru/en/history/618945>).

“I would very much like to go officially to Japan next summer after the congress on Sakhalin to observe the life of the “Ainu” there, especially those who 26–7 years ago moved to Hokkaido from Sakhalin, up to 800 people, and settled in one place called “Iskari”²¹³ and to talk with Batchelor – a researcher of the Matsumae²¹⁴ Ainu (here they call all Ainu from Ezo that), and perhaps also to meet with Sieroszewski and undergo treatment in hot springs.” (Piłsudski 1996: 194)

Sieroszewski reached Hakodate in May 1903 and Bronisław received his letter dated May 18, 1903 in Korsakov, where he was preparing for a different research trip to the Bay of Patience, to the northern Ainu and Uilta. He planned to end the trip in August or even in winter. On receiving Sieroszewski’s invitation, he canceled all his previous arrangements and hired an Ainu-Japanese-Russian interpreter, Tarōji Sentoku (CWBP 1: 199; Sawada 2021: 140-1).

Bronisław made it to Hakodate together with Sentoku around July 8–10. Sieroszewski was absent, because in the meantime he was accompanying John Batchelor in another research trip to Uru, an Ainu village. Finally, around July 31-August 1 the two Polish men united and started their travel through Shiraoi, Satai, Mukawa and Piratori (current Biratori). Bronisław carried an Edison phonograph and wax cylinders with him (Sawada 2021: 141-5).

In Piratori the two have learned that the Russo-Japanese War was about to break out and their trip was ordered to be disbanded. After September 10 they left Piratori for Sapporo, where Bronisław alone spent a couple of nights at Batchelor’s. He returned to Hakodate September 15, whereas Sieroszewski September 17. Bronisław after another half of the month came back to Korsakov. Sieroszewski stayed in Japan until December and returned to Warsaw in February 1904 (*ibid.* 145–7).

As for Batchelor, he showed kindness towards his guests, but in general was very sceptical about the idea of Siberian exiles performing research in Hokkaido. He did not understand the context of the expedition and after years, he noted down that he might have witnessed two Russian spies (*ibid.* 146; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 28:9).

A very detailed record of the Hokkaido trip was left for future generations in Sieroszewski’s book *Wśród kosmatych ludzi* (*Among hairy people*, Warszawa:

²¹³ Bronisław probably meant Ishikari – a town near Sapporo, located close to the Ishikari River. It is related to the Ainu history in Hokkaido.

²¹⁴ The Matsumae samurai clan had autonomy in the region of Ezo (now Hokkaido) during the Tokugawa shogunate. They came to Ezo in the 16th century and conquered the local areas inhabited by the Ainu. In exchange for protecting the north coast of Japan, the Matsumae had permission to manage the whole region and conduct trade relations with the Ainu.

Towarzystwo Wydawnicze “Rój” 1935). The content was first published in 1926 in three independent magazines. Its full English translation from Polish is available in volume 3 of *Completed works of Bronisław Piłsudski* (CWBP 3, 661-99). There is also a Czech translation entitled *Mezi chlupatými lidmi* by Eduard Parma (Praha: Pokrok 1927) and a Japanese translation *Kebukai hitotachi-no aida-de* by Kōichi Inoue (cf. Sieroszewski 1935). For this reason, the author of this thesis will not discuss at length the book’s content. However, some parts of it are commented on in Section 7.5. in regards to inspirations in contemporary Polish literature.

What is most important to note about this expedition is that Sieroszewski was greatly amazed by Bronisław’s knowledge of Ainu culture and language. The two would never go this far with only connections, permissions and finances. The other significant part is the scale of the expedition: notebooks with collected Ainu texts, over 200 photographic negatives (Ainu men and women photographed from the front and side) and 20 rolls of film with recorded Ainu dances (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 144-5, 147).

Sieroszewski convinced Bronisław during their Hokkaido trip to contact Benedykt Dybowski²¹⁵ in regard to possible hirement in Lviv. Bronisław started to exchange correspondence with the ethnographer in 1897 due to the latter’s zoological research. Dybowski needed help in naming the species of the Siberian Grouse *Canace falcipennis Hartlaub* (*Falcipennis falcipennis* in current taxonomy) (*ibid.* 292; Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 23-4).

In the year of revolution of 1905, Sieroszewski engaged in the work of PPS (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna, Polish Socialist Party). During the October general strike he managed the editorial of *Kurier Codzienny* and promised not to give it up to the censors. It was the first magazine to voice the declaration of revolution. Sieroszewski traveled to Moscow and Petersburg in order to negotiate with Russian activists as a delegate. In his diary he remembered that even during his Siberian years, Poles were criticised by foreign socialists for adding an independence of Poland statement to the minimal version of the socialist manifest. He was twice arrested and freed due to pressure applied by Warsaw citizens in the midst of revolution. However, he had no way to stay in the Kingdom of Poland longer and moved to Galicia, which was a place of hiding for many revolutionists. Already in Cracow, he wrote for *Trybuna* (‘the tribune’) magazine – an organ of revolutionist independence activists. He stayed longer in Zakopane, where with his family he lived in a small house at

²¹⁵ Benedykt Dybowski was a Polish naturalist, zoologist, physician, professor of Lviv University and Warsaw Central School. He was sentenced to death for participation in the Polish January Uprising of 1864, but his various talents were supported by many Polish and foreign researchers and with their help, he was exiled to Siberia instead. His most crucial research relates to the fauna and flora of Lake Baikal. In recent years, Polish science communicator Tomasz Rożek, PhD included Dybowski in his children series *Akademia Superbohaterów* (‘superheroes academy’).

Zamoyski Street. His literary works from years 1908-9 were written in Zakopane (Czachowski 1947: 114-5).

In 1910 Sieroszewski moved to Paris. He trained there for military service in the Paris section of Związek Strzelecki ('the Marksmen Association'). Bronisław, who came to Paris a correspondent of the Galician magazine *Kurier Lwowski* ('the Lviv courier'), as well as to study as an auditeur at Sorbonne, lived at Sieroszewski's place for a couple of weeks (*ibid.* 125; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 58).

In 1914 Sieroszewski returned to Cracow to serve in the marksmen ranks during the First World War. In 1916 he participated in the Congress of Peoples Oppressed by the Tsarist Regime in Lausanne, Switzerland. He proclaimed the independence of Poland there, for which he was later persecuted by Germans, who wished to merge Poland together with Germany (Czachowski 1947: 151-2).

The same year, Sieroszewski met Bronisław two last times: in Rapperswil and Zurich. Sieroszewski reported that Bronisław looked troubled and sad by the political differences arising in Polish society (Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 29).

Bronisław's state was connected to the numerous congresses organised in Switzerland in the years of First World War. The gatherings had a huge impact on the future relationship of Poland and Lithuania. Polish culture and territorial dominance were seen as aggressively spreading by other eastern countries of the tsarist regime. This Bronisław could not withstand. For more details on this matter, please review Chapter 6.

In 1918 Sieroszewski was arrested by Germans during the gathering of Stronictwo Niezawisłości Narodowej ('National Independence Party'), but managed to escape. He did tours around Polish diaspora in USA and France, where he was greeted eagerly. He raised money for the aim of building an independent Poland. The project was called the National Loan (Czachowski 1947: 152; Legutko 2020: 83).

As the president of the Polish section of P.E.N Club, he traveled to England in 1927 several times. In 1933 he experienced a visit to Bulgaria. In 1921 and 1927–30, he was the chairman of the Professional Union of Polish Writers in Warsaw, and from November 1933, the first president of the Polish Academy of Literature (Czachowski 1947: 153).

During his last years of life, Sieroszewski started to write a diary. The diary entries dated from July 1939 to April 1944 are stored in the Polish National Library in Warsaw in seven volumes. The content starts with descriptions of Sieroszewski's childhood and ends with Sieroszewski's second trip to the USA in 1929 (Legutko 2020: 84-5).

Sieroszewski survived the Second World War and died in 1945 in Piaseczno near Warsaw.

A biography entitled *Wacława Sieroszewskiego żywot niespokojny* ('the tumultuous life of Wacław Sieroszewski', Warszawa: Wydawnictwo "Iskry"

2015) by Andrzej Sieroszewski, the ethnographer's grandson, is the most complete record of Sieroszewski's life to date. Another important publication, analysing Sieroszewski's inspirations with Japan, is Zdzisław Kempf's *Orientalizm Wacława Sieroszewskiego: wątki japońskie* ('Wacław Sieroszewski's orientalism: Japanese themes', Warszawa–Wrocław: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1982). It suggests that Sieroszewski's works should be seen through the lens of his Japanese experience: the author's Hokkaido research expedition, his fascination with geisha and samurai, as well as traditional Japanese poetry.

The literary works of Sieroszewski were held in high regard already during his life. His first Siberian stories of 1896 were widely read in Warsaw and rated more exiting than those by Pierre Loti (cf. Section 4.22. for more information about Loti). No wonder that when Bronisław was setting up his Poland-Japan Society, Sieroszewski was one of the authors asked by Bronisław to send literary texts for translation into Japanese (Czachowski 1947: 76; Sawada & Inoue: 58).

Czachowski (1933: 5-8) named Sieroszewski the Polish greatest creator of exotic novel. He expressed the opinion that if Polish were an international language like English, French and Russian, there would be a separate category for Polish exotic novel in European literature, because of its variety and original nature. It was written under forced exiles, whereas for example the British adventure novels were based on stories by world explorers, government delegates etc.

Sieroszewski's novel carry always an autobiographical note, but with a hint of knowledge on foreign lands, people and way of living. He loved Robinson Crusoe as a child and was fascinated by his adventures (18). His rich stories take action in Siberia, Korea, Japan, China, Tibet, Mongolia (Czachowski 1947: 14-5, 18).

One exception is *Latorośle* ('children, a short story written from the perspective of a little boy Piotruś, who is living in a Polish manor house. He likes adventures such as searching for treasure in the attic and going for trips on the river's island. He meets a vagabond and thief named Walek, which makes a crack in his idillic life. This story was inspired by Sieroszewski's childhood recollections (*ibid.* 18, 105-6).

During Sieroszewski's exile, the main characters of his literary works were often members of ethnic minorities and tribes. In *Jesienią* ('in autumn', 1884) it was Chachak the bear slayer, in *Skradziony chłopak* ('a stolen boy', 1885) it was Kechergeres, a taiga inhabitant lost in the city. *Na kresach lasów* ('at the forest edge', 1891) describes Yakut everyday life and the functioning of exiled Poles among them. It is a story of friendship between Paweł, a Polish man, and Ujbanczyk, a Yakut reformer and idealist. *Chajłach* ('the criminal deportee', 1887) presents the tragedy of a happy local Yakut couple Chabdzija and Keremes, whose marriage has been destroyed by the exiled criminal Kostya

Khrushchov. *W ofierze bogom* ('in sacrifice to the gods', 1893) is about the nomadic life of the Evenks and their heroic sacrifice for their people. *W matni* ('in a bind', 1896) describes the struggle of an exile, who lost his wife and fights with Yakut locals for an allotment for farming. Finally, he receives permission to return to his country (*ibid.* 67, 71-76, 81).

The above are some examples of Sieroszewski's short stories, which were immediately rated highly on his return from Siberia. Most of them were collected in the volume *W matni* ('in a bind', Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff 1897). In favour of Sieroszewski's writings was especially Eliza Orzeszkowa, who published a series on Sieroszewski's works titled *Wschodząca gwiazda* ('the rising star') in *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* ('the illustrated weekly'), starting number 6/1898. She named him a painter, poet and sculptor all in one person. She complemented his richness of detail in descriptions of nature, descriptive comparisons, images full of tragedy and pathos. Orzeszkowa was impressed by how Sieroszewski distinguished the characters and traits of Yakuts and Evenks amidst their community. Upon that, she appreciated the painted picture of people, whose primary communities construct the basis of modern science, philosophy and religion but at the same time if confronted with civilisation, they do not gain a thing. Sieroszewski is named the one, who "melted racial prejudices and hatreds in the vast ocean of humanitarian ideas" (*ibid.* 76-82).

And concerning the issue of the *vast ocean*, Sieroszewski is also seen as a writer, who was a master of describing maritime motifs in literature. His observational skills and precision in details made it possible for him to express realistically the immense richness of the seascape and diversity of marine views: calm on the ocean, night at the ocean, stormy weather, the ocean's islands and more (*ibid.* 144-6).

All in all, Sieroszewski was a prominent author of his time, and fortunately, his undeniable talent was recognised during his lifetime, along with all the privileges that came with it.

5.3. Paulina Sieroszevska

Paulina Sieroszevska (1856–1915 Warsaw) was an editor of the magazine *Prawda* ('the truth'), in which Bronisław published his articles on Japan.

She was a publicist, translator and Wacław Sieroszewski's sister.

Sieroszevska came from a poor background and was raised by relatives, whom she helped at their farmhouse. She received her education in Warsaw, at

Jadwiga Sikorska's²¹⁶ School and later participated in lectures by Uniwersytet Latający ('the Flying University').²¹⁷ Thanks to the financial support of Sikorska's family, Sieroszewska studied social sciences in England. Due to her good command of English, she started working as a translator and translated to Polish such books as Henry Rider Haggard's²¹⁸ *King Solomon's mine* (*Kopalnie króla Salomona*, Chicago: W. Smulski 1892) and Eden Phillpotts's²¹⁹ *Lying prophets* (*Kłamliwi prorocy*, Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff 1900). In 1878, she

²¹⁶ Jadwiga Sikorska was a Polish educator and philanthropist. She started her educational facility for girls in 1874 and from the beginning, she held secret Polish courses there. She prepared her students for possible inspections very well and the secret was never discovered by the Russian officials. One of Sikorska's students was Maria Skłodowska-Curie. The school offered many classes, including history, physics, maths, biology, law, economy, sociology, hygiene and more. She initiated building a shelter for female teachers and supported numerous educational projects. She was an inspiration for the character of Wanda Redlicz in a novel called *Księżniczka* ('Princess', Kraków: Wł. L. Anczyc i Spółka 1886) by Zofia Urbanowska (Markiewicz, Henryk (ed.) 1996–7. "Sikorska Jadwiga". In: PSB XXXVII. Warszawa–Kraków: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk).

²¹⁷ The Flying University was established around 1882 as secret education courses for women organised in Warsaw private homes. In 1885 the courses were transformed into a college called the Flying University. The University was illegal, since it was formed in opposition to Russification present in traditional schools of those times. Świętochowski, whose figure is introduced in this section, was one of its lecturers. The main originator of the University was Jadwiga Szczawińska-Dawidowa, a progressive female teacher, who participated in the society formed around Świętochowski's *Prawda* magazine, discussed in this section. From 1905, the University could work openly. Its name was changed to Towarzystwo Kursów Naukowych ('the Society of Scientific Courses') (Encyklopedia PWN n.d. "Uniwersytet Latający" ['the Flying University'], on-line encyclopaedia entry. <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Uniwersytet-Latajacy;4011964.html>).

²¹⁸ Sir Henry Rider Haggard was an English novelist, who at the age of 19 went to South Africa to serve as a secretary to the governor of Natal, Sir Henry Bulwer. This experience inspired him to write adventure books about Africa, of which *King Solomon's mine* (1885) became most famous. Haggard was also a master of higher court and the government's specialist on agriculture (Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia 2024. "Sir H. Rider Haggard", Encyclopaedia Britannica on-line resources. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/H-Rider-Haggard>).

²¹⁹ Eden Phillpotts was a British novelist, poet and dramatist. Before he decided to become a writer, for 10 years he was an insurance office clerk. He wrote around 100 novels, which are best known for skilfully depicting rural life in Devon, England (Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia 2024. "Eden Phillpotts", Encyclopaedia Britannica on-line resources. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Eden-Phillpotts>).

The novel *Lying prophets* (1897) translated by Sieroszewska tells the story of a poor artist Tom Barland, who enters a scam religious cult and becomes enchanted by its charismatic leader.

was arrested and exiled to Kursk for participation in socialistic movements. However, later she was found not guilty of the crime and returned to Warsaw (Stegner 2016: 141).

Sieroszevska made her name into history as a supporter and close co-worker of Aleksander Świętochowski, pen name *Posel Prawdy* ('the Deputy of Truth', 'Apostle of Truth'), a leading figure of Polish positivism and the author of the *Praca u podstaw* ('work at the roots') essay series (1873–4),²²⁰ which later became a manifest of Polish social activists. As mentioned earlier in Section 5.1, the *work at the roots* movement emerged after the fall of the January Uprising of 1864. It became clear to Polish intelligentsia that independence cannot be reached with physical fight and the best way to remain free is to devote themselves wholeheartedly to educating the masses. The aim was to infiltrate each part of society, every *root* of it and wait for a fruitful response. This was the true meaning of Świętochowski's *Work at the roots* manifest. He believed that with hard, reliable work and care for the morality and intellectual development of the youngest, Poles can earn true sovereignty. Upon that, he promoted emancipation of women and the idea of tolerance, especially towards the Jewish minority. When Świętochowski was not engaged in social and publicistic activities, he wrote novels, plays and philosophical studies on society. He was an inspiration for other deep thinkers and to some, he was a great authority and even a figure of cult (Cichocka 2018: 8-17; Stegner 2016: 130, 141-5).

Sieroszevska was Świętochowski's secretary, when the latter was the chair of the Progressive Democratic Union. She held the role of an assessor during debates, signed a support letter from the Union to Russian democrats in 1905 and together with Świętochowski edited the magazine *Prawda* ('the truth'). She was its main editor in years 1906–7. Other magazines led by Świętochowski were *Kultura Polska* ('Polish culture') of the Polish Culture Society and *Humanista Polski* ('the Polish humanist'). Sieroszevska was a secretary to the former and wrote articles and essays to all of the above (Stegner 2016: 135, 137, 142).

²²⁰ The *Praca u podstaw* series was published in *Przegląd Tygodniowy* ('weekly review') in years 1873–4. The introduction *Praca u podstaw (ogólne pojęcie)* ('work at the roots «general concept»') was presented in number 10 of 1873. A co-writer of this series was Leopold Mikulski, a Polish lawyer, publicist and translator, who addressed the legal aspect of functioning of municipal offices, loan and savings banks, as well as the organisation of rural schools (Cichocka 2018: 12; SBPPiWM n.d. "Mikulski Leopold (1846–1881), prawnik, dziennikarz, tłumacz, współautor manifestu programowego pozytywistów warszawskich" ['Mikulski Leopold (1846-1881), lawyer, journalist, translator, co-author of the program manifesto of the Warsaw positivists'], biographical entry by Emil Noiński, dictionary project by Siedlce University. <https://slownik-biograficzny.uws.edu.pl/slownik/84-mikulski-leopold-1846-1881-prawnik-dziennikarz-tlumacz-wspolautor-manifestu-programowego-pozytywistow-warszawskich>).

What importance had the *Prawda* magazine for young people at the times of Russification, when school was associated with police-like rigour, censorship and propaganda? A quote from a publication released during Świętochowski's lifetime stated:

“For these young people, who had no access to foreign literatures, who could hardly get even the simplest Polish book on social sciences, economics or philosophy, every issue of «Prawda», keeping in touch with Western-European thought, was a revelation. It brought news from afar, from foreign, free countries, where new currents clashed with each other, where new ideas were born, where completely new sciences, such as anthropology and sociology, with the great Herbert Spencer²²¹ at the head, were created and distinguished from others.” (Dębicki 1927: 12)

In 1908, Bronisław Piłsudski donated the following articles to *Prawda*: *Dwa kongresy religijne w Japonii* (‘two religious congresses in Japan’) to number 4/1411, 41–2 (January 25) and its continuation to 4/1412, 54 (February 1), *Z życia na Wschodzie* (‘life in the East’) to number 2/1409, 13–4 (January 11) and its continuation to 3/1410, 26–7 (January 18), and *Współczesne kierunki w Japonii* (‘contemporary trends in Japan’) to number 9/1416, 100–1 (February 29) and its continuation to 10/1417, 112–3 (March 7) (Majewicz 2020: 6).

Providing a chance for Bronisław to publish in *Prawda* could have been a way to show support, maybe even financial support, towards his work. For example, one controversy in Sieroszewski's life was her attitude towards her brother Waław Sieroszewski's half-Polish, half-Yakut daughter Maria. Sieroszewski had dreamt of returning from his Yakut exile with Maria and spending family time together at Christmas in Poland. He was a little resentful of Paulina for not caring for Maria too much and accused her of never asking about how his daughter was doing in letters (Legutko 2012: 48, 51, 68, 72; Sadowska 2006: 182).

There was high probability that Maria would not be accepted in Poland. She was born to a Yakut mother, raised in a very specific society of Polish exiles, belonged to the Orthodox Church and as an adult, chose to identify as a Russian woman. At the same time, even Sieroszewski as a Polish man had reported in

²²¹ Herbert Spencer was a British philosopher and one of the first sociologists. He was mostly self-taught, because he declined the proposition of his family to study at University of Cambridge. His biggest work was *The Synthetic Philosophy*, published in years 1855–1896 (London: Williams and Norgate). There, he discussed the principles of biology, sociology, psychology and morality. Spencer is best remembered for developing the idea of social Darwinism and coining the term *survival of the fittest* (Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia 2024. “Herbert Spencer”, Encyclopedia on-line resources Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Herbert-Spencer>).

his letters he found it incredibly hard to adapt to Polish life after exile. It would be even harder for Maria, who had an Asian appearance, dark carnation and Yakut-Mongolian features. Sieroszewski wrote in a letter she had “a face of a Tatar” (Legutko 2012: 54-9; Sadowska 2006: 180-5).

Regardless the prejudice, Sieroszevska was preparing a vacancy for Maria at *Prawda* magazine to help her make a living if she were to escape Russia in the midst of revolutionary movements of 1905–6. Maria however did not decide to move to Poland. Although Sieroszewski already bought her a ticket, she moved from Irkuck to Moscow instead. She had several more opportunities to join her Polish family in the coming years, but despite her nostalgia for her father, she never decided to leave Russia permanently (Legutko 2012: 54-9; Sadowska 2006: 180-5).

The most recent reconstruction of Maria’s biography can be found in Grażyna Legutko’s book „*Wyrośłam na Rosjankę...*”. *Historia Marii – jakuckiej córki Wacława Sieroszewskiego w świetle jej listów do ojca i innych dokumentów* (“I grew to be Russian...”. The story of Maria – the Yakut daughter of Wacław Sieroszewski in the light of her letters to her father and other documents’, Wrocław: Polskie Towarzystwo Ludoznawcze).

The case of Maria is an example of how the Sieroszewskis cooperated over existential matters of their family during hardships. Sieroszevska’s intervention helped her brother move from the isolated Andylakh exile to the more mild south of Yakutia in 1885. Sieroszewski, on the other hand, was one of the shareholders of the cooperative, which in 1889 bought *Prawda* from Świętochowski (Legutko 2012: 49; Stegner 2016: 143).

When in 1908 Bronisław published his articles in *Prawda*, Świętochowski was no longer a supporter of the Russian revolution. He witnessed its brutality, as well as its will to unite Poland, Lithuania and the Jew minority in a creation far from the Polish *raison d’état*. He was on his way to move ideologically from socialism to nationalism, which was dictated probably by the brutal historical developments (Dębicki 1927: 16-8).

After Józef Piłsudski’s May Coup of 1926, Świętochowski strongly opposed to the newly-established cult of militarism and physical strength. He was a democrat and liberal. Piłsudski in his eyes was an uneducated, authoritarian military officer, who created a legend out of himself. Moreover, he introduced press censorship and mythologisation of Polish national history (Cichocka 2018: 23).

Sieroszevska did not live to witness the changing times, for she died of typhoid fever during the First World War. She was serving soldiers as a paramedic of the Polish Red Cross. In her lifetime, Sieroszevska always stood next to Świętochowski, with their objectives align. She protected him from any harm and even cared for his household after his separation from wife. She deeply believed in work at the roots, which she manifested by participation in the illegal Women's People's Education Circle, membership in the Association

for Women's Equality, work towards book distribution to villages and small towns, school establishment and more (Stegner 2016: 141-5).

5.4. Maria Turzyna

Maria Turzyna (1860? Cracow–1922 Trzęsówka) edited the Cracow magazine *Nowe Słowo* ('new word'), to which Bronisław contributed articles on Japanese women. She was the manager of the Dietetic Guesthouse and Health Resort "Hygea" in Zakopane, which was a destination favoured by Bronisław and Józef Piłsudski (Ciesielska 1994: 139).

Turzyna, real name Maria Wiśniewska, was a Polish feminist, publicist, writer and advocate for the rights of the vulnerable.

She was a member of the Ladies' Circle of the People's School Society (*Koło Pań Towarzystwa Szkoły Ludowej*), which was a Galician organisation established in 1891 by Polish poet Adam Asnyk.²²² The main aim of the Society was to collect donations for building new schools, training teachers and delegating educators to rural areas. Turzyna was considered a "persistent, intrusive and burdensome" fund collector, who would convince anyone to contribute for the cause (²²³; Walewska 1930: 146-7).

Turzyna fought for women's rights to study at university and for equalisation of the female middle school's program to male gymnasiums. She was invited to this movement by Kazimiera Bujwidowa, a leading figure of Polish first wave of feminism and wife of professor Odo Bujwid (cf. Section 2.1).

In 1901, Turzyna was one of the female group to collect 4,000 signs in favour of women's right to vote and present it to the Lviv City Council. In 1905, she was a delegate to Lviv sent by the Polish Women's Congress in Cracow to submit the appeal for the women's right to vote. Thanks to these contributions,

²²² Adam Prot Asnyk was a Polish poet of the second wave of romanticism, a publicist and member of the January Uprising's National Government. His father was a Polish officer and Siberian exile.

A secret report by the Austrian police accused Asnyk of preparing an assassination attempt on Warsaw's Russian Governor, Fyodor Fyodorovich Berg. From 1867, Asnyk lived in Galicia. He wrote a series of poems about the Tatra Mountains. Asnyk was also a honorary member of the Society of the Polish National Museum in Rapperswil (Marek, Rafał n.d. "Adam Asnyk – biografia, wiersze, twórczość" ['Adam Asnyk – biography, poems, works], on-line resources on Polish poetry]. https://poezja.org/wz/Adam_Asnyk/).

²²³ Barnaś-Baran, Ewa 2022. "Powstanie i działalność Oświatowa Koła Towarzystwa Szkoły Ludowej w Rzeszowie w latach 1892-1939" ['Formation and educational activities of the Club of the People's School Association in Rzeszów in years 1892-1939'], *Seminare. Poszukiwania naukowe* 43/3, 142.

the Democratic Party included women's rights in its program and promised to work towards gender equality (Walewska 1930: 148).

For 4 years (1902–5), Turzyna ran *Nowe Słowo* ('new word'), a Cracow biweekly social and literary magazine. Its aim was to promote the moral, intellectual and economic interests of women, as well as the awakening of women's thoughts. The content included women's political rights, economic liberation, women workers' and domestic servants affairs, social and household affairs, ethics and morality, hygiene and education, chronicles, correspondence, criticism, poetry, novels and novellas (*ibid.*; Zaleska 1938: 109-10).

Bronisław Piłsudski's articles on Japanese women were published in *Nowe Słowo* numbers 7 and 9–12 (cf. Piłsudski 1907).

Nowe Słowo contributors befriended to Bronisław included Odo Bujwid, Władysław Orkan and Władysław Gumpłowicz. From Bronisław's letter to the Management of Polish Writers' Association (cf. Section 5.1) it is also clear that he knew Turzyna.

Some motifs in the magazine suggest the contributors' interest with Japanese culture. For example, in number 1 of the magazine, the story of Uzuma's dance from Japanese *Kojiki* chronicles (cf. Section 4.13) was introduced by Jan August Kisielewski²²⁴ (Zaleska 1938: 109).

Turzyna's contribution to the fight for women's rights was very broad. She wrote articles on the matter, distributed leaflets, counter-argued comments by male professors to the point she became famous with the crowds. In her magazine columns, Turzyna discussed every petition and political act in favour of women, wrote commentaries, books and novels, and also held gatherings (Walewska 1930: 146-9).

Turzyna wrote a chapter for the feminist manifest book *Głos kobiet w kwestyi kobiecej* ('women's voice on the female matter') (Wiśniewska & Dąbrowa-Dąbrowski 1903: 1-16). In the chapter entitled "Kwestya kobieca" ('the female matter'), she discussed her views on the genesis of female slavery and legal inequality.

²²⁴ Jan August Kisielewski was a Polish playwright, publicist, theater expert and critic. He was especially fascinated by satire and in 1905, together with friends he established Cracow's first artistic cabaret Zielony Balonik ('green balloon'). Kisielewski's numerous plays were popular during his lifetime and admired for the individualisation of characters. They are still played today. Kisielewski was interested in Japanese culture. One article by him is called *O teatrze japońskim* ('on Japanese theatre', Lwów: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze 1902). The same year Kisielewski published the article, Japanese theatre came to Lviv in the representation of actress Sada Yacco (Sadayakko Kawakami) with her artistic troupe. It was a very important theatrical event for Galicians (Kost, Beata 2014. "Japonka we Lwowie" «'a Japanese woman in Lviv'», Kurier Galicyjski, March 24. <https://kuriergalicyjski.com/japonka-we-lwowie/>; Floryńska-Lalewicz, Halina 2004. "Jan August Kisielewski", on-line biographical entry. <https://culture.pl/pl/tworca/jan-august-kisielewski>).

According to Turzyna, her research has shown that Aryan and Semitic scriptures on the genesis of mankind often present men and women as equals. For example, in the Aryan *Greater Bundahišn*,²²⁵ the creation of both genders took place, when a man and a woman grew out from the same plant and started to celebrate their humanity. However later, according to the sources, humans invented the first ever axe from iron, with which they immediately cut a tree and built a wooden hut. This led to a physical fight over what became the first ever private property.

At this point, Turzyna distinguished two types of legislators: the physically powerful legislater-warrior and the calm and knowledgeable legislater-sage. In Turzyna's interpretation, the fight over private property presented in Aryan texts was the beginning of rule by the legislater-warrior. As a contrary example of a legislater-sage, Turzyna introduced Deborah, the only female judge in Israeli, to whom all citizens came to resolve disputes (*ibid.*).

In Turzyna's opinion, women became enslaved after powerful legislater-warriors began to rule. She distinguished 3 types of slavery: physical slavery (betrayal, unwanted touch and hatred towards the female body), spiritual slavery (binding regulations for females, which enforce them to live in a state of shame and guilt) and the slavery of bread (working women feeding themselves only with male assistance) (*ibid.*).

Turzyna introduced the figure of Napoleon as the last representative of the great legislater-warriors. Although she admired Napoleon for the creation of constitution, she considered his laws unequal for men and women. This included the divorce law – a man could divorce his wife when she was unfaithful, but a woman could divorce her husband only when he was unfaithful and *his lover was living in one house with his wife*. So the only reason for a wife to divorce her husband was the compulsion of living with his mistress, not the mere act of infidelity.

Moreover, a woman could be put in a detention center due to infidelity, but there was no such law for men. What is more, a woman did not have the right to determine who was her child's father, but men had the right to search for the mother. This meant a poor girl could not get any child support from her male lover, who often had more money and greater life experience than her, but no obligation to help her (*ibid.*).

Turzyna also mentioned economic inequalities. A woman did not have the right to be a merchant, manage her assets nor appeal to court without permission

²²⁵ The *Bundahišn* ('primal creation') is a Pahlavi Middle Persian piece of literature from the 9th century, one of the most important religious texts and at the same time an encyclopedia of Avestic literature, which is the root of the Iranian Zoroastrianism religion. *Bundahišn* features scriptures on creation, cosmogony, the material and spiritual world, apocalypse and eschatology, as well as knowledge on scientific topics including geology, meteorology, botany, zoology, anthropology, medicine and physiology. The texts survived in two versions: Iranian and Indian (Agostini & Thrope 2020: 378-80).

from her husband, unless it was a criminal case – that is when she suddenly did not need any man to face charges.

After providing the above explanations, Turzyna voiced an opinion that the times were changing. Women were finally becoming aware of gender inequality and their souls have awakened to fight for human rights (*ibid.*).

in this vein, Turzyna carried out her activities towards a better future for women. Turzyna's equality mission was suddenly stopped by the outbreak of World War 1. During the war, she dedicated her strengths to supporting Józef Piłsudski's Polish Legions and their fight for Poland's independence (Walewska 1930: 149).

5.5. Bronisław Malinowski

Bronisław Malinowski (1884 Cracow–1942 New Haven, USA) recorded in his diary *Dziennik w ścisłym znaczeniu tego wyrazu* (*A diary in the strict sense of the term*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie 2002) his encounters with Bronisław Piłsudski in Zakopane.

Malinowski was an outstanding Polish scholar, one of the fathers of modern anthropology. His father Lucjan Malinowski was a professor at Jagiellonian University, specialising in linguistics, particularly with focus on dialectology. His mother Józefa née Łącka supported her son's education and was very proud that her son, who – although prone to illnesses – excelled at school (Kubica & Brzeziński 2024: 4-6).

After finishing general education, Malinowski enrolled to Faculty of Philosophy at Jagiellonian University, where he studied physics, chemistry, mathematics and philosophy. In years 1906–8, he stayed with his mother at Canary Islands to improve his health conditions. There, he started to write his diary. It was a form of therapy and self-treatment. He continued to note down his feelings and everyday encounters until 1918 (*ibid.*).

In 1908, Malinowski returned to Cracow and received promotion for his PhD thesis, *O zasadzie ekonomii myślenia* ('on the principle of the economy of thought'). Next, he set off to University of Leipzig to further deepen his

knowledge and had the chance to attend lectures by Wilhelm Wundt²²⁶ there. From 1910, he started studying at London School of Economics, where he learned ethnology from Charles Seligman²²⁷ and sociology from Edward Westermarck²²⁸ (*ibid.*).

Malinowski came to stay in Zakopane September–October 1911 and August 1912–January 1913. During the in-between period, he continued his studies at London School of Economics and work at the British Museum (*ibid.*).

In Zakopane, Malinowski was surrounded by friends and many prominent personas. However, he remained indifferent to most of them. In his diary, information concerning his mother and two closest friends in Zakopane,

²²⁶ Wilhelm Wundt was a German physiologist and psychologist, considered by many founder of experimental psychology. First, he worked as an assistant at University of Heidelberg, where he opened pioneer courses in scientific psychology. Before, psychology has been regarded as part of philosophy. Wundt's next career step was a year at University of Zürich in 1874 and after that he was assigned professor at University of Leipzig, where he established the world's first psychological laboratory and scientific psychological journal. He worked in Leipzig in years 1875–1917 (Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia 2024. "Wilhelm Wundt", Encyclopedia Britannica on-line resources. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Wilhelm-Wundt>).

²²⁷ Charles Gabriel Seligman was a British physician, ethnologist, president of the Royal Anthropological Institute In years 1923–5, Huxley Memorial Lecturer and Medallist of 1932 and receiver of the Rivers Memorial Medal 1925. He was one of the pioneers of experimental research and modern methods in scientific anthropology In Great Britain. He took part in the famous Cambridge University Torres Straits Expedition of 1898 as a medic, specialist in pathology, but this experience created his career path as a professional anthropologist. Later, he participated in expeditions to New Guinea, Ceylon and Sudan. In 1910, he became a lecturer in ethnology at the London School of Economics. He was also a visiting professor of Yale University, USA (Fortes 1941).

²²⁸ Edward Westermarck was a Finnish sociologist, anthropologist and philosopher. His area of research was the evolution of marriage. He believed in the beginning, people were monogamous and that marriage is the basic unit of functioning in society. Westermarck was a lecturer at University of Helsinki (1890–1906) and professor of sociology at University of London (1907–1930). Westermarck conducted numerous experimental research expeditions to Morocco and published his findings *inter alia* in two volumes of *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co. 1926; Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia 2024. "Edward Westermarck", Encyclopedia Britannica on-line resources. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Edward-Westermarck>).

Tadeusz Nalepiński²²⁹ and Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz (cf. Section 7.4), is noted down with respect. Upon that, Malinowski's main focus, his passionate romance with his newest love interest, Eugenia Zielińska²³⁰ (in short "Żenia"), artist and wife of lawyer Stanisław Józef Zieliński, is also treated with importance. Malinowski is very graphic about their sexual encounters and from his writings it is clear he presented a tendency for love obsession and sexaholism.

Malinowski in his diary is extremely self-focused. He puts his scholarly work, consciousness and body needs above all else. Unless someone fulfils him sexually or intellectually, he acts frigid and indifferent.

Probably one of the most insignificant people for Malinowski was Bronisław Piłsudski, mentioned in Malinowski's diary only in passing alongside other names and often with slight irritation. The Ethnographic Section of Tatra Society has just been established in 1911 and was to be chaired by Bronisław in years 1911–4. The section gathered a great number of influential highland enthusiasts such as Tadeusz Kornilowicz (cf. Introduction and Section 7.9),

²²⁹ Tadeusz Nalepiński was a Polish poet, novelist, playwright and literary critic. He accompanied Malinowski in Zakopane and London. Nalepiński was born in Łódź, grew up in Petersburg and then continued his education at Jagiellonian University in Cracow. His scholarly field of interest included philosophy, psychology, French and Indian literature and aesthetics. He defended a PhD thesis on Russian literature entitled *He is coming! A few remarks on the Ghost King of Russia* (1907) in Prague. A character named Teodor Buhaj in Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz's play *622 upadków Bunga* ('622 falls of Bung', Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy 1972) was modelled after Nalepiński (Malinowski & Kubica 2002: 720).

²³⁰ Eugenia Zielińska, née Bentkowska, was a painter and graduate of Warsaw School of Fine Arts. She married Stanisław Zieliński in 1904. Not too much is known about her. However, it is clear from Malinowski's diary that in his eyes, she was the ideal of femininity and a partner to discuss art and literature with (Malinowski & Kubica 2002: 144-5).

Antoni Langer²³¹, Franciszek Bujak²³², Karol de Beaurain²³³, Ferdynand

²³¹ Antoni Langer was a Polish politician, ethnographer and one of the founders of the Ethnographic Section of Tatra Society. He published a few works on Podhalian folklore and researched folklore of Brittany, France. He was an employee of the Solvay Institute in Brussels, and later a curator of Polish folklore at the Royal Library in Brussels. During the First World War, he was a secretary of the Central Civic Committee in Warsaw. In times of peace, he served three terms as a Member of Polish Sejm from the arm of Polish People's Party "Liberation" (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe "Wyzwolenie") (Malinowski & Kubica 2002: 175).

²³² Franciszek Bujak was a historian of economy, professor of Jagiellonian University in Cracow, Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv and Warsaw University. For the Ethnographic Section of Tatra Society he prepared a lecture entitled *O sposobach badania współczesnej wsi polskiej* ('on methods of research of the contemporary Polish countryside'). Politically, he was connected to the Polish National Democracy "Endecja", the socialist movement (1895–1901), and later the people's movement (1906–47) (Malinowski & Kubica 2002: 178; Dominiak 2020: 328).

²³³ Karol de Beaurain was a Polish physician, who belonged to the first generation of Polish psychoanalysts. Originally, he aspired to be a health resort physician and studies towards his goal in universities in Zurich, Bern and Geneva. In 1911, he started to conduct psychotherapy in Zakopane. Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz was his client in years 1912–3. Witkacy was also de Beaurain's friend (Rutkowski & Dembińska 2017).

Tabeau,²³⁴ Adam Fischer²³⁵, Jerzy Żuławski²³⁶, Stefan Żeromski (cf. Section 5.1) and more. Moreover, Bronisław made effort to gain trust and involve true

²³⁴ Ferdynand Tabeau was a owner of the first pharmacy in Zakopane near Krupówki St. and chair of Zakopane Fire Brigade. The pharmacy was located in the same building as the Tatra Museum's first headquarters. Tabeau's house was a place of gathering for intelligentsia in Zakopane. He financially supported Malinowski's Antipodes expedition (Muzeum Tatrzańskie n.d. "Wyjątkowy obraz Witkacego «Portret Krystyny i Ludwika Fischerów» w Muzeum Tatrzańskim" ['Exceptional painting by Witkacy «Portrait of Krystyna and Ludwik Fischer» in the Tatra Museum'], Tatra Museum on-line resources. <http://archiwalna.muzeumtatrzańskie.pl/?strona,doc,pol,główna,1535,0,1421,1,1535,ant.html>; Bendkowski, Adam 2020. "Historia Zakopiańskiej Straży Pożarnej. Komenda Powiatowa Państwowej Straży Pożarnej w Zakopanem" ['History of the Zakopane Fire Brigade. Zakopane District Fire Brigade Headquarters']. <https://www.gov.pl/web/kppsp-zakopane/historia-zakopianskiej-strazy-pozarnej>).

²³⁵ Adam Fischer was a Polish ethnographer, romanist and professor of Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. He was the editor and publisher of *Lud* ('people') magazine, a journal on cultural ethnology and anthropology. It was a journal by the Polish Folklore Society, of which Fischer was a secretary of. Malinowski wrote some articles for the journal (Malinowski & Kubica 2002: 178).

²³⁶ Jerzy Żuławski was a Polish poet, playwright, essayist and science fiction novelist. He studied at a technology university in Zurich, then in Bern he defended his PhD thesis in philosophy about Baruch Spinoza. As a mountaineering enthusiast, he dedicated his free time to alpinism. In 1910, he moved to Zakopane with his second wife Kazimiera Hanicka and became a mountaineering expert. He published articles on Tatra Mountain safety and was part of TOPR (Tatra Voluntary Rescue Service). He made several first mountaineering ascents. During the First World War he joined the Polish Legions. He co-organised the Zakopane branch of the Supreme National Committee (*Naczelny Komitet Narodowy*). He died of typhoid in the midst of an epidemic (Malinowski & Kubica 2002: 166; Paryski, Witold & Zofia Paryska n.d. "Żuławski, Jerzy", biographical entry by WIET. https://z-ne.pl/t,haslo,5895,zulawski_jerzy.html).

highlanders such as Andrzej Bachleda Tadziak²³⁷ in the undertaking. Thanks to Bronisław's experience in meeting people from different cultural background, soon 168 exhibits for the Tatra Museum were gathered and some of them donated for free (Malinowski & Kubica 2002: 146; Piłsudski 2016: 36-8, 101-4).

Malinowski did not participate in the Ethnographic Section's activities, but granted Bronisław's request to give a lecture on folklore entitled *Teoretyczne podstawy ludoznawstwa* ('theoretical foundations of folklore studies') (Malinowski & Kubica 2002: 146). Bronisław is scarcely mentioned in Malinowski's diary. All the fragments mentioned below are parts of bigger diary entries about each day of Malinowski. The fragments were selected and retranslated into English by the author of this thesis based on the Polish edition of the diary:

"October 7, 1911

A conversation about plans and the need to do folklore in Poland.

August 14, 1912

I was writing my diary in the morning until about twelve o'clock; then Totemism, then I was reading Wundt and was just getting down to Simmel (154) when Piłsudski came in. He makes a bit of an unpleasant impression with his acids and pretensions – a derailment!

August 19, 1912

Yesterday I was in a heavy mood all morning of some sort of repulsion towards academic work, an inability to focus. A walk to Bystre to Korniłowicz. Piłsudski. I talk to them too much, go out of focus. Good weather. A walk to Sonnenbad.

²³⁷ Andrzej Bachleda Tadziak was a Polish highlander. He finished gardening school in Warsaw. He worked in Russia as a tree exporter and around 1904 he moved back to Zakopane, where he engaged in bee keeping and hunting. He also took part in cultural and social life. He was the chair of Podhalian Association, a member of Highlanders Association, Volunteer Fire Brigade, the Ethnographic Section of Tatra Society and organiser of the Podhalian Congress, to which he invited Bronisław Piłsudski. Tadziak cultivated good relations with Polish intellectuals. Politically, he was connected to the People's Party. During the First World War he joined the Polish legions and died at the Battle of Mołotków. Posthumously, he was awarded the Polish Gold Cross of Merit and the Cross and Medal of Independence (Piłsudski 2016: 37-8; Związek Podhalański n.d. "Początki Związku Podhalański" ['Beginnings of the Podhalian Association'], Podhalian Association on-line resources. <https://związekpodhalańszakopane.pl/historia>; Wonuczka-Wnuk, Małgorzata 2013. "Andrzej Bachleda Tadziak", summary of lecture by Lesław Dali in *Podhalański Serwis Informacyjny*. <https://www.watra.pl/zakopane/kultura/2013/10/09/andrzej-bachleda-tadziak>).

August 20, 1912

I'm headed to Zakopane, sunshine – I'm walking next to Ż. via Staś to the Pharmacy. Then via Staś, Żenia I see with Staś Zieliński, he has come to Un., then with Piłsudski via Staś to the Pharmacy (Langer), then Pollen, Langer, Staś. Then Żenia.

August 22, 1912

Ż. is not here – it doesn't really faze me. – Hope to see her soon, Staś, photographing, Piłsudski, Karola Zagórska, Pharmacy. Fischer. Bujak's lecture, at which I try to stay focused and I quite am. I feel disturbed by my hypersensitivity which comes from loneliness.

Evening. Dinner. Fischer. Then via Zacisze to Bujak. (Rage, then reassurance. Beautiful landscape). Piłsudski as scheduled, council assembly.

August 31, 1912

Madly upset and irritated, I get dressed. Piłsudski, Staś, Solska, vice with Nalepiński. Then Ż., a raging sadness blossoms immediately at the sight of her.

September 3, 1912

Tired in the morning – I read Simmel rather briskly. Piłsudski and Zielewiczówna disturb me. I'm angry. I go to Ż., wait for her, pick up a book by Barrès.

September 10, 1912

Dinner. Then Ż. lies down for a while. We are supposed to get down to reading right away (at three o'clock I'm going to Słowik, Piłsudski), but in the meantime we start talking – we talk for a long time, about what – I don't remember.

September 11, 1912

I'm waiting for Ż. on the veranda. Dinner. I go to get a novel – Piłsudski.

September 30, 1912

I go via Burdel – I pack and “get changed”, go to the Pharmacy for lunch; I get away, flowers, droshky to Ż., telegrams – confusion, she's not there; butter, Witkiewicz (with Piłsudski); then I meet Ż. in the droshky.

October 18, 1912

Staś about dreams: suppressed, distressing complexes exist. Mutterkomplex [mother complex]. – Then Piłsudski on the possibility of going along with the saying “an intelligent person changes every few minutes”. Truth in life and the possibility of supporting one's faith with their way of life. I speak of this

problem as fundamental” (Malinowski & Kubica 2002: 158, 165, 174-5, 178, 181, 195, 197, 205-6, 213, 232).

From the diary entries above it is apparent that Malinowski and Bronisław Piłsudski met most often between August and October 1912. Soon after Malinowski’s last entry mentioning Piłsudski, Bronisław wrote in a letter to Stanisław Witkiewicz (Witkacy’s father, cf. Section 7.4):

“October 26, 1912

It was easier to forgive the hard labour convicts, the savages, even the Muscovites, than to forgive those whom I probably must regard as equals, who are rising to the top and consider themselves to be on the highest level of culture in this country, yet are so disgusting that at every moment their spiritual ugliness is revealed” (Piłsudski 2016: 65-6).

It would probably be an over interpretation to treat the above quotation as words only about Malinowski, since Bronisław had many problems adapting to Galicia after returning from his multi-cultural expeditions. He tried gathering donations for his projects from wealthy individuals and start a career in Polish academics, which was completely impossible, since scholars did not view him as equal. However, Malinowski without a doubt was an internationally appreciated Pole, whose shortcomings and darker side became publicly known due to the publication of his diary. What is more, Bronisław left Zakopane for Prague in the middle of October 1912, which is the same month he reported to Witkiewicz he could not withstand the harshness of some relationships anymore (Piłsudski 2016: 127).

In the same letter, he also wrote:

“I call it my revenge for Polish science and Polish scholars, from whom I have suffered so many unpleasantnesses. This time I also had an unpleasantness from them.” (Piłsudski 2016: 67)

On November 12, 1912 Malinowski travelled from Zakopane to Warsaw and later returned to London. Bronisław, on the other hand, came back to Zakopane from Prague in December 1912 just to leave again for Switzerland in January 1913. The paths of the two men did not cross again in Zakopane (Malinowski & Kubica 2002: 247; Piłsudski 2016: 127-8).

After Malinowski returned to London in 1913, he worked at the London School of Economics and engaged in many anthropological field studies in the region of New Guinea (Kubica & Brzeziński 2024: 5-7). On one of his trips he was accompanied by Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, which is further discussed in Section 7.4. of this thesis.

In 1919, Malinowski settled for some time in Melbourne, where he married Elsie Rosaline Masson, the daughter of chemistry professor at University of Melbourne, sir David Orme Masson. After one year, Malinowski moved with his new family to Canary Islands, where he continued his scholarly career (*ibid.*).

It is impossible to discuss all of Malinowski's accomplishments in this thesis, but some of the most important are: professorship at the London School of Economy in 1927, publication one of his most known research works *The sexual life of savages in North-Western Melanesia* (London: George Routledge & Sons 1929), field research in Central Africa in 1934, honorary doctorate from Harvard University in 1936 and the appointment to a professor position at Yale University, USA, in 1939 (*ibid.*).

What is important to note is that Bronisław Piłsudski conducted research on a similar topic – the sexual life of the native inhabitants of Sakhalin Island – over 20 years before Malinowski (CWBP 1, 362-90; 713-5).

Malinowski's career is a rare example of a global academic success of a Polish scholar. Still, Bronisław Piłsudski, despite completely different circumstances and numerous disadvantages, achieved this level of appreciation and international recognition, too.

6. Literary contact in Western Europe

Ludwik Janowski

Ludwik Janowski (1878 Mława–1921 Vilnius) was an author of academic historical publications and an acquaintance of Nobel Prize novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz. Together with Bronisław, he was part of the project to create a Polish Encyclopedia in Switzerland. He strongly disagreed with what he viewed as Bronisław becoming radically pro-Lithuanian nationalist.

Janowski was a historian, who specialised in Eastern Europe, and a professor at Vilnius University.

His father Wiktor, a lawyer, served time for taking part in the January Uprising. The whole family came from the so-called “eastern borderlands”. After Wiktor’s death, his wife Franciszka moved to Ukraine to Bila Tserkva and remarried. Janowski’s stepfather, Karol Mikulski, was a kind and loving person. Janowski experienced Russification at school, similarly to Bronisław and Józef Piłsudski. For holidays, he travelled to rest in Stavyshche, where from his youngest years he was surrounded by people with connection to Vilnius University (Janowski 1923: 1-3).

As a young adult, he became a student of Kiev University, the history and philology faculty, with an aim to study Polish cultural history. He was a member of the secret society of Polish academic youth named “Polish Corporation” (*Korporacja Polska*). For his work on the political activity of Piotr Skarga,²³⁸ Janowski received a gold medal from his university. In 1903, he graduated from

²³⁸ Piotr Skarga was a Polish Jesuit, rector of the Vilnius Collegium and a royal court preacher. He finished school in Cracow and first worked as a lay preacher. In 1568 he entered the Jesuit noviciate in Rome. In 1578, he led the reform of Vilnius College into an Academy. He established many religious facilities in Poland, including jesuit seminaries (Warsaw, Połock, Ryga [Rīga]) and two religious houses in Cracow. He is best known as the author of many sermons, especially *Kazania sejmowe* (‘sermons to the sejm’, 1598) which depict in detail the political, religious, social and cultural problems of 16th century Poland (Windakiewicz 1925: 5-6). Skarga is also the author of one of the first descriptions of Japan in Polish language. In *Żywoty świętych*, vol. 2 (hagiography, Petersburg: B.M. Wolff, 1862, 654–8), he wrote about Wojciech Męciński, a Polish Jesuit martyred in 1643 in Japan. In the hagiography he also mentioned Francis Xavier, a Navarrese missionary to Japan.

Kiev University and came to Cracow. This means he too had the possibility to integrate with Galician intelligentsia. Upon that, he travelled to Lviv, Munich, Lausanne, Geneva and back to Kiev. In 1908, he came back to Jagiellonian University as a Russian language teacher and in 1909 he obtained a PhD in philosophy and in 1912, he became an associate professor of Russian literature with a major in East Slavic literature. In 1913, he went for holiday to Zakopane. Then he returned to Stavyshe in Ukraine, where on August 10, 1913 he hosted at home Feliks Jasieński (Manggha),²³⁹ who he first acquainted in Cracow. Later he spent time in Kiev and Nauheim. After the outbreak of World War 1, he moved to Switzerland – first Zurich, then Rapperswil (*ibid.* 5-27).

It is in Switzerland that the paths of Janowski and Bronisław Piłsudski crossed. Janowski participated in compiling the Polish Encyclopedia for foreigners in Switzerland and Bronisław wrote articles for the project on ethnography, archeology, a whole section on the economic life of Lithuania and Ruthenia and a work on education in Lithuania and Ruthenia. The project was established in Fribourg (*ibid.* 28; Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 29).

At first, Janowski was captivated by Bronisław's kindness and loving heart. However, the feeling soon turned to hatred as the two men started fighting over historical facts about Lithuania. At one side was Janowski, a member of the War Victims' Aid Society, on the other Bronisław, a member of the *Lithuanian* War Victims' Aid Committee (*ibid.* 28; *ibid.* 26). In order to understand how were Bronisław's activities for Lithuania interpreted by Switzerland's Polish society, an explanation on the development of Polish-Lithuanian relations from the 16th to 20th century is essential.

After the Polish-Lithuanian Lublin union of 1569, a Nobles' Republic was formed of two countries and two nations: the Polish Crown and Lithuania, the Poles and the Lithuanians. It was never a simple union, with many stereotypes, myths and animosities on both sides. In the view of Polish Crown, Lithuania was less civilised, but likeable. Nonetheless, Lithuania's Samogitia region had the opinion of pagan and barbarian. In Lithuanian eyes, the Polish Crown's chivalry seemed anarchistic, boastful, megalomaniac and cowardly (Buchowski 2006: 21-5).

Over time, the joint Nobles' Republic reached a level, where the Polish and Lithuanian nobles became integrated by cultural homogenisation and language Polonisation. At that time, both the term *Crown man* and *Lithuanian* was equal

²³⁹ Feliks "Manggha" Jasieński was a Polish art collector, art and music critic, publicist and art patron. He studied multiple disciplines in Dorpat (now Tartu in Estonia), Berlin and Paris. He travelled through Europe, Asia and Egypt. Fascinated by impressionism, neo-impressionism and symbolism, Jasieński started to collect art, including Japanese original works and donated around 15 thousand pieces to Cracow's disposition. The collection is now part of Manggha Museum in Cracow (Manggha Museum n.d. "Our patron: Feliks «Manggha» Jasieński", resources from Manggha Museum's official webpage. <https://manggha.pl/en/our-patron>).

in meaning to *Polish man* in a sense of belonging to the state, not to an ethnicity. This continued until the partition of state in the 18th century (*ibid.* 25-7).

However, even under partition, in the Polish mentality the Crown and Lithuania were one. What was not recognised by the nobleman, was that intelligentsia was only a small percent of the nation. For a standard person in Samogitia, being noble meant the equivalent of being drunk with alcohol. Noble women were not even considered pretty and serfdom was considered a pain. So even if the January Uprising of 1863–4 was still considered a Polish-Lithuanian historic event, by the time Bronisław Piłsudski was 17-years-old, the first Lithuanian nationalistic magazine *Aušra* was already being published, to the ignorance of Polish intelligentsia, whose vision of Lithuania was deeply mythologized and romanticised (*ibid.* 11, 27-32).

At the beginning of the 20th century, most of Polish-Lithuanian nobles identified themselves as Poles, some used the terms *Old Lithuanians*, *Historical Lithuanians* or *Mickiewicz Lithuanians*, whereas Samogitians called themselves just *Lithuanians*. Moreover, from the old nobility's point of view, a great number of Samogitians were becoming *Lithuania maniacs* (*litwomani* in Polish) and were to be looked down upon. At the same time, Lithuanian nationalists began to treat Polish-speaking residents of Lithuania as Polonised Lithuanians and called on them to return to Lithuanian roots. They read Polish romantic literature and interpreted it not from a traditional Polish-Lithuanian point of view, but as a praise for Lithuanian folklore and a celebration of the richness of its culture (*ibid.* 31-52).

In 1904, the Russian ban on publications in Lithuanian has been lifted and the nationalistic trend became even stronger. One of its locations of flourishing was the theological seminary in Kaunas, attended by artist Adomas Varnas before befriending Bronisław Piłsudski in Zakopane a few years later (cf. Section 7.9) (*ibid.* 53; Varnas 2005: 16-7).

Bronisław, probably inspired by Varnas with the idea of Lithuanian nationalism, unfortunately reached out to the “wrong crowd” and became a *Lithuanian maniac* in the eyes of the newly-redefined Polish nationals. Moreover, he most likely started to believe in historical myths, which falsified Polish-Lithuanian history in favour of creating a legend of centuries-old mutual brotherhood.

The above-stated results from the below-quoted letter written by Janowski to Bronisław just a year before the latter's suicide. It is the best available psychological portrait of Bronisław before death and a reliable addition to the description of Bronisław's last years by Waław Sieroszewski (1914–1921). While reading this letter it is important to remember that Janowski, in opposition to Bronisław, was a scholar, historian, professor and specialist on Lithuania and Ruthenia.

“Chailly, Beau Val

24.01.1917

To
Bronisław Piłsudski²⁴⁰
(Chardonne)

Dear Sir

I received your brochure with your ridiculous dedication to me. If I were to take your words and actions seriously, I would have to feel offended by this distasteful inscription and send you back the brochure without opening it. I thought you sobered up considerably after your unfortunate attempts, but....

It would be quite fruitless to engage in an informed polemic with you, go into the heart of this complicated matter and make practice of it, for as I found out, such or other arguments would have been answered only with shouting, lashing out, an uproar of clichés, etc.

My point is this: you are lecturing me that I do not love Lithuania “in accordance to our (sic) traditions”. Curator Czartoryski once said that one characteristic of slander is that it uses generalities, because it is the easiest thing to do. “Our traditions,” we heard from him. In the past, you said something different. Today you are coming out with traditions. As is clear from my activities and writings, I am precisely relying on tradition, with no pretensions to form a union with the *Lietuvis*²⁴¹ in Fribourg. Your “accusation” of my abandonment of tradition simply applauds me. This way, I am in good company alongside Mickiewicz, Kraszewski and other great personas, especially Sienkiewicz,²⁴² with whom I have talked a great deal on the subject. In other words, according to you, everyone has deviated from this tradition and the only one remaining is Piłsudski Bronisław Ginett. But perhaps, instead of throwing general sentences to the wind, you should not hide the light under a bushel, but announce what, in your opinion, the tradition and love for Lithuania were based

²⁴⁰ In this letter, Janowski spells *Piłsudski* as *Piłsudzki*.

²⁴¹ *Lietuvis* – a term coined for the supporters of Lithuanian nationalists to distinguish the new movement from old Lithuanians, Poles and Belarusians. In Polish, it was *Letuwis* (Buchowski 2006: 81-2).

²⁴² The three great Polish writers, Adam Mickiewicz, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski and Henryk Sienkiewicz are very important in the context of Polish-Lithuanian relations. Mickiewicz and Sienkiewicz created a romantic, idealistic, idillic image of Lithuania in Polish literature, whereas Kraszewski wrote poems, where he presented pagan Lithuania as mythical, mysterious, strong and proud. He voiced a longing towards its long gone past. Kraszewski’s artistic visions became an inspiration for Lithuanian nationalism (Buchowski 2006: 21, 34, 36, 48, 142).

on and and thus correct the views not only of the public, but of all prominent people who have a crystallised conviction based on knowledge. Nonetheless, your views do not seem new or unknown to me. It is just enough to take a look at the Lithuanian National Courier published in Vilnius. There was a handful, which, by the way, went entirely bankrupt before the war. You are preaching literally the same thing, sparing no demagoguery and without a clue of this very tradition – and naturally you win yourself the applause of gabrys²⁴³ and company. That, Sir, is too easy a thing to do.

Agitating in favour of your projects, you travelled everywhere and said unjust things about those who saw no good in this action. I was informed of what you were spreading about me – to make matters worse, you misrepresented my thoughts and aspirations: being completely blinded yourself, attributed to me a kind of "nationalism", etc. I am younger than you, but I have learned well the price of slander. I could not therefore be affected by these stories. But as coming from you, to whom I felt a strong fraternal affection after getting to know you, it certainly had to hurt, hurt all the more because I was so mistaken about your character. Using the fact that here in exile almost everyone is illiterate on the Lithuanian mania problem, you frightened the small-minded and did not refrain from calumniating my brochure on Lithuania, the manuscript of which I gave you in confidence earlier to read.

This raises the question as to what are the effects of your "action" and those [illegible], for the criticism of which some more fundamentally enlightened by the topic were not even criticised, but denominated as children of Satan. Perhaps it is better to keep silent about the outcome, as it is known that an enunciation countersigned by you, Sir, went out into the wide world that the Battle of Vienna²⁴⁴ had an ally, the "Lithuanians". *Risum teneatis, amici*.²⁴⁵ Those who supposedly supported you, now shrug their shoulders in pity when mentioned. If I was deeply concerned and disturbed by the Polish participation in the Lithuanian mania event in Fribourg, it was only from the point of view of the common cause; I had a sincere affection for you and only fear of

²⁴³ *Gabrys* is written here with a small letter, but Janowski could have meant Juozas Gabrys, a Lithuanian activist and publicist, who believed that the 14th-century Lithuania was one of the strongest countries in Europe and it should have never formed a union with Poland. He considered medieval Lithuania a great, developed civilisation, which should have not joined Christianity (Buchowski 2006: 62).

²⁴⁴ The Battle of Vienna was fought against the Ottoman Empire on September 12, 1683. It is considered a great victory by King John III Sobieski of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and his foreign allies. The historical discussion Janowski held with Bronisław is probably on how many forces of what nationalities took part in the battle. Some sources state that the Lithuanian forces were late for the battle and the victory was achieved in large part thanks to Polish hussars (Davies 1982: 487).

²⁴⁵ Latin for: *Can you help laughing, friends?*

responsibility dictated me to have a different opinion. Today I have no fear, because all that remains of this affair is time, and you have embraced a ridiculousness that kills.

You possess many qualities of mind and are a distinguished and accomplished ethnographer, but you are a lousy psychologist and do not have a shred of aptitude to feel deeply about another individuality. You, Sir, judged me superficially and even harshly. You were not able to understand that the Lithuanian affair is a tragedy for me, that my soul suffers and is troubled.

Although I was opposed to your actions and wanted to prevent you from causing national damage, I did not speak in generalities, but had insight into your mental state and was able to see your righteous motives. I sensed the range of your personal experiences. I understood that your constant devotion to a diverse group of people made you see in Lithuanians the weak and uneducated ones, who needed to be helped. Even your stubborn insistence that their vile lampooning over Poland "is irrelevant" - I could only see in this a desire to prove a point to yourself, for I could not have judged your mind so poorly as to think you would perceive the wicked ways of your new allies as nothing. And so on. If this was happening in peaceful times –one could allow themselves similar attempts, but when the foundations are being broken, when every step can have incalculable consequences – this is no time for racial theories, for ethnographic idylls and for reasoning with those who only know how to hate Poland and whose lack of conscience would not be worth a shilling” (English version prepared by the author of this thesis based on the Polish hand-written original manuscript from Janowski & Piłsudski 1901).

In the letter, Janowski is outraged by Bronisław’s support for Lithuanian nationalists. He accuses Bronisław of publicly and unfairly attacking him on the ground of differing opinions on Lithuania. It came as a shock to Janowski, who felt only compassion and understanding for the Siberian exile Bronisław was.

What can be deducted from the letter’s content is that Bronisław supported the narration that Lithuania was a strong, independent civilisation and spoke in favour of Lithuania’s contribution to winning the Battle of Vienna. Moreover, from information crossed out from the letter in anger by Janowski and thus not mentioned above it can be understood that Bronisław formed a union with four Lithuanian nationalistic priests in Fribourg, which was considered unforgivable by Janowski and probably the rest of Polish society as well. Even empathy towards Bronisław was not enough to forgive him these undertakings.

During the First World War, Lithuania’s nationalistic leader Juozas Gabrys held multiple conferences in Switzerland on Lithuania’s independence, rejecting the idea of forming a Polish-Lithuania state. He was active in Bern, Lausanne and Fribourg. Gabrys kept in touch with Lithuanian priests, who were studying at University of Fribourg. Moreover, a Lithuanian war relief committee was also established there, but Bronisław is not mentioned as its chair (Eidintas 2015:

88-9; Šipelytė 2019: 5-6; 13-5). Either there was a couple of similar organisations or Bronisław's exclusion from the nationalistic community happened very quickly. Nonetheless, it is clear from reports on Bronisław's own activities that he also had relations with Lithuanian priests in Fribourg and acted in the Lithuanian relief community.

There is a high probability that these are the events Janowski is so outraged about. As a result of these historical proceedings, just a year before Bronisław's ambiguous death, Janowski rebuked his former friend with the very harsh words: "you have embraced a ridiculousness that kills" (sic!).

As is known from letters to Shternberg, Bronisław had a very peculiar opinion on suicide. When his Sakhalin fellow prisoner Nikolay Lavrent'yevich planned to shoot himself, Bronisław reported to Shternberg: "I suggested he would get into a nursing home of cholera patients and try to find death there. In Aleksandrovka, barracks and disinfection centres are being set up and if he would go there, the change of place or the deed itself would have affected him. And if his intentions were to be carried out, it would not be so painful after all" (Piłsudski 1996: 38).

Bronisław believed that making sacrifice of one's life is more practical than committing suicide. Unfortunately, his own sacrifice for Polish-Lithuanian relations proved to be fruitless and put him in a position of "ridiculousness that kills". The philosophy of serving the weak, which helped him survive during the harshest years at Sakhalin exile, was not applicable to European politics and its nationalistic trends. Bronisław lost the only method of coping with emotions that worked for him and this must have been a sign for him it was time to go.

Janowski at the end of his letter asked Bronisław a question about the essay on education in Lithuania the latter was supposed to write. This is consistent with information from Sieroszewski (1914–1921: 29) that Bronisław was supposed to write a chapter on education for the Polish Encyclopedia. Maybe Janowski tried to regain a friendly tone towards Bronisław, but he crossed the question out of the letter in the end and all in all, his letter seems unfinished and it is unclear if a clear version of it was sent to Bronisław.

After contributing to Switzerland's Polish society, Janowski came back to Kiev in June 1917. At that time, Kiev was being reborn as a city in favour of Polish culture and Polish university lectures could be conducted by Polish professors. Janowski devoted himself to teaching at Polish University Collegium. This boom of Polish culture was soon interrupted by Bolsheviks and Janowski moved to Warsaw with a broken heart. However, soon he was appointment associate professor of cultural history at Vilnius University, which was reactivated in 1919 due to Józef Piłsudski's decisions. Its situation was very unstable because of the Polish-Soviet War of 1919–20, but Janowski managed to have a few months of peaceful time and just before his premature death in 1921, his beloved mother moved in with him (Janowski 1923: 30-56).

Janowski dedicated all of his life to research on the history of Vilnius University, as well as the culture and history of Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia. He left behind a great legacy. Some of his works include: *Historjografia Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego* ('historiography of Vilnius University', Wilno: L. Chomiński 1921), *Wszechnica wileńska: 1578–1842* ('Vilnius academy: 1578–1842', Wilno: L. Chomiński 1921), *Uniwersytet Charkowski w początkach swego istnienia: 1805–1820* ('Kharkiv University at the beginning of its existence: 1805–1820', Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności 1911), *Litwa i Polska* ('Lithuania and Poland', Lausanne: s.n. 1916), *O tak zwanej "Historji Rusów"* ('about the "History of the Ruthenians"', Kraków: s.n. 1913).

7. Bronisław Piłsudski as a literary and artistic inspiration

7.1. Nikolay Matveyev-Amurskiy

Nikolay Petrovich Matveyev (1865 Hakodate–1941 Kobe) was Bronisław's colleague, his companion during Bronisław's 1905 journey to Japan, and the author of *Pasynok prirody* ('a stepson of nature') – a poem inspired by and dedicated to Bronisław.

Matveyev, known also as Nikolay Amurskiy and Geyne iz Glukhovki, was a son of an associate doctor in the Russian Consulate in Hakodate and was said to be the first Russian to be born in Japan. He was a revolutionist and member of the Constitutional Democratic Party.²⁴⁶ In 1896, he became associated with the Society for the Study of the Amur Region. In 1899, Bronisław came to Vladivostok to be a custodian of the resources at the museum of this society. He soon started editing the newspaper *Vostochnyy Vestnik*²⁴⁷ ('Eastern report') together with Matveyev. After some time, he moved in with Matveyev's family, which lived at no. 9 Abrekskaya Street in Matrosskaya Sloboda ('sailor's suburb'). The place was also a hideout for Russian revolutionists and activists (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 415-18; Sawada 2021: 105).

In 1901, Bronisław's favourite Nivhgu pupil Indyn came to Vladivostok from Sakhalin to get education at a Vladivostok municipal school. The plan was for Indyn to return to Sakhalin as a teacher at the local school established by Bronisław. It was hard to keep Indyn well-behaved in a new environment, much different from what he had known. But Bronisław liked Indyn very much and wanted to take on the role of his father. Unfortunately, the boy died from

²⁴⁶ The Constitutional Democratic Party, or the Kadets, was a political fraction in the Russian Empire, which aimed to reform Russia into a constitutional monarchy, which would have its own constitution and parliament. Its members wanted to introduce an 8-hour-working day, right to go on strike, freedom of speech, freedom of press and citizenship for all minorities. The party functioned in years 1905–17. It stood in opposition both to the empire and Bolshevik revolutionists.

²⁴⁷ Sawada (2021: 109) cites a different newspaper title, *Vostochnyye vedomosti*, but it might be a mistake by the Polish translator, who might have used the Japanese title *Tōyō tsūhō* (Sawada 2019: 93).

tuberculosis very soon and Bronisław felt guilty for summoning a native boy to a big city (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 415-419; Sawada 2021: 109-11).

Matveyev experienced Bronisław's grief first-hand and pitied his friend for losing all trust for people and any hope for the future. He composed the poem *Pasynok prirody*²⁴⁸ ('a stepson of nature') about the tragedy:

A stepson of nature

(Dedicated to B.O. P-ii)

Cast away on a harsh island,
He forgot his fetters,
Burning with the ardent wish
To devote himself to a cause of love.
And for a long time he stubbornly sought,
Among rude and vulgar people,
Labours for a sensitive heart...
But in the hamlet, all he found were savages.
And in wretched and smoky yurts
He wandered among them for a long time,
And among poor stepsons of nature
He found friends and his people.
Like the caresses of a beloved girl,
He loved his savages,
Their child-like, innocent fairly tails
About people of old, about wild animals.
From his affection
One boy embraced the kindness of the teacher,
And everywhere right after him wandered,
His faithful Endyn.

— —
But harsh years
Of bitter captivity passed...
And joyous news of freedom,
So long awaited, arrived...
And the inhabitants of the savage hamlet,
With hearts awakened for reverie,
Saw their dear friend and teacher

²⁴⁸ The author of this thesis could not confirm information cited by many sources (Sawada 2021: 129; Sawada & Inoue 2010: 419; CWBP 1: 26) that Matveyev's 1915 Vladivostok poem collection *Stikhotvoreniya*, which contains the mentioned poem, was his *first* poem collection. He published a different collection named similarly, *Stikhotvoreniya, parodii i podrazhaniya*, as early as in 1902. *Pasynok prirody* is neither included nor mentioned there (Matveyev 1902).

Leaving amidst moans and tears,
For he would go to a distant city,
A city where there were many white-skinned people,
He was leaving them,
Lonely savages forgotten by fate...
But he took together with him
A young man,
A son of a poor Gilyak family, Endyn
For the cause of noble love.

— —

He lived by a noble dream,
That he would kindle by his hand
The light of holy studies
In the heart of the young savage...
That a few years would fly by
And the young man would appear again among them,
Among those poor stepsons of nature,
He would become a teacher of his people...

— —

But that dream was in vain
He, the young savage, suffered,
He wishes to meet his own people,
He longed for a native yurt...
With a native fairy tale
The teacher vainly tried to amuse him,
By a tender caress
Vainly loved him as his own son...

— —

To the mountains, fields and valleys of his native land
He always hungered to go back,
But in the earth of a distant foreign land,
The young savage was buried.
It was as if his teacher had lost forever
Everything dear to him,
And for a long time, his heart suffered terribly...
And in nations of high culture,
Where a day, not yet growing dark, shone,
Before him would appear a phantom
Of that poor son of nature,
And the spectre would wrack his heart with pain,
So that he reproached himself:
“Carried away with mad aspirations,
I have killed this boy whom I loved.”

And as his heart was moved towards
The reveries of the past,
Tears, bitter tears
Glimmered in his eyes...²⁴⁹

The poem describes Bronisław's search for a higher cause at Sakhalin exile and his special relationship with Indyn, here spelled as *Endyn*. Bronisław yearned for freedom in the sense that he bore a national identity, while Indyn yearned for the freedom of return to nature and his local native society. However, the author uses the metaphor *stepson of nature*, not *son of nature*, which can symbolise an in-between state of being originated neither in the city nor nature. In such case, this metaphor suits Indyn and Bronisław equally well.

Concerning further development of Bronisław's relationship with Matveyev, the two went to Japan together in 1905, accompanied by Matveyev's daughter Zoya. Bronisław then continued the journey to Tokyo alone (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 425-6; Sawada 2021: 178).

On January 29, 1906, the first issue of PLDV was published. It was Matveyev's project and Bronisław contributed a series of articles about Sakhalin, Japan and Mongolia (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 426-7; Sawada 2021: 235-6).

In August 1906, Bronisław left Japan for Galicia via the US. He sent a parcel to Matveyev's house with books and essays, which he announced in a letter to him. Unfortunately at the same time, a great lot of Russian revolutionist materials were sent to Matveyev's address from Japan and the two matters were treated as if Bronisław had sent the materials himself. Matveyev spent around 1 year in prison (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 430, 433-5; Sawada 2021: 179, 222-3, 294-99).

On March 23, 1917, Matveyev published memories about Bronisław in a newspaper called *Dalekaya Okraina* ('distant region') as part of the series *Vospominaniya politicheskikh* ('reminiscences of political offenders'). There he mentioned the reason of Bronisław's exile, his time as a museum custodian and newspaper editor, feelings about Indyn's death, the travel to Japan in 1905 and his return to Galicia (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 415-7; Sawada 2021: 179-80).

²⁴⁹ Translated to English by Andrew T. Kamei-Dyche from a Japanese translation by Kazuhiko Sawada (Sawada & Inoue 2010: 419-21).

7.2. Nikolay A. Tarasov

Nikolay Antoninovich Tarasov (b. 1947 Odessa) is the author of the poem *Pachurland* ('beautiful'), inspired by the life and legacy of Bronisław.

He is a poet, prose writer and executive secretary of the Sakhalin Regional Branch of Russia's Union of Writers. He was awarded by the Sakhalin Cultural Foundation (2001), won the Sakhalin Region Governor's Award (2007), the Pushkin Medal (2007) and was recognised by the *Dal'niy Vostok* ('the Russian Far East') magazine (2010), as well.²⁵⁰

Tarasov first experienced Sakhalin in 1966, when he was sent there for military service. However, he found companions to discuss literature there and decided to stay longer. From 1970, Tarasov worked as a Russian language teacher at Gornozavodsk and in 1979, he moved to Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk (*ibid.*).

Between 1961 and 2016, Tarasov published 18 books of poetry and prose. What is more, he also wrote poems and songs for TV shows. His works were translated into 5 languages: Czech, Estonian, German, Uzbek and Japanese. Most importantly in the context of this thesis, he is a populariser of Nivhgu culture, who made a literary translation of the Nivhgu epic *Poseleniye bukhty Chornoy zemli* ('the settling of the Black Earth Bay') (*ibid.*; literary translation in Sangi 2013: 149-288, along with Sangi's word to word translation).

In 2020, Tarasov gave a lecture in Russian for the Presidential Library in St. Petersburg titled "Vladimir Mikhaylovich Sangi²⁵¹ – the creator of the First Nivhgu alphabet: on the 85th birthday".²⁵²

Tarasov not only promotes the Nivhgu and Sakhalin culture. Its influence can be seen in his own poems. One of the poems, *Pachurland*, relates to Bronisław's biography and legacy. *Pachurland* in Nivhgu language means 'beautiful'. This is how Nivhgu named Bronisław in their interactions with him (Sawada 2021: 76).

The poem is dedicated to Vladislav Mikhaylovich Latyshev – one of the greatest Bronisław Piłsudski researchers from Russia, initiator of Bronisław's statue, which stands before the Sakhalin Regional Museum in Yuzhno-

²⁵⁰ SOUNB n.d. "Nikolay Tarasov: ob avtore. Literaturnyy mir Sakhalina i Kuril: poetry I prozaiki XX veka" ['Nikolay Tarasov: about the author. Literary world of Sakhalin and Kurils: poets and prose writers of the 20th century'], Sakhalin Library literary project. <https://litmir.libsakh.ru/pisатели/poehty-i-prozaiki-xx-veka/tarasov-nikolai/>.

СОУНБ n.d. Николай Тарасов: об авторе. Литературный мир Сахалина и Курил: Поэты и прозаики XX века.

²⁵¹ Cf. Section 7.7.

²⁵² PL n.d. "On the translation of the works of V. M. Sangi into Russian", on-line article from the Russian Presidential Library resources. <https://www.prilib.ru/en/item/1333632>.

Sakhalinsk, author of studies on Bronisław's correspondence with Shternberg (cf. Sections 3.3, 7.11) and his first biography (2008).

Below is the poem's English translation by the author of this thesis. It is based on the Russian original, available in Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz (2001: XXXV-XXXVI).

Pachurland

Dedicated to V.M. Latyshev

How immense are
These two fearsome wings
This bird – a white empire!
First swing – and half of the world is covered in fire,
Second swing –
All is paralysed by ice.

This stone island,
Destined by fate,
Did not burn down the two-headed bird
The heavenly vault has been
Speckled with holes
Our Stone Age –
Endlessly continues...

The Nivhgu girls sang in grief:
“Farewell, Pachurland...
I feel for you, but what can I do...
When it comes to your conscience,
And talent,
You were better than the best Gilyak...”

Could someone
Among the tundra mosses, be loved
More tenderly and greatly than you!
Perhaps not even your brother –
The deities' favourite,
The younger brother – Marshal of Poland...

And on this island
Of eternal dawning –
A chalcedony trace of Neolithic era, –
Through thousands of years,

Have shone Vilnius and the Polish Republic!
What will heal Warsaw,
Console Paris,
If hereafter the two epochs won't ever come together?
Knowing this, how does one
Commend you to live,
With this heart
Which breathes out and breathes in?
The moon-shaped Nivhgu girls
Sang bitterly,
Sunshine-like Ainu girls cried...
So why were you
Buried in another epoch,
And not there,
In the neolithic pebbles?

Here are the two abandoned
Irreducible paddles,
Two wings upon a divided meaning...
And now –
Only the wave sobs: “Bro-ni-sław...” –
“Pa-chur-land...” – scream the seagulls
Beyond the cape...

The poem is symbolic. It describes two contrasting bird wings – they bring fire and ice at the same time. The two-headed bird has been an emblem of Russia for most of its history. However, there are more dichotomies in the poem: Poland and Lithuania, Russian Sakhalin and Japanese Karafuto, Bronisław's city life and his “neolithic” life among the aborigines.

The lyrical subject laments Bronisław's dramatic fate. He lived a peaceful and steady life thanks to the wisdom of nature-dependant people. He was loved and adored by them more than any worshipped political leader, maybe even the Marshal of Poland, who had his own militaristic cult among comrades. However, the course of history shattered the peacefulness and brought enormous pain. Bronisław will never recollect his identity as a Lithuanian Pole – the past is already gone. Why could not he spend his life on this island and be buried here? Everything is gone, but nature is still calling his name. The times change, but the island's spirit is eternal.

Tarasov is a recognised author in Sakhalin's modern literary world. *Pachurland* is a notable example of Bronisław's trans-cultural imprint in history. Tarasov, who chose Sakhalin to be his home, searches for the same traces of identity in Bronisław's story and yet he understands, that it is only a part of who Bronisław was.

7.3. Kōhei Hanasaki

Kōhei Hanasaki is the author of a long narrative poem inspired by the tragic love story of Bronisław and Chuhsamma.

Hanasaki is a Japanese philosopher, writer and poet. He worked as an associate professor specialising in Western philosophy at Hokkaido University's Department of Literature in years 1964–1971. After that, he became a professional writer. His published books include such titles as *Marukusu-ni okeru kagaku-to tetsugaku* ('regarding Marx's science and philosophy', Tōkyō: Morita shoten 1969), *Ikiru ba-no tetsugaku* ('the philosophy of living space', Tōkyō: Iwanami shinsho 1981), *Shizuka-na daichi – Matsuura Takeshirō-to Ainu minzoku* ('the silent land – Takeshirō Matsuura²⁵³ and the Ainu people', Tōkyō: Iwanami shoten 1988) and more.²⁵⁴

Hanasaki became interested in Ainu because for over 40 years he has been close to his Ainu neighbours in Hokkaido, especially to an elder lady Saki Tōyama from Urakawa. She raised 6 children and when she turned 40, she began to work towards handing down the Ainu tradition to younger generations. Hanasaki has always respected her gentleness and love shown to others (Okabe et al. 2019: 6).

Hanasaki won Hideo Oguma²⁵⁵ Prize for his previous work on Ainu, *Ainu moshiri-no kaze-ni fukarete* ('gone with the wind of the Ainu land', Otaru shiwa jimusho 2009) and for 8 years did not feel inspiration to write another long narrative poem. However, he was inspired by two other artists, Yoshimi

²⁵³ Takeshirō Matsuura was a traveller and explorer of Japan, Sakhalin and Kurils. He was especially interested in North Japan. He explored it with the help of Ainu as guides. Matsuura drew his own geographical maps of places he visited. His work and experience was acknowledged by the authorities and he was appointed the Commissioner to Ezo, which he later named *Hokkaido* as it became a region under direct control of Japan.

²⁵⁴ Michitani 1999–2019. "Michitani-no kankōbutsu (kokunai bungaku). Chusanma-to Piusutsuki-to Tomi-no monogatari hoka" ['Michitani's publications (domestic literature). The story of Chuhsamma, Piłsudski and Tomi et al.'], publisher's book information. <http://www.michitani.com/books/ISBN978-4-89642-553-6.html>. 未知谷（出版社）1999–2019. 未知谷の刊行物（国内文学）. チュサンマとピウスツキとトミの物語他.

²⁵⁵ Hideo Okuma was a Japanese poet, journalist, writer, painter and illustrator. Most of his life he experienced poverty and rejection. He took part in proletarian artist circles. The Hideo Okuma Prize is presented each year to aspiring artists.

Dobashi²⁵⁶ from Sapporo, author of *Itami-no Penriuku. Toraware-no Ainu jinkotsu* ('the hurting Penriuku. Ainu bones enslaved') and Noriko Nagaya²⁵⁷ from Otaru, author of *Meshiita Shinkichō-no hika*²⁵⁸ ('the blind Shinkichō's elegy') (259; Kyūsai 2018).

Hanasaki's narrative poem tells the story of two couples: Bronisław and Chuhsamma, who were forced to separate and never see each other again and the author Hanasaki himself and Tomi Murayama – an Ainu woman, who used to live with Hanasaki. She appeared in his previous work as well but this time Hanasaki reveals more about their time and visits to her grave, which lies in a town near the Okhotsk Sea. Tomi was born at the Kunashir Island in the 1930s (*ibid.*).

The narrative poem presents the tragedy of losing one's beloved but also the hope that true love never dies.

Here is a fragment from the narrative poem's final chapter *Ai-no yukue* ('whereabouts of love', Hanasaki 2013: 72-7), in the translation by the author of this thesis:

²⁵⁶ Yoshimi Dobashi is a poet and activist of Ainu origin. Her poem about the exhumation of native Penriuku's bones is a protest against using Ainu graves for heartless anthropological research. Penriuku, who was befriended by Bronisław and Sieroszewski during their expedition, is Dobashi's ancestor (Inoue 2020: 272).

²⁵⁷ Noriko Nagaya is a poet and writer. She worked as an editor of *Shugeishi* ('Handicrafts magazine'). Her late elder brother Sansei Yamao was also a poet. Nagaya currently lives in Otaru, Hokkaido (Shinsensha n.d. "Shijin, Yamao Sansei-no imōto-ni yoru tsuioku-no uta. «Suiren» – Nagaya Noriko shishū" ['Reminiscence poems of a poet and Sansei Yamao's younger sister. «Water lily» – Noriko Nagaya's poetry anthology'], book description. <https://www.shinsensha.com/books/1947/>. 新泉社 n. d. 詩人・山尾三省の妹による追憶の歌. 睡蓮 長屋のり子詩集).

She was inspired by the story of Bronisław and Chuhsamma, hence her elegy about Chuhsamma. The first version of the poem named Chuhsamma *Shinkichō* and Bronisław *Piotr*. However, Bronisław's son Sukezō denied that his mother used the name *Shinkichō* and *Piotr* is Bronisław's second name. The poem was corrected (Andō 2020a: 280-2; Shibata 2018, cf. footnote 214).

²⁵⁸ A revised version of Nagaya's poem entitled *A superb song of blind Chuhsamma – her elegy, lament and dirge* is available in Lucjan Buchalik (ed.) 2018. *The world of Ainu – from Bronisław Piłsudski to Shigeru Kayano*. Municipal Museum in Żory 2018 (Polish version pp. 9-12, Japanese version pp. 80-3, English version pp. 145-8. Each version is accompanied by an explanation).

²⁵⁹ Shibata Nozomu 2018. "Hanasaki Kōhei-san-no shinshishū «Chusanma-to Piusutsuki-to Tomi-no monogatari hoka» (Michitani)-no koto" ['About Mr Kōhei Hanasaki's new poem collection «The story of Chuhsamma, Piłsudski and Tomi et al.» (Michitani)'], blog entry of *Fragile* poetry magazine. <https://fragile-seiga.hatenablog.com/entry/2018/06/11/073528>. 柴田望 2018. 花崎皋平さんの新詩集『チュサンマとピウスツキとトミの物語 他』(未知谷)のこと. 詩誌『フラジャイル』公式ブログ.

This love won't disappear
A man passes, a woman remains
A woman passes, a man remains
The love born between these two
Separates from them and wanders as dust
Throughout the universe
This dust, left in the universe after the Big Bang
Even now wanders inside the cosmic vacuum
If you say nothing, it's nothing
If you say everything, it's everything
If you say it is, then it is
If you say it's not, then it's not

Hanasaki took part in the 2018 Memorial Event on Bronisław Piłsudski, marking the 100th anniversary of Bronisław's passing. He gave an introduction in person to the audience and after that, parts of his long narrative poem were read by poetry reader Jun Shirai. The video from this event is available in Japanese on-line on YouTube (Andō 2020a: 278; ²⁶⁰).

7.4. Stanisław I. Witkiewicz

Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz was the author of an oil painting depicting Bronisław.

Witkiewicz, nicknamed Witkacy, was a renowned Polish playwright, painter, photographer, novelist and author of the "Pure Form" concept in Polish Theatre (Sajewska 2016: 132; Witkiewicz 2014: 156-7).

Witkacy had a deep connection to Zakopane. His baptism, organised in Zakopane, was widely attended by highlanders. He was home-schooled in Zakopane by his father, Stanisław Witkiewicz, one of the most prominent Polish painters, architects, writers and author of Zakopane architectonic style, influenced by Podhale folklore. Other teachers' names include Walenty Staszek – Podhale highlander, custodian of the Tatra Museum and weather station manager and professor Władysław Folkierski – mathematician, engineer and

²⁶⁰ Hokkaido-Poland Cultural Association 2018. “2018 Buronisuwafu Piusutsuki botsugo hyakunen kinen gyōji. Dai 3 bu rōdoku” [‘Memorial Event on Bronisław Piłsudski on his 100th Anniversary of Death. Part 3, poetry reading’, on-line video resource]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LM9WWmFOqSw>.
2018ブロンニスワフ・ピウスツキ没後百年記念行事 第3部 朗読.

manager of railways and port fortification construction processes (Witkiewicz 2014: 156-7; ²⁶¹; ²⁶²).

Witkacy studied at Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow in years 1904–6. Around that time, he indulged in Tatra Mountains tourism and mountain hiking. He was best friends with Bohdan Filipowski,²⁶³ president of the mountaineering section of “Tatry” Sports Club (*ibid.*).

Witkacy visited many foreign countries: Italy, France, and Germany, and also in 1914 participated in Bronisław Malinowski’s research expedition to Australia and Oceania as a photographer. The expedition was cancelled half-way due to the outbreak of World War 1 (*ibid.*).

During the war, he served in the Russian Imperial Army. After 1918, Witkacy indulged in Polish cultural life. Poland’s 20-year interwar (*dwudziestolecie międzywojenne*) period (1918-39) was a time of development of many artistic, theatrical, cinematic, literary trends and associations. It was a time of great hope for the future and creativity. Witkacy travelled between Warsaw and Zakopane, painting portraits, writing plays, meeting with Polish artistic societies (*ibid.*).

Witkiewicz committed suicide, when the Soviet troops attacked Poland on September 17, 1939 (*ibid.*). There are many uncertainties regarding Witkacy’s burial. After exhumation of Witkacy’s grave in Zakopane, scientist discovered a body of an unknown Ukrainian woman, who died at childbirth. Simultaneously, Witkacy’s original grave in Wielkie Jeziora (Velyki Oзера) in Ukraine revealed the body of the child of the mentioned woman. Witkacy’s bones have not been found (Sajewska 2016: 132-3).

What is important in the context of this thesis, Witkacy’s father was a strong Józef Piłsudski supporter and Witkacy felt sympathy towards him, too (Witkiewicz 2014: 157). This explains the closeness of relations Bronisław experienced at his time in Cracow and Zakopane.

²⁶¹ Paryski, Witold & Zofia Paryska n.d. “Staszek Walenty”, biographical entry by WIET. https://z-ne.pl/t,haslo,4670,staszek_walenty.html.

²⁶² Bochenek-Franczak, Regina 2000. “Władysław Folkierski (1890–1961)”, research paper from RUJ. <https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/server/api/core/bitstreams/ec2fcd6d-0154-41d9-a329-6f61f079b6c7/content>. P. 424.

²⁶³ Bohdan Filipowski was a mountaineer passionate about nature conservation. His side-jobs included dance teacher, horse riding instructor and even fortune-teller. He did not belong to the leading group of mountaineers, but he climbed very difficult routes. Unfortunately, he was a compulsive morphine addict, nicknamed *ghost* for his sickly looks. He contributed a chapter about morphine to Witkacy’s book *Narkotyki* (‘Drugs’). Both men experimented with drugs and were good friends. Witkacy painted a few portraits of Filipowski in Zakopane (Paryski, Witold & Zofia Paryska n.d. “Filipowski Bohdan”, biographical entry by WIET. https://z-ne.pl/t,haslo,1167,filipowski_bohdan.html).

Witkacy called Bronisław his *wujaszek* ('dear uncle'). In a letter from July 25, 1912 to Witkiewicz, the father, with whom Bronisław was keeping in touch through correspondence, Bronisław reported he was seeing Witkacy quite often (Piłsudski 2016: 136).

The same year, Witkacy took an artistic black and white photo of Bronisław and created a realistic oil painting of him. In the portrait's background, there is a sketch-painted St Joseph with the Infant Jesus and the Brigands (*ibid.* 15, 109, 136). The Brigands are most likely an allusion to a story by Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer²⁶⁴ about Baby Jesus, who wondered around Liptów (in Podhale dialect *Luptów*) and helped simple folk with their daily troubles. Baby Jesus observed how the Brigands always helped people in distressed and likes it. When the Brigands were summoned before court, Jesus wrote a verdict on the judges, turned the Brigands to apple trees and disappeared (Przerwa-Tetmajer 1910).

This story, painted into the portrait of Bronisław, symbolises his ethnographical work in Podhale (Piłsudski 2016: 136) and at the same time, is very similar to how Bronisław himself was a convict sensitive to human suffering and always trying to support the weaker.

Witkacy took a picture of this painting and sent it to his father, with the following sign on the back of the photo: *Dear Uncle after telling a story about seal hunt (killed in his presence with clubs) and declaring himself in favour of death penalty in agreement with Aunt Aniela [exhausted from the 8 hour dispute] (ibid.).*

Father Witkiewicz was not impressed by the painting. He replied in a letter that the creative process of Witkacy seems defective. He accused Witkacy of adding faces to a finished background or adding background to a finished face. It is treating the face as an item on the painting instead of creating a psychological connection between the artist and the model. The beard and moustache painted separately drew too much attention. In Witkiewicz eyes, it resembled a technical drawing and failed to relate a painting's part to the whole. At the same time, Witkiewicz complements the shape and character of the portrait (*ibid.* 137-8).

The father's critic seems harsh in relation to his son's painting, especially when the model was Bronisław, a dear friend and distant relative. However, it

²⁶⁴ Kazimierz Przerwa-Tetmajer, real first name Jan Kazimierz was a poet and prose writer, one of the most outstanding representatives of the Young Poland movement in Polish literature. His works focused on Tatra Mountains and the Podhale region. He spent his young years in Podhale, where he got to know the highland culture and Tatra Mountains. He indulged in mountain climbing until heart neurosis made it impossible for him to continue mountain trips. He carried on writing about Tatra Mountains and Podhale folklore even after finishing his mountaineering episode and often introduced Podhale dialect into his works (Paryski, Witold & Zofia Paryska n.d. "Tetmajer, Kazimierz Przerwa", biographical entry by WIET. https://z-ne.pl/t,haslo,5114,tetmajer_kazimierz_przerwa.html).

was under his father Witkacy studied at Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow²⁶⁵ and even before that, he was being home-school by father and his friends. The master-student relation probably continued throughout their lives in some form.

Unfortunately, a photo of the painting is the only surviving evidence of its existence. There are no indications as to where the portrait could be located or whether it has been destroyed (Piłsudski 2016: 135-6, 138).

The disappearance of the portrait is a great loss for Poland's cultural heritage. The circumstances of its painting teach a lesson on Poland's fight for independence and the history of regional border changes. Even under harsh political conditions, the Polish intelligentsia united to form an unforgettable literary and artistic community in the Tatra Mountains.

7.5. Paweł Goźliński

Paweł Goźliński is the author of a historical novel called *Akan* (2019), inspired by Bronisław's life.

Goźliński is a writer, journalist, theatre specialist and chief editor of Agora Publishing – one of Poland's biggest media companies. He studied at Warsaw Academy of Theatre and Warsaw University. He obtained a PhD at the School of Social Sciences, a part of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. His supervisor was Maria Janion.²⁶⁶ In 2010, he co-established Institute of Reportage to teach the proper techniques of reporting facts to younger generations (Goźliński 2019; ²⁶⁷).

Goźliński based *Akan* loosely on Bronisław's biography. The title *Akan* means 'elder brother' in the Nivhgu language and refers to how the Nivhgu named Bronisław during their mutual interactions (Sawada 2021: 76).

Goźliński thinks of his book mostly as a novel. He says, in the Polish academia, methodology can be compared to shackles – if you write something well, then other scholars start saying that your thinking is wrong. He did not enjoy this way of building academic discourse and this is the reason he pursued

²⁶⁵ Paryski, Witold & Zofia Paryska n.d. "Witkiewicz Stanisław Ignacy", biographical entry by WIET. https://z-ne.pl/t,haslo,5433,witkiewicz_stanislaw_ignacy.html.

²⁶⁶ Maria Janion was one of Poland's leading literary theorists of modern times. She was a harsh critic of Polish martyrdom, wrongly understood romanticism and self-destructive stubbornness (e.g. using coal as an energy source even at the cost of health). She was a feminist, who sternly opposed to homophobia and antisemitism.

²⁶⁷ Instytut Reportażu ('Institute of Reportage') n.d. "Paweł Goźliński", on-line biographical entry in the impresario of authors. <http://archiwum.instytutr.pl/pl/impresariat/pawel-gozlinski/>.

a more artistic career after his PhD. That is why in his book, he decided to mix facts from Bronisław's biography with fiction.

Goźliński thinks one cannot know under what circumstances exactly Bronisław wrote, for example, his letters to Father. Were they censored? Was Bronisław lying that he was quite well not to worry his family? In such moments, Goźliński decided to fill in the gaps with imagination and write the scenes how he saw them. Especially that Bronisław stops writing his private diaries each time he becomes preoccupied with strong emotions in real life (first romantic love, conspiracy act, *etc.*).²⁶⁸

7.5.1. Summary

Akan consists of 6 chapters, each named after a person or people important to Bronisław's biography. Some personal names are slightly different than their original form, for example, there is *Indun* instead of *Indyn*. The chapter names are as follows: 1. Maria (Warsaw, Hakodate 1897–1903); 2. Zośka (Zułów, Vilnius, Petersburg 1875–1887); 3. Wunit, Indun (Sakhalin, Vladivostok 1887–1902); 4. Spańram (Hokkaido 1903, Paris 1906); 5. Chuhsamma (Sakhalin 1904–5); 6. Marynia (Zakopane, Cracow, Karlsbad, Lviv, Paris, London, Warsaw, Piaseczno 1906–44). Most of them are Bronisław's love interests, but *Indyn* (here mentioned as *Indun*) and *Spańram*²⁶⁹ are exceptions here.

Maria is the wife of the story's narrator. He is a hard labour prisoner who came back to Warsaw after years in exile. He owns recommendation letters from the Imperial Geographical Society. The story starts, when Maria is giving birth to their baby and the doctor suddenly realises it is a twin pregnancy. The narrator pulls out a letter and reads it. It is an information from Bronisław's research on Sakhalin aborigines stating that twins bring bad luck and the second child comes from the devil.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ Zakrocki, Maciej 2019. "Od konspiratora do etnografa – niezwykle losy Bronisława Piłsudskiego" ['from conspirator to ethnographer – the extraordinary life of Bronisław Piłsudski']; *Historie Polski* TOK FM radio audition, October 13, guest: Paweł Goźliński]. <https://audycje.tokfm.pl/audycja/Od-konspiratora-do-etnografa-niezwykle-losy-Bronislawa-Pilsudskiego>.

²⁶⁹ Spańram is a character based on Śpańram Nomura, an Ainu man from Shiraoi, acquainted by Bronisław during his study trip to Hakodate with Sieroszewski. Spańram was taken with other Ainu to an Osaka exhibition as a tourist attraction and promised money for it, but according to him, he and his family were deceived. Bronisław helped them return home, bought them food and tickets, which built good relations between him and the local Ainu society (Sieroszewski 1935).

²⁷⁰ See Piłsudski (1909) for the whole paper on childbirth, menstruation and miscarriages.

The narrator has these letters with him, because he took them from Józef Piłsudski soon after the latter organised a protest during the unveiling of Mickiewicz's statue in Warsaw. He later gets arrested for owning the letters and in prison he reveals all information on Józef. Ashamed of himself, he leaves his family and travels on a research expedition to Hokkaido. There, he meets John Batchelor and unexpectedly, Bronisław. Bronisław greets him and laughs that the Russian police thought it was Józef coming and the whole expedition was a part of Polish conspiracy. This corresponds with Sieroszewski's real recollections of problems with the expedition.

Chapter 2 is a flashback of Bronisław's life before exile: Zułów childhood, school days, rivalry with Józef over first love interests and the conspiracy trial. Goźliński's inspiration with Bronisław's *Diary* (Piłsudski 2021) here is obvious. The author thinks Zośka and Marynia might have known a bit about the planned conspiracy. In the book, Bronisław focuses only on protecting the girls and forgets that his brother, Józef, is also in danger from the conspiracy.

Chapter 3 is Goźliński's interpretation of how Bronisław's first interactions with Płoński, Yuvachov, Shternberg and Chekhov might have looked like. Goźliński draws his own vision on how Bronisław worked under Russian commander Butakov and what relations he had with fellow exiled conspirators: Kancher, Gorkun and Volokhov. Upon that, he introduces Vunit as Bronisław's lover and fantasises about his first night with Chuhsamma. Goźliński refers to Bronisław's letters to Father and to Shternberg. However, most of the presented events are literary fiction based on clues from Bronisław's biography (e.g. Kancher committed suicide from guilt and fear, so the book portrays the hatred and aggression of other convicts towards Kancher).

The first-person narrator opens Chapter 4, as the action comes back to his meeting with Bronisław on Hokkaido. The narrator reveals Józef wanted him to check if Bronisław was losing sanity (the letters he was sending to Warsaw was a mix of Polish, hieroglyphs and stories about shamanism). However, the narrator's real aim is to bring Bronisław back to Józef as a form of atonement for reporting Józef to Russian officials before. Bronisław talks of Ainu assimilation to Japanese culture and the emotions he feels towards his father. The narrator informs Bronisław that his father died.

The later action is deeply inspired by Sieroszewski's *Among hairy people* (Sieroszewski 1935). Bronisław exceeds in interaction and communication with the Ainu. Some Japanese girls met at the hotel warn Bronisław and the narrator to not come close to the Ainu, but the men are not afraid of the natives and continue their research. Some Ainu think they are unlucky with catching fish because of the European guests. However, this then turns into hospitality and a greeting ceremony is set for Bronisław and the narrator. The Ainu are also very enthusiastic about giving out their traditional items for money. Bronisław and the narrator have problems with Japanese authorities. Japanese soldiers

come to Ainu huts armoured. All of these motifs come from Sieroszewski's book.

Due to the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War, the narrator and Bronisław are forced to leave Japan. Bronisław chooses to return to Sakhalin and meets with the narrator after a few years in Paris.

In Chapter 5, Bronisław returns to Ai just before the invasion of Japanese troops on Sakhalin. However, he is not respected and loved anymore. The Ainu treat him like a traitor. They think Bronisław built schools and taught them Russian, so they would be treated as enemies by Japanese during the war. Moreover, Bronisław travels to Rykovskoye, where Niśpan²⁷¹ tells him Vunit died during childbirth. Niśpan, on the other hand, dies from pneumonia and Bronisław buries him. Russian soldiers, who due to mobilisation terrorise and torture the natives, turn out to be Bronisław old friends from Sakhalin. After returning once more to Ai, Bronisław falls out with Bafunke as he does not agree for Chuhsamma to leave the village. Bronisław knows he will never return there again. He leaves by ship, because the Japanese and Russian military starts fighting.

In Chapter 6, Bronisław travels from Cracow to Zakopane and meets with Józef and his wife, Maria. He starts living with them. Due to Józef's terrorist activities, they are being followed by spies. Bronisław feels as if he were in prison again. He tries to become a scholar and introduce his aborigine research in Poland, but the academic world does not respect someone without a title.

Bronisław exchanges letters with Yuvachov, who reminds Bronisław that he is in big trouble because he went to Sakhalin, when it was already under Japanese occupation. This makes Bronisław remember how he travelled to Ai again. He brought toys for his son and daughter. At first, he wanted to leave Ai together with Chuhsamma and their children, but suddenly he was not sure anymore. He was already a different person.

The above sequence of events is, of course, pure literary fiction. There is no evidence Bronisław came back for Chuhsamma twice. He only knew his son and never met his daughter.

Back in Poland, Bronisław is visited by his sister Ludwika and aunt Stefa. This inspires him to write to Marynia Żarnowska, the love of his life. They start a romance and travel to Karlsbad together.

However, there is an incurable wound in Bronisław's heart. He does not feel well among city people. He sweats, panics and great fear strikes him, when someone stares at him too much. During his lecture on Ainu beliefs (menstrual blood, pregnancy and superstitious belief in the transmission of traits through

²⁷¹ Niśpan's character is based on Niśpayn – a Nivhgu boy befriended by Bronisław at the age of around 14, who's father was a half-beggar, half-shaman. Niśpayn seemed shamed of his father's work. He grew up to be a handsome bard, who travelled from yurt to yurt (CWBP 1: 150).

items),²⁷² he experiences sudden flashbacks, which silence him before the audience. He is shocked that the Ainu are barbaric in the eyes of city people and thinks of himself as a crazy man. The only scholar who understands him is Karol Potkański,²⁷³ but the man dies quite suddenly.

Life becomes chaotic for Bronisław. Józef has political problems inside his party and starts a romance with his colleague, Aleksandra. At the same time, Bronisław's love Marynia becomes ill with cancer. The couple tries to find medical help in Paris. Bronisław finds reports on fledgling research on chemotherapy but Marynia does not want to listen to that. She finds *inau* talismans created by Bronisław all over their house and does not believe in him anymore. When they decide to part, suddenly, the first-person narrator makes a comeback as the true husband of Maria.

In 1910, the narrator travels to London to see Bronisław at the Japan-British Exhibition. The details of the exhibition are introduced by Goźliński very truly and correspond with the information given by the exhibition's original booklet from 1910.

The narrator wants to give Bronisław a letter Maria wrote to him before her death. However, he resigns from the idea and reads the letter himself. In another scene, the narrator travels from Paris to Warsaw, where Józef is trying to build a new future for Poland. He reports to Józef the news that Bronisław committed suicide, but Józef already knows.

In the last scene, it is year 1944. The narrator was deported from Warsaw due to the events of World War 2 and the Warsaw Uprising. As an elderly man, he barely talks, barely eats. He uses his last moments to write the end of Bronisław's story – the last words about his death.

Undoubtedly, Goźliński's research on Bronisław's biography was broad and he is very precise in explaining details at moments, where a written source can back up his artistic vision. However, due to extensive parts of pure fantasy, especially in relation to Chuhsamma and Vunit's last meetings with Bronisław and Bronisław's last moments in Japan, the book cannot be trusted as a reliable source on Bronisław. Moreover, it seems a quite controversial choice for the author to adapt some fragments of Waław Sieroszewski's and Jan Źarnowski's, Maria's legal husband's, biographies, to then make the narrator share –

²⁷² Cf. Piłsudski, Bronisław 1909. *Poród, cięża i poronienia u tubylców wyspy Sachalinu*. Cz. 2 [*Pregnancy, birth and miscarriage among the inhabitants of Sakhalin Island. Part 2*]. Lwów: Drukarnia Udziałowa.

²⁷³ Karol Potkański was a Polish historian, ethnographer, mountaineer and professor of Jagiellonian University. Potkański was indeed a big fan of Zakopane and Podhale region, just like Bronisław. He also knew Stanisław Witkiewicz, who was Bronisław's family. However, Bronisław's official biographies do not mention anything about Potkański.

physically and emotionally – the same wife with Bronisław. After all, these characters are not fictional people.

However, some parts of *Akan* can be called creative and relatable. For example, one can imagine that Bronisław, fuelled by love for Maria and science, searched for new ways to cure her cancer, hence his suggestion to try chemotherapy.

The emotional narration can also raise interest in the true story of Bronisław. This was one of Goźliński's aims – a book which would start a medial discourse on Polish history and legacy, but without academic stiff methodology as a blocker.²⁷⁴

Parts of the book were read aloud in TOK FM's radio auditions. Each of the 122 episodes was approximately 10 minutes long. It was probably the longest project on Bronisław Piłsudski in mass media. The auditions can be listened to in the TOK FM archive (requires payment).

7.6. Wiesław Helak

Wiesław Helak is the author of a screenplay inspired by Bronisław's life.

Helak is a Polish writer, screenwriter, director and actor. He studied acting at Warsaw State Theatre Academy and directing at National Film and Television School in Łódź. He did successful screen adaptations (*Złodziej*, 'the thief', Poland 1988; *Opowieść Harleja*, 'Harley's story', Poland 1988) and wrote 6 novels, which have been well received by critics.

Scenariusze syberyjskie ('Siberian screenplays', Helak 2013) feature proposals of screenplays regarding the life of Polish Siberia explorers. In this piece, Helak addressed four Siberian biographies of: Benedykt Dybowski, Wacław Sieroszewski, Bronisław Piłsudski and Grażyna Jonkajtys-Luba.²⁷⁵

The screenplay, based on motifs from Bronisław's life, is called *Paczurland* ('pachurland', cf. p. 216).

²⁷⁴ Zakrocki 2019, cf. fn. 268.

²⁷⁵ Grażyna Jonkajtys-Luba was a Polish architect and senior assistant at the Faculty of Architecture at the Warsaw University of Technology. In 1940, when she was a teenager, she was deported with family to Kazakhstan and became a kolkhoz labour force. After the war, she worked not only in Poland, but also travelled with her husband to Nigeria, Ghana, New York. She was active in the Polish Siberia survivor circles and received many merit orders (Munik, Agnieszka n.d. "Grażyna Jonkajtys-Luba. Związek Sybiraków", biographical entry by the Union of Siberian Deportees. <https://sybiracyzg.pl/?p=14569>).

7.6.1. Summary of the play

Bronisław in court is sentenced to exile in Sakhalin. He travels there by ship with other prisoners. During the trip, Bronisław writes letters to his father.

After reaching the destination, Bronisław leaves the ship. He gives a loaf of bread to an Ainu boy. The guard is making a fuss and using derogatory language toward the Ainu boy. Another prisoner, Kuźma, pushes the guard into the water. Bronisław says he is guilty of that and receives physical punishment.

Bronisław and Kuźma become friends. Kuźma helps Bronisław with labour. After work, they plant vegetables in the garden. This annoys the guard. Kuźma kills him and is killed by soldiers as punishment.

Shocked, Bronisław wanders alone and finds an Ainu village. The natives throw rocks at him but one boy recognises him as the man who gave him bread. It is Indyn.²⁷⁶

Bronisław is invited to the village and feeds fish to a bear kept for the *iomante*.²⁷⁷ He gives the children bread and sugar. He demonstrates his way of preparing fish to the Ainu.

In this play, Chuhsamma is Indyn's cousin. Once she finds out that Bronisław is wounded, she tends to his wounds using leaves.

A Russian commandant appoints Bronisław to a position of prison writer and requires him to teach his daughters, Tatyana and Natasha. Bronisław teaches the girls literature (Byron, Pushkin). With earned money, he buys bread, salt, sugar, tea, eggs, groat and rice for the Ainu.

Tatyana and Natasha are attracted to Bronisław. He saves the money he earns from giving lessons to the girls and once again buys food for the Ainu. An angry Russian guard cuts a bag with flour that Bronisław was carrying for the Ainu and Bronisław gets all covered with flour. However, the Ainu are happy to see him this way. They enjoy seeing the 'white powder'.

Chuhsamma sings a song to comfort Bronisław. A shaman performs a ritual of calling back Bronisław's soul. He becomes cheerful again.

On his way to the Ainu village, Bronisław meets Shternberg. Shternberg advises Bronisław to research the Ainu because it will bring him closer to influential people in Petersburg. He also tells Bronisław not to go to the village because an Ainu boat sunk and everybody is moving out of the village in fear.

²⁷⁶ Indyn originally was a Nivhgu, but in this play, the line between literary fiction and reality is blurred, and not every aspect aligns with the facts.

²⁷⁷ A traditional Ainu ritual to look after a cube and when it grows up, kill it, to send it back to higher Gods. It was believed that the bear will explain how good the Ainu are and bring them prosperity and blessings.

Bronisław runs to the village. It is being deconstructed. At night he searches through the Ainu hut and finds Indyn. Indyn takes him to *iomante*. After the ritual, Bronisław makes love to Chuhsamma in the woods.

Bronisław takes Ainu language lessons from Indyn. They watch Ainu women from hiding. Indyn tells Bronisław about Ainu tattoos. Tattooed female lips means she is an adult. One woman, Esohrankemah, recites a poem. Bronisław writes it down.

One of the shamans dies and a wave of smallpox comes to the village. Many Ainu lose life, Esohrankemah is one of them. The other shaman foretells that a boat will soon come to the rescue and there comes an American man, William Porter with vaccines and rice. Bronisław gives the vaccines to children and together with Indyn, they dig mass graves for the deceased.

Bronisław is not allowed to invite Ainu to his hut. He sells a watch from his father to bribe the landlord lady. He asks Governor-General Ginc to build an Ainu school, but is laughed at.

The settlement's inhabitants scare the Ainu children away. Suddenly, the Governor-General receives a laudatory letter from Shternberg and agrees to build a school. Bronisław prepares the school together with Indyn and leaves it to him. He himself goes to the Nivhgu to give them food, tobacco and collect their poetry.

Bronisław hides in the bushes and writes down a suicidal poem of a Nivhgu girl. Suddenly, she goes silent. He finds her dead body and carries it to the Nivhgu village.

In the school's classroom, Bronisław records Vunit's farewell poem with Edison's phonograph. Tatyana, Natasha and Chuhsamma are present. There is also Churka, who recites a poem on death and suicide. Bronisław explains to Natasha that the Nivhgu are sad that they are becoming extinct, hence the poem motifs.

Chuhsamma is pregnant and carries another infant in her hands. Bronisław tells Natasha that it is his son, Sukezō.

Governor-General enters the scene. He needs a photo for the ministry. Bronisław explains to everyone that he is going to Vladivostok to work at a museum. He promises to visit. Chuhsamma is holding Sukezō. Vunit recites another farewell poem.

Bronisław's psychological tendencies are well presented in the play. He is delicate and feels guilt towards his father for being sentenced. On the ship, he stands out and is very withdrawn. He does not fight with other prisoners over drinking water. When it is his turn to drink, nothing is left for him. However, his first thought after reaching Sakhalin is to feed the Ainu boy with bread and plead guilty for a misdemeanour he has not done.

He is very lost and confused. He cannot work physically properly. He becomes depressed when he sees the brutality of Russian soldiers. The Ainu

village is the only place he feels accepted in. Thus, he uses all his money to buy food and tobacco for Ainu and Nivhgu. He is caring and giving towards people in a worse position than his.

The content of the play is loosely based on facts from Bronisław's biography. It is true that Bronisław was sentenced to exile in Sakhalin and that he stayed in touch with his father by writing letters. It is also a fact that his co-prisoners were of very young age. However, their names were Gorkun, Kancher and Volokhov (Sawada 2021: 59). Kuźma is a character made-up by Helak.

The introduced motifs are based on Bronisław's experience (e.g. Bronisław's close teacher-student relationship with Indyn, food presents given to the natives, teaching the children of Russian's officials, starting a family with Chuhsamma, meeting with Shternberg, participation in *iomante*), but the chronology, family ties between characters, the time and place of each meeting is entirely an invention of the artist. Most importantly, that time in Sakhalin, Bronisław was focusing on his Nivhgu research and he had not met Chuhsamma yet. The play greatly confuses the Nivhgu and Ainu societies and rituals.

Obviously, Chuhsamma was not and could not be Indyn's cousin. In reality, Indyn had an elder sister (Vunit) and elder brother (Churka). However, in Helak's play, Churka is Vunit's *sister*, not brother. The characters play a symbolic role and should not be treated literally. The scene of William Porter's appearance is also very grotesque. In 1897, Bronisław helped to vaccinate native people against smallpox, but it was doctor Nikolay Lobas he was working with (Sawada 2021: 91-2).

What adds great value to Helak's play is that his characters recite parts of real Ainu and Nivhgu poems collected by Bronisław.

Examples:

What happened to an old crow? (Helak 2013: 199; CWBP 3: 630)

Kanto nikaekantori kanto – o (Helak 2013: 212; Majewicz 1984: 154)

Pirika pirika (Helak 2013: 215; Majewicz 1984: 163).

The young suicide's song (Helak 2013: 229; CWBP 1: 157)

The dogs of my beloved (Helak 2013: 228; CWBP 1: 162)

When I lived in Kezirivo (Helak 2013: 232; cf. fn. 282)

When you leave for a faraway city (Helak 2013: 236; Sawada 2021: 99-100)

Although in the play the Russian Governor-General does not believe the illiterate Nivhgu have their own poetry, Bronisław proves him wrong.

The poems and songs, full of emotion and philosophical advice on life, dynamise the action and modernise the perception of the poems. Helak brings them back to live for the 21st century. The play, if staged, could popularise the idea of native people's poetry and Bronisław's research.

Here is what Helak himself thinks about his artistic activities in the context of retelling history:

“I turn to the past for topics... Not topics, but great matters from our history because not bringing them closer to the general public will result in us living in an substitute reality, just as we had lived in communism for many years before.”²⁷⁸

According to Helak, preserving the memories of the past for future generations is the moral obligation of the people of the present. However, he is aware that the present generation will probably leave fewer achievements for its children than the great names from the past (*ibid.*).

There are at least two other screenplays, besides Helak's, inspired by Bronisław Piłsudski. One is *Message* (1992) by Polish film director Filip Bajon, who has been planning to shoot a movie about Bronisław for a few years now, with the latest news on this project published between 2022 and 2023. Another one is *Chuhsamma & Broniś* by Japanese film director Yūtarō Keino, a graduate of the Polish National Film School in Łódź. The idea for the project was presented in October 2022 at Talents Tokyo, a Japanese festival for aspiring filmmakers and producers.²⁷⁹ The film is still in planning.

7.7. Vladimir Sangi

Vladimir Mikhaylovich Sangi is a Nivhgu writer, poet, publicist, and father of Nivhgu written literature. He is the creator of modern Nivhgu alphabet and textbooks of Nivhgu language. Sangi recorded Nivhgu legends and traditions, which were included in his first book *Nivkhskiye legendy* ('Nivhgu legends', Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk: Sakhalinskoye knizhnoye izdatelstvo 1961). He is the author of several bilingual Nivhgu-Russian books for Nivhgu school children, such as *Nerpa-Larga i kambala kolyuchaya // Kand hara ysk hara* ('Nerpa-Larga and the spiky flounder', Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk: Lukomorye 2010) and *Burunduk ischet druga // K'ugrnī nafk nangd* ('the chipmunk is looking for a friend', Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk: Lukomorye 2009).

²⁷⁸ Instytut Książki 2023. “Książka jak film: 100 pytań do Wacława Holewińskiego i Wiesława Helaka” [‘A book like a film: 100 questions to Wacław Holewiński and Wiesław Helak’], on-line video resources of the 5th World Congress of Polish Literature Translators. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3FRMHndnuV8>.

²⁷⁹ Keino Yūtarō 2024. <https://yutarokeino.com/about.html>.

Upon that, he is a Member of the International League for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).²⁸⁰

According to Bajor (2003), a character inspired by Bronisław Piłsudski appears in Sangi's novel *Ženit'ba Kevongov* ('the marriage of the Kevongs', Polish edition Sangi 1980). Bajor met Sangi during the 3rd International Conference on Bronisław Piłsudski and His Scholarly Heritage in August-September 1999, where both her and Sangi presented papers. Sangi's research topic was *Vangrkvo – an ancient Nivhgu fortress*, whereas Bajor presented on Bronisław's connection to Zułów (Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz 2001).

The novel is very important in terms of raising awareness of the Nivhgu culture and customs. This corresponds with Bronisław's own life mission and also parts of this thesis. Given the above-mentioned, the following subsection provides a complete summary of the novel.

7.7.1. Summary of the novel

The novel starts with an introduction of the Nivhgu Kevong family. Kaskazik is its head. His sons, Naukun and Ykilak, go fish hunting. One of them climbs a poplar tree and notices a big shoal of fish. They come back home with their catch, where Talguk, their mother, quickly prepares the fish before they rot. She prays to the god Kurng each time she is happy with how she is not waisting any part of the fish. A long time ago, Kurng got very angry with the Nivhgu, who ate only the head of the fish and threw everything else into the water. Now, big shoals of fish come only once every 2–3 years. The family's life evolves around preparing the fish with respect.

Ykilak's fiancée's family comes to visit the Kevongs. According to tradition, the fiancée is not supposed to speak to Ykilak before the wedding nor to any other man outside the family. She can speak to him and his brother after the wedding. The husband's younger brothers have the right to make love to the elder brother's woman and when he dies, she becomes the brother's wife.

Ykilak and his fiancée Languk break tradition and find a way to be alone together in the woods. She tells him that Nyolgun came to their house again. Ykilak does not know, who that is.

²⁸⁰ SOUNB n.d. a. "Vladimir Sangi: ob avtore. Literaturnyy mir Sakhalina i Kuril: Chleny Soyuza pisateley Rossii" ['Literary World of Sakhalin and Kurils: Members of the Union of Writers of Russia'], Sakhalin Library literary project. <http://litmir.libsakh.ru/pisateli/chleny-soyuza-pisatelei-rossii/sangi-vladimir/>.

СОУНБ n.d. a. "Владимир Санги: об авторе. Литературный мир Сахалина и Курил: Члены Союза писателей России".

Chochuna Ayanov, a Yakut rebel boy from Nelma village, is attracted to his Russian teacher and leaves the village to find her. He is unable to meet her because a watchman forbids him to watch her house. Chochuna later pushes the watchman down into a precipice and elopes. He travels and meets many people, who try to make a living as gold collectors, merchants, muggers and more. He steals gold and later he meets Timosha, the son of a hard labour convict, who does business with the Nivhgu. Timosha brings Chochuna with him to Ngaksvo.

Ngaksvo people were Kaskazik's greatest enemies. They kidnapped Talguk from her family when she was already promised to Kaskazik and raped her. That event made Kaskazik hide in the wild and not connect with other tribes and old friends. However, he wished that before Ykilak's marriage, he would make peace with everyone. Later Kaskazik learns that his Ngaksvo enemies are nonexistent. They started to work for Timosha and he sent them to sea during a storm. Only one Ngaksvo man survived and it was Nyolgun. Kaskazik was shocked to learn that before death, the Ngaksvo abandoned Nivhgu traditional choires and started to trade with Timosha.

Talguk gave birth 3 times. The first child was a girl and Kaskazik became so depressed that he had not touched his wife for months after the fact. Then came Naukun and Ykilak. Kaskazik built a special pregnancy hovel and surrounded it with ghost traps, so that no spirit takes away his son. He brought an elderly woman from Avo, a helper in pregnancy. Talgun unpicked any stitching and untied any knots. Kaskazik untied shoelaces and undid his braid. He placed an axe in the hovel to kill the evil spirits. When the baby son was born, Talguk waited 3 days to come back home. This was also to prevent ghosts from noticing the baby. The baby entered the hut in a hidden way, so the spirits would not know it was there. Kaskazik put the baby on a shovel and covered it with garbage, yelling: "No one's here!". Talguk entered the home alone as if she never had a baby. The boy was healthy, so the parents deceived the spirits well.

Tragedies also happened in the life of the Kevong. When Kaskazik was away, prisoners came to his house, killed both of his brothers and raped Talguk, probably also her daughter. Kaskazik realised the family was no longer safe in the wild, but they had nowhere else to go.

In Ngaksvo, Chochuna, a Yakut, meets Evenks, Uilta, Nihvvs and Russians. One Evenk tells him he used to own reindeers, but together with the Russian church came the railways and one day half of the herd was run over. This forced the Evenk to travel and earn money as a hunter.

Timosha sells vodka to the natives and when they are drunk, he makes very uneven deals with them. Nyolgun realises the trade is uneven and tries to make more money. He plans to marry Languk and brings presents for her family every year. Timosha beats Nyolgun up and sets his hut on fire. Nyolgun loses everything. Chochuna feels sudden brotherhood towards the other natives, who do not know how to count, do not know their age. He gives Nyolgun a rifle and

tells him he will be strong and people will fear him. All natives dine together this evening.

Semyon Semyonovich, topologist, measures with his feet the length of the bay shore with his assistant, Kola. Later, they travel to Ngaksvo and learn about the arson. Semyonovich is shocked and writes a complaint letter to the Governor. Using Nyolgun as a translator, he tells the natives that the emperor's ukase prohibits anyone from disturbing their fishing. The natives become cheerful and hopeful. They sign the complaint letter with their thumbprints and sign-like marks. Timosha laughs at the scene because he never saw anyone caring for the natives nor the natives complain about being cheated on.

The Kevongs come to Ngaksvo just as Timosha sets Nyolgun's house on fire. They search for the Ngaksvo family and learn that 3 male Ngaksvo's are alive: Nyolgun, old man Olgan and little boy Mylgun. Kaskazik leaves great presents for the little boy in atonement for the sins of both families.

Back in the wild, Kaskazik goes hunting with his sons. He notices that Naukun and Ykilak are not good hunters. They do not even know that animals leave trace in the summer in the same places that can be seen in winter. He tries to make up for years of the boys' hunting education.

Kaskazik and Ykilak are to go to Languk's place for marriage purposes. They are not welcomed by the Avong family. Ykilak proves his masculinity by killing a bear. The atmosphere gets better. However, one of the Avongs, Kutan, escapes to inform Nyolgun and Chochuna of the event. Nyolgun comes to Avo to fight for Languk. Kaskazik organises a bear festival. He is sure no one would break the sacred tradition of the festival. But Nyolgun and Chochuna are talking business during the festival – they promise successful hunting with guns and trade independent from Timosha's pricing. Suddenly Ykilak is forced to fight with Nyolgun over Languk and loses.

Kaskazik's world is in chaos. All the sacred rituals have been broken and the girl taken by mischief. The Kevong lineage is endangered again.

The novel presents very well how the traditional Nivhgu ways of life have been annihilated by brutal force, colonisation and unfair trade. The main plot is interspersed with descriptions of Siberian nature, Nivhgu hunting scenes, their rituals and everyday equipment.

Semyon Semyonovich is the character that might have been inspired by Bronisław Piłsudski. The topologist is outraged by Timosha's act of arson and is ready to fight for aboriginal rights politically and intellectually. Similarly to Bronisław, Semyonovich communicates with the natives via a local interpreter.

His appearance is described in the following way: "A tall, slim man [...]. Face unshaven since long, neck thin and skinny. His dishevelled, dirty head was covered with a brimmed, light-coloured hat. The topographer has not parted with this hat for many years now" (Sangi 1980: 91). His devotion to research seems to overshadow any thing of daily life to him, like clothes and appearance.

The episode is very short. After completing the complaint letter to Governor, Semyonovich sets out for further research in the direction of Kevong taiga territory.

The novel raises the issue of adaptation to the changing world and the inevitability of change. Semyonovich's good intentions brought hope to the natives, but in the end his intervention through a complaint letter did not influence their harsh everyday life under colonisation.

Sangi is not the only author to explore the theme of the Nivhgu in literature. Another example is the *Piebold dog running along the shore* (Moscow: Raduga Publishers 1989) by Kyrgyz writer Chingiz Aitmatov. The story depicts a young Nivhgu boy, Kirisk, setting off to hunt for the first time in his life. The book opens with a dedication to Sangi, highlighting his influence on other writers.

7.8. Nivhgu poetess Vunit

Vunit was a Nivhgu poetess, who composed poems honouring Bronisław.

She was an exceptionally vulnerable girl. Her father, before death, promised an old friend Vunit would marry him. The friend was very old and soon became unable to work. He lived as a beggar and Vunit worked very hard to support him. Her children died young, since she had no perspective to take care of them properly. However, she was a gifted poetess and she found pride in her talent (CWBP 1: 153-4; Piłsudski 1911: 15-6).

She befriended Bronisław probably in 1893, when her brothers – elder Churka and younger Indyn, started to visit Bronisław's hut to learn Russian and maths from him (Sawada 2021: 98).

In a letter from 1894, Bronisław wrote to Shternberg: "Churka came on dogs with his mother, sister, and comrade, and stayed three whole days" (Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz 2001: 241; Piłsudski 1996: 71-2).

Vunit had known Bronisław liked collecting poems, so in 1898 she composed several for him (cf. IINBP 1, 111-6, 1998). Its content was about how she would come to visit him, but he was nowhere to be found. He was busy teaching Nivhgu from other villages how to salt fish. The poem describes Vunit's emotions while she was searching for Bronisław and mentions Vunit had lived in Kezirivo on the Tym River,²⁸¹ near Mozhbvo.

Below is the English version of the poem:

²⁸¹ The Tym River is the second longest river on the Sakhalin Island after Poronay River.

Alahtund

When I lived in Kezirivo
I heard them talking about you,
Both, down- and upstream
I came to the place where boats are moored,
Looked far away, but all I see is water.
I live on an island like a hare...
The tramping of your horse can be heard from the ground,
There is even a bell ringing, somewhere on the ridge of the mountain,
I'm looking for you on the road you took to go away.
Where are you?
I also came to your house, but it is empty;
Each of the rooms is empty...
Oh, my grief, my grief!
Where many eyes are looking at you,
There you don't mention me.
Where you talk to so many,
That's where you forget me.
I hold a short letter in my hand instead of you.
I press your letter against my neck, instead of you.
You don't know what I will do; I will fall asleep
And then I will see you.
I inquire about you in the morning and in the evening:
"Apparently he's on the other side of the Arkovsk Mountain!
And maybe he'll be back tomorrow, or the day after."
I inquired about you,
Wanting to see you at least from afar.
After all, you rode up and down the river,
You passed me by! I heard people
Talk about you.
A tear from the left eye flows and falls,
The right calf does not want to go.
I will pine away, and the night will not pass.
I will go through the Mozbov tundra,
I will look for you.
I arrive in the heart of the tundra,
The right calf bends
And cannot go any further.
I am resting.
I have rested and now
I want to move quickly. But do I have to?
It's only one day's journey,

And I have been going for so many days.
I feel so uneasy...
The right hand does not want to hold the stick,
On which I support myself...
I will not be able to reach you.
One can't go over the high mountains!
And from the opposite direction,
On the road you took to go away,
Horse-drawn carriages are moving. "That's him!" –
I am thinking. – They are already close,
They are approaching me
And passing by. But it's not you, it's someone else.
It's hard for me.
I'm going home today.
I will take a look at the place
Through which you went,
And a tear fell from your right eye, where you sat,
Like a drop of rain.
Oh my pain, you, and my sorrow for you!
I'll go back, I'll cross the bridge.
Through the Poluvka river
Carriages are passing by.
Stroking my hair, I looked at them.
It's lightening up already.
Opposite the white cape
I saw something flashing.
Such a nice thought: that I am looking for you like a mother,
And you won't even think that I'm waiting.
If you see many people around you,
You forget about me.
And I am not thinking about you
Only when I'm asleep.
You're the only one I remember, and you don't know it.
You will remember me,
Only when you look into my eyes.
You forgot as soon as you left
And you remembered only
When you saw me.
When I was hungry for you,
I asked for you.
And you – you forgot.
So hold my letter instead of me, in your hand,
Even if you are far away, hold it.

And if you think and remember looking at this letter,
Let this thought give you pleasure.²⁸²

The poem shows Vunit's curiosity about Bronisław, but also grief and disappointment when she cannot meet him immediately and finds out that he easily forgets her when talking to other people.

According to Bronisław's writings, Nivhgu poetry was mostly sang and recited. The people were not taught to write. When he travelled between Nivhgu villages, the Nivhgu were shocked to see him write their songs in an alphabet and were very excited by it (Piłsudski 1911: 16). However, in this English version of Vunit's poem, she says "so hold my letter instead of me". Does it mean she could write well enough to write a letter? Was she educated by Bronisław just as Churka and Indyn were? Or maybe she would rather ask her brothers to write a letter for her? The statement about the letter could also be literary fiction or misinterpretation of what she meant to communicate.

When Bronisław was about to leave his place of exile in 1899, he came to Rykovskoye to bid farewell to his Nivhgu friends. A couple of women came to his hut and dictated improvised poetry to him. One of those songs was recited by Vunit:

A farewell song

You, when you go to far-off lands,
will not think of us.
But I, when you are gone,
shall think only of you.
Where you loved to walk,
there I will walk.
When I see your paths, I will think,
— "There, there, I see him".
When I see men walking there,
I shall take them for you; but they will not be you.
When I meet a man who is like you,
I shall remember you.
When I see that he is another man
I shall be sad.
You are better than a good Gilyak,
even as when I look at many trees

²⁸² English translation by Piotr Jaskólski, based on the Polish translation by Jadwiga Rodowicz-Czechowska from Bronisław Piłsudski's Russian translation in IINBP 1 (1998: 111-6; Vunit n.d.).

the tallest one
 pleases me more than the others,
 for you are kinder than other men.
 If you go far, if you go near,
 take with you the words of my mouth.
 When you say them aloud,
 listen and you will be glad,
 and will remember us.
 Live happy;
 carry my words into strange places,
 and into strange villages.
 Carry them that many men may hear them.
 Let young and old and all hear them.
 I have given to you all the words of my mouth.
 I will forget you only when I sleep;
 when I awake I will think of you again,
 of how you live there far away.
 I shall hear no more of you,
 or maybe only once.
 I see you now for the last time.
 You will never hear of me;
 if I am frozen or some other thing should happen to me,
 or if I should die,
 you will not know.
 I may hear once of you,
 but you will know nothing of me.²⁸³

The poem undoubtedly shows Vunit's deep affection towards Bronisław and the unwillingness to let go and forget him. However, one must note that it was composed within the norms of convention, which appears also in the farewell poems of other Nivhgu women.

The interpretation changes only if consider the fact that Vunit was said to be pregnant with Bronisław with a baby. Her daughter Vay was rumoured to be a very beautiful Nivhgu woman with fair, curly hair. Nivhgu have been passing on the gossip that she was born from a relationship with a political convict, who researched the Nivhgu and later married an Ainu woman. Vay had a brother, Sarat, and two children: son Sotor and daughter Vera. The information about Vay and her family comes mostly from people, who have heard about them from close relatives (Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz 2001: 239-43).

²⁸³ Original text and Bronisław Piłsudski's Russian interpretation in IINBP 1, 113–4. Song translation by Alfred F. Majewicz (CWBP 1: 174-5).

Bronisław framed the Nivhgu society as patriarchal. Women were often assigned to their future husband's family as infants and if any woman could not learn to subdue herself to this stiff structure, her life was miserable and almost unbearable (Piłsudski 1911: 8). Considering this, one can imagine how the kind, helpful, knowable but somewhat emotionally weak Bronisław could be seen by Vunit as *better than a good Gilyak*. This phase, in a broader context, is a symbol of the native women's devotion to Bronisław and was chosen for citation by almost every modern poet, who used Bronisław's life as a literary motif (cf. 7.2. Tarasov, 7.6. Helak).

7.9. Adomas Varnas

Adomas Varnas (1879 Joniškis–1979 Chicago), known also as Adomas Varnas Rikker (AVR on paintings), was an acquaintance of Bronisław in Zakopane and the author of a portrait depicting him.

Varnas was a Lithuanian painter, photographer and banknote designer. He was born into a Lithuanian-Polish peasant family. His father died at the age of 34, so the mother remarried and Varnas got a stepfather. After Varnas finished elementary education, the family decided to send him to gymnasium in Mintauja (Jelgava), which was known for raising students in the spirit of Lithuanian patriotism and opposition to Russification. Varnas fell ill and was unable to continue his education for a while. In years 1896–1901, he studied at a theological seminary in Kaunas. There he started to become recognised by other attendees as someone artistically talented and they praised his works (Varnas 2005: 16-7).

Next, Varnas studied art in Petersburg (1899–1903), Cracow (1903–6) and Geneva (1907, he got a degree in arts there). The main reason he left Petersburg were his underground activities for Lithuanian independence. Anywhere he went, he tried to find his place among Lithuanian intelligentsia (*ibid.* 18-21; Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz 2001: 76). One example is that he was part of the Lithuanian Cultural Society “Rūta”, which operated between 1909 and 1914. The group organised concerts, theatrical performances, and also established a choir (Žemaitytė 1998: 255).

In years 1910–3, Varnas lived and created in Zakopane. He painted Tatra landscapes, as well as portraits. One of the portraits presented Bronisław Piłsudski in traditional Ainu attire. It was painted in 1912 at Stefan Żeromski's house. The portrait was later hung in Bronisław's room at Tadeusz

Korniłowicz's²⁸⁴ place, where Bronisław was temporarily living. The work was memorable for Bronisław's visitors, such as Juliusz Zborowski²⁸⁵ and Jan Zych from Witowo²⁸⁶ (Piłsudski 2016: 120, 134-5).

The painting was probably exhibited 3 times: in February–March 1912, May 1912 in Vilnius, and in 1913 in Poznań, although there is no written proof about the last exhibition. Some traces suggest that the portrait might have been displayed in Lithuania in 1927. Varnas himself wrote about the success of Bronisław's portrait on display there. However, there is too little information to confirm this fact (Bronowicki 2016: 30; Varnas 2005: 22; Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz 2001: 77; Žemaitytė 1998: 69).

After Poland gained independence, Korniłowicz presented the portrait to Józef Piłsudski, who kept it in his Milusin Mansion in Sulejówek. The details of

²⁸⁴ Tadeusz Korniłowicz was a colonel, member of Polish Legions and Polish army. He studied medicine at Jagiellonian University in Cracow. In his free time, he did mountaineering in Zakopane. As a member of TOPR (Tatra Voluntary Rescue Service), he participated in 5 rescue missions in the mountains. He also took part in the Wildlife Section of the Tatra Society and many other Tatra associations. He married Henryk Sienkiewicz's daughter, Jadwiga, in 1923. Many works on Stanisław Witkiewicz were written by Korniłowicz. During the world War 2nd, he was murdered in Katyń (Paryski, Witold & Zofia Paryska n.d. "Korniłowicz Tadeusz", biographical entry by WIET. https://z-ne.pl/t,haslo,2426,kornilowicz_tadeusz.html).

²⁸⁵ Juliusz Zborowski was a Polish ethnographer, linguist, historian of Tatra and Podhale region and head of Tatra Museum in Zakopane. He was a professor, who researched Podhale dialect and Tatra geographical names. Like Bronisław, he used a phonograph to register his research topic: folk music, songs and dialects. He greatly contributed to the development of Tatra Muzeum by the completion of a new building, reorganisation of exhibition area, enrichment of collections, creation of an extensive professional and regional library and launching of a series of scientific and popular publications (Paryski & Paryska n.d. "Zborowski Juliusz", biographical entry by WIET. https://z-ne.pl/t,haslo,5657,zborowski_juliusz.html).

²⁸⁶ The Zych family was befriended by Bronisław, when he was collecting songs, glossary and proverbs in Podhale villages. He often stopped at Zych's hut in Witowo, which was his starting point for research trips (Piłsudski 2016: 123).

this episode remain unknown. In the mansion's dining room hung was another portrait of Bronisław by Tymon Niesiołowski²⁸⁷ (Piłsudski 2016: 135).

After World War 2nd, the Polish Army took furnishings and other items from Milusin and drove away. The items were later found in Helenów Palace in Pruszków and Varnas's portrait was among them, signed as *A picture of an old man in kimono* (Bronowicki 2016: 30-4).

Art conservators judged that the painting was made in a wet-on-wet (*alla prima*) technique, with the canvas purposely in the shape of square and standing near the model, when the artist was painting. The kimono was painted with a factorial and the background with a bordure. The infrared radiation test have shown a Russian signature: *B. Piłsudski's portrait*. In February 2015, the portrait was moved to Józef Piłsudski Museum in Sulejówek by the decision of the Minister of National Defence, Tomasz Siemioniak²⁸⁸ (*ibid.*).

The painting was probably created due to the thread of understanding between Varnas and Bronisław. Both experienced pain, illness and poverty in their lives (Varnas 2005: 16,18, 21). Both missed Lithuania of their childhood and could not accept that it was no longer there.

In 1916, Bronisław published *Les croix lithuaniennes* ('Lithuanian crosses'), which he signed with the name *Ginet-Piłsudzki*²⁸⁹ (Ginet-Piłsudzki 1916). The *Ginet* surname underlined his Lithuanian descendancy from the line of dukes (Kolmasiak 2018: 19-20).

Varnas in years 1905–26 collected photos of Lithuanian crosses and in 1926, released a two-volume album *Lietuvos kryžiai*, featuring 194 photographs of chapels and crosses. Varnas hand-made 100 copies of the album. It was very well received and the critics considered it one of the most important artistic events that year (Varnas 2005, Introduction).

The Lithuanian crosses motif if usually discussed as a link between Varnas and Bronisław (eg. Piłsudski 2016: 135; Majewicz & Wicherkiewicz 2001: 79), but the author of this thesis would like to broaden the topic and suggest, that the crosses might have been an intellectual trend of those times. For example, in

²⁸⁷ Tymon Niesiołowski was a Polish painter and graphic designer. He graduated from Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow. In years 1940–1 he was a professor at School of Fine Arts in Vilnius and in years 1945–60, at easel painting faculty of Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. He lived in Zakopane in years 1905-26 and was a very important artist in the artistic and cultural community. He painted portraits of many prominent figures of Zakopane. One of them was Bronisław. They served night duty together, looking for suspected people, possible enemies of Austria. That is when Bronisław told Niesiołowski about Ainu, native Sakhalin culture and Japan (Piłsudski 2016: 133; Paryski, Witold & Zofia Paryska n.d. "Niesiołowski Tymon", biographical entry by WIET. https://z-ne.pl/t,haslo,3365,niesiolowski_tymon.html).

²⁸⁸ Tomasz Siemioniak – Polish Minister of National Defence in years 2011–5 form the arm of Platforma Obywatelska ('citizens' platform').

²⁸⁹ The journal uses the form *Piłsudzki* instead of *Piłsudski*.

1906 Brensztejn published an academic work called *Krzyże i kapliczki żmudzkie: materiały do sztuki ludowej na Litwie* ('crosses and shrines of Samogitia: materials concerning folk art in Lithuania'), where he discussed many views of researchers on the topic and even displayed a painting by the hand of young Stanisław Witkiewicz, then in his 20s, of a Lithuanian procession scene featuring a cross similar to a small chapel.²⁹⁰

This observation, of course, does not negate the connection between Varnas and Bronisław on the ground of Lithuanian crosses. On the contrary, it stresses that both men belonged to the same intelligentsia circle connected to Witkiewicz and had common discussion topics.

Varnas published his own recollections of Bronisław in 1927 ("Bronius Pilsudskis", *Ilustruotoji Lietuva* 19 (72), 160), which were reprinted in 1992 in *Šviturys* 9–10, 10.

Both Varnas and Bronisław tried to rebuild their identity basing on memories of childhood in Lithuania and community service in adulthood. Finally, Varnas accepted that Lithuania became part of the Soviet Union and left Europe for Chicago (Varnas 2005: 24-5). He lived 100 years and outlived by 30 years his American critics, who made a press release about a Lithuanian artist, so old and moneyless that he came to America for pity.²⁹¹

Bronisław, in contrast, fell into despair, and was later found drowned in the Seine before he could have known that his brother Józef had been freed from jail and that Poland regained independence (Sieroszewski 1914–1921: 29-30).

It is hard to not wonder what it might have been, if Bronisław had accepted reality and created a new identity in separation from Lithuania. However, what luck that his portrait, the same way as his wax cylinder recordings, travelled a long way from one location to another, to find a place in modern society.

7.10. Paulina Kopestyńska

Paulina Kopestyńska, née Innokentyeva, is the author of Bronisław Piłsudski's portrait.

Kopestyńska is an illustrator and painter of Yakut origin. The Republic of Sakha (Yakutia) lies in Siberia and is one of the coldest places on Earth.

²⁹⁰ Brensztejn, Michał E. 1906. *Krzyże i kapliczki żmudzkie: materiały do sztuki ludowej na Litwie* ['Crosses and shrines of Samogitia: materials concerning folk art in Lithuania']. Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności. <http://polona.pl/preview/205a89fd-d542-4df1-bba0-ce26e7bfdebd>.

²⁹¹ Passic, Frank n.d. "Adomas Varnas – artist and banknote designer", on-line article by *VilNews: the voice of international Lithuania*. <https://vilnews.com/2012-03-adomas-varnas---artist-and-banknote-designer>.

Kopestyńska recalls that in Yakutia, drinking water was distributed in the form of ice cubes. The city of Yakutsk is built on continuous permafrost.²⁹²

From a young age, Kopestyńska was encouraged to draw by her family. Her father held a timer, while she drew caricatures. That is why fast portraits became her special skill. Her talent was recognised by members of the Russian Academy of Science, when they came to a networking party hosted by Kopestyńska's father. The scholars encouraged Kopestyńska to take entry exams to Moscow art school named after V.I. Surikov²⁹³ (*ibid.*).

The school was fascinated by Kopestyńska's Yakut origin and wanting a minority representative amongst its students, supported her entry. When Kopestyńska was leaving for Moscow, her mother sew Yakut traditional clothing for her. It was not often the Yakuts wore traditional clothing but the clothes were meant as a symbol, for the daughter not to get lost in a big city (*ibid.*).

Kopestyńska later continued her education at Moscow State Surikov Academy of Fine Arts, where she met Dariusz Kopestyński, her future husband, and moved with him to Warsaw. In Poland, she worked as an illustrator. For example, she drew 30 portraits of Polish travellers for Tadeusz Słabczyński.²⁹⁴ For Didasko Publishing, she created an art series of Polish folk costumes (*ibid.*). In 1999, she went to promote the series at a conference entitled *Rosja i Polska: historyczno-kulturowe kontakty (syberyjski fenomen)* ('Russia and Poland: historical and cultural contacts «Siberian phenomenon»'). The conference took place June 24–5 in Yakutsk. Kopestyńska's exhibition was part of the program. There, she met Polish ethnographer Antoni Kuczyński of Wrocław University, who proposed to her creating a series of portraits of Polish Siberia explorers (Kuczyński 2000: 175, 179; Kuczyński 2005a: 346-7).²⁹⁵

²⁹² Sulik, Paweł 2021. "«Na ciebie patrzy cała republika. Trzymaj się godnie», czyli jakucki punkt widzenia" ['«The whole republic is looking at you. Remember your dignity» or the Yakut point of view'; *Los Polandos* TOK FM radio audition, February 16, guest: Paulina Kopestyńska]. <https://audycje.tokfm.pl/audycja/-Na-ciebie-patrzy-cała-republika-Trzymaj-sie-godnie-czyli-jakucki-punkt-widzenia>.

²⁹³ Vasily Ivanovich Surikov was a Russian Realist painter of Cossack origin. He was born in an isolated Siberian region and studied art in Petersburg. His artwork refers to historical events.

²⁹⁴ Tadeusz Słabczyński is a Polish author and publisher, who specialises in publishing popular books about explorers and expeditions.

²⁹⁵ In the later publication from 2005 Kuczyński writes that they must have met at a conference in 2001 but his previous texts and Kopestyńska's own recollections seem to deny this version. He also mentions 12 images but there are 15 objects in the series.

Kopestyńska moved to Italy in 2000 and started painting. She cooperated with Polish scholars, who sent her portraits and descriptions of Polish explorers.²⁹⁶

Here is how Wrocław University viewed this project:

“[...] the iconography related to this [Polish Siberia explorers] is exceedingly sparse and the images of Polish Siberia explorers are featured on old, yellowed photographs. For that reason, the Center for Easter Research came up with a proposal to create a series of portraits of Polish Siberia explorers, which would to some extent be a customisation of their biographies. The project is realized by a Yakut painter, graduate of the Moscow State Surikov Academy of Fine Arts, Paulina Kopestyńska-Sacha. [...] The portrait series will include 15 “objects”, which will form an interesting vernissage, first of course in Wrocław, and then in other Polish cities and Siberia.”²⁹⁷

Kuczyński argued, that the only “high culture” image available was the one of Bronisław Piłsudski, painted by Varnas (cf. 7.9.), and that there was a great need to create new paintings (Kuczyński 2005a: 346).

The whole series is kept in the same style. The paintings are framed in the shape of an oval, to remind the viewer of the 19th and 20th century.²⁹⁸ The colours are toned and they oscillate around the shade of brown.

The first finished picture of the series was a portrait of Bronisław Piłsudski. The painting is based on Bronisław’s photo from Hakodate, Hokkaido, taken in 1903. On the waiting, Bronisław is wearing an elegant Ainu costume. Behind him, there are scenes from the daily life of Ainu, connected to their culture and beliefs. Upon their heads, a big building is standing. It is the District Museum in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, where the Institute for the Scientific Heritage of Bronisław Piłsudski is located (Kuczyński 2005a: 348).

²⁹⁶ Sulik 2021.

²⁹⁷ Przesmycki, Bronisław 2006. “Polscy badacze Syberii na portretach jakuckiej malarki” [‘Polish researchers of Siberia in the portraits of a Yakut painter’]. *Przegląd Uniwersytecki. Pismo informacyjne Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego* 7–8 (July-August, year XII), 124–5. <http://www.bibliotekacyfrowa.pl/Content/17249/PDF/document.pdf>.

²⁹⁸ Sulik 2021.

Other paintings present such Polish Siberia explorers as Aleksander Czekanowski,²⁹⁹ Jan Czerski,³⁰⁰ Edward Piekarski,³⁰¹ Wacław Sieroszewski and more (*ibid.* 346).

The series had its vernissage during the Nights of the Museums in Warsaw in 2011. The exhibition opening took place on May 14th in the hall of the Warsaw Scientific Society in the Staszic Palace. In August 21–3, 2013, it was shown at the Museum of History and Culture of the People of the North in Yakutsk. Its permanent exhibition place is the Sybir Memorial Museum in Białystok, Poland.^{302 303 304}

Viewing the portraits with the knowledge they were painted in Italy by a Yakutsk artist and thought out in Poland to present the history of Polish Siberia explorers can be a real transborder and transcultural experience.

²⁹⁹ Aleksander Czekanowski was a Polish geographer. He researched the regions of Yakutsk, Mongolia, Irkutsk and Krasnoyarsk Krai.

³⁰⁰ Jan Czerski was a Polish Siberia researcher skilled in geography and palaeontology. He took part in numerous research expeditions. His name is widely recognised in Russia and many places are named after him (mountains, streets).

³⁰¹ Edward Piekarski was a Polish Siberia researcher. He was exiled to Yakutia for political opposition against tsar Russia. He is the author of the greatest Dictionary of the Yakut language, which counts 13 volumes (Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.: St. Petersburg 1907–1930).

³⁰² Arvaniti, Joanna 2013. “Polscy badacze Syberii. Obrazy Pauliny Kopecyńskiej” [‘Polish Siberia explorers. Paintings by Paulina Kopecyńska’], *Archiwum PAN w Warszawie*. https://archiwum.pan.pl/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=80:polscy-badacze-syberii-obrazy-pauliny-kopecynskiej&catid=10&Itemid=161.

³⁰³ Arvaniti, Joanna n.d. “Wernisaż wystawy *Portrety polskich sybiraków* autorstwa Pauliny Kopecyńskiej” [‘Opening of the exhibition *Portraits of Polish Siberians* by Paulina Kopecyńska’], on-line portal *Rodacy na Syberii*. <https://www.rodacynasyberii.pl/aktualnosc/15/>.

³⁰⁴ Klimowicz, Joanna 2018. “Jakutka na polskich ścieżkach” [‘A Yakut woman on Polish trails’], news from *Gazeta Wyborcza Białystok*, June 29]. <https://bialystok.wyborcza.pl/bialystok/7,35241,23610885,jakutka-na-polskich-sciezkach.html>.

7.11. Vladimir N. Chebotaryov

Vladimir Nikolayevich Chebotaryov is a Russian artist and sculptor, and the author of Bronisław Piłsudski's monument in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.^{305 306}

Chebotaryov served in the Russian Pacific Fleet in Vladivostok. From 1968 to 1970 he worked on ships of the whaling flotilla *Soviet Russia*. In 1971, he started working as a graphic designer in an advertising studio in Vladivostok. In years 1973–80 he was an executive sculptor of the Primorskiy branch of the RSFSR³⁰⁷ Art Fund and in years 1991–6 a chairman of the Sakhalin branch of the Union of Artists of Russia. Moreover, he participated in two art exhibitions in Japan: 1993 in Niigata and 1995 in Asahikawa (*ibid.*).

Chebotaryov is said to be a very prolific artist. He is the author of 37 monumental sculptures, 27 monuments, 25 memorial plaques and 69 creative works. His monuments are part of the landscape of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. With his work, Chebotaryov often commemorates people important to Russian and global culture and history. He created the monument of Andrew the Apostle,³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵ Vetrov, Artyom Aleksandrovich (author and project coordinator) 2024. “Tvorchestvo V. N. Chebotaryova na ulitsakh Yuzhno-Sakhalinska” [‘The works of V.N. Chebotaryov on the streets of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk’, a local history project of the Sakhalin Regional Universal Library]. <https://road.libsakh.ru/ehkskursii/tvorchestvo-v-n-chebotareva-na-ulicakh-juzhno-sakhalinska>.

Ветров, Артём Александрович (автор и руководитель проекта) 2024. “Творчество В. Н. Чеботарева на улицах Южно-Сахалинска”, краеведческий проект Сахалинской областной универсальной библиотеки.

³⁰⁶ Russian News Agency “RusTeam” 2019. “Chebotaryov Vladimir Nikolayevich”, biographical entry by RusTeam Media, September 14. <https://rus.team/people/chebotarev-vladimir-nikolaevich>.

Российское информационное агентство Рустим 2019. “Чеботарев Владимир Николаевич”.

³⁰⁷ Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

³⁰⁸ Andrew the Apostle, was the first apostle of Jesus Christ and is one of Russian's saint patrons in the Orthodox Church.

the Resurrection Cathedral memorial,³⁰⁹ a park square with busts of Sakhalin leaders,³¹⁰ a memorial sign featuring a Russian Orthodox cross for the 300th anniversary of the discovery of the Kuril Islands by Russia,³¹¹ sculpture of Staff

³⁰⁹ The memorial commemorates a helicopter crash, which happened on August 20, 2003. The Governor of Sakhalin, Igor' Pavlovich Farkhutdinov, was flying with his administration to Severo-Kuril'sk. The blades of the helicopter crashed with the vehicle's tail and all 17 passengers a 3 crew members lost their lives (Vetrov 2024, cf. footnote 261; Sakhalin Media 2020. "Sakhalinskaya politnedelya: pamyati gubernatora Igorya Farkhutdinova" ['Sakhalin political week: In memory of Governor Igor Farkhutdinov', Sakhalin on-line news]. <https://sakhalinmedia.ru/news/986119/>).

Sakhalin Media 2020. "Сахалинская политнеделя: памяти губернатора Игоря Фархутдинова Подробнее").

³¹⁰ The busts represent three Sakhalin leaders – the previously mentioned Farkhutdinov and two leaders from the 19th and 20th century: Ivan Pavlovich Kuropatko and Aleksandr Trofimovich Tsapko. The latter was a member of Sakhalin's executive committee, when the Japanese troops landed on the island. He was arrested and taken to a Japanese warship (Vetrov 2024, cf. footnote 261).

³¹¹ Vladimir Vasil'yevich Atlasov is considered to be the first Russian Kuril Island discoverer. During his travel, he was told by the Kuril locals that they are in custody of a Russian prisoner. However, it turned out it was a man from Osaka. Hence, Atlasov was not the first person to ever stand on Kuril Island. The island was infrequently visited by sailors and travellers. Atlasov ordered the Kurils to surrender and give tribute to the tsar. He took the life of 50 people (Wells 2020). The island to this day is the subject of a territorial dispute between Japan and Russia.

Captain Shishmaryov,³¹² monument to the victims of Neftegorsk,³¹³ bust of Russian hero Sergey V. Romashin,³¹⁴ monument of Alexander S. Pushkin³¹⁵ and a monument commemorating fallen soldiers of law enforcement – all policemen, who died on duty (*ibid.*).

Chebotaryov is the author of a monument of Bronisław Piłsudski which stands erected before the Sakhalin Regional Museum in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. The project was initiated by Vladislav M. Latyshev (cf. Section 7.2). The unveiling of the monument took place on November 2, 1991 (Bronisław's 125th birthday anniversary), during the 2nd International Conference on Bronisław Piłsudski entitled *Bronisław Piłsudski as an investigator of the natives of Sakhalin* (October 31–November 2). Present at the unveiling was Bronisław's

³¹² Shtabs-kapitan Shishmaryov, Aleksey Parfent'yevich Shishmaryov was a Sakhalin pioneer. He served there before it was turned into a hard labour camp. Anton Chekhov described him in his book *Ostrov Sakhalin (Sakhalin Island)* as a legend, who “lived on Sakhalin, even when there was only a volcano”. Chekhov regretted Shishmaryov died just a few months before his study trip to Sakhalin. Shishmaryov studied Japanese and Ainu during his years in Sakhalin (Sakhalin War 2010. „Shtabs-kapitan Shishmaryov” [‘Staff Captain Shishmaryov’]. <https://sakhalin-war.livejournal.com/58080.html?>).

³¹³ The victims of Neftegorsk are the 2500 victims, who died in an earthquake, which occurred next to Neftegorsk on the night of May 28, 1995 at 1:04 a.m. local time. The earthquake's magnitude reached 7.6 on the Richter scale. It is considered one of the strongest earthquakes in the modern history of Russia. One of the reasons for the scale of the disaster was that Neftegorsk was not included in the Sakhalin region warning network system and relied only on one phone cable. Chebotaryov was at Neftegorsk when the tragedy happened and experienced the scale of the disaster first-hand. He remembers it was the end of the school year and many young people died during a party at a disco club (Porfiriev 2012; Sakhalin Online n.d. “«Zhelaniye zhit' i rabotat'»: skul'ptor Vladimir Chebotaryov – o tvorchestve na Sakhaline” [‘«The desire to live and work»: sculptor Vladimir Chebotaryov – about creating art on Sakhalin’, interview with Vladimir Chebotaryov]. <https://sakh.online/news/18/2023-10-18/zhelanie-zhit-i-rabotat-skulptor-vladimir-chebotarev-o-tvorchestve-na-sakhaline-384267>).

Sakhalin Online n.d. “«Желание жить и работать»: скульптор Владимир Чеботарев – о творчестве на Сахалине”).

³¹⁴ Sergey Viktorovich Romashin was a Russian FSB major, who died in Chechnya covering his comrades with his wounded body while fighting enemy forces. He finished elementary education in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk and entered Moscow's Higher School of the KGB. Posthumously, he received the title *Hero of the Russian Federation* (Vetrov 2024, cf. footnote 261).

³¹⁵ Alexander Sergeyevich Pushkin was a famous Russian romantic poet and novelist. He was a friend of Poland's Adam Mickiewicz and translator of his works to Russian. It is believed that translating Mickiewicz to Russian helped Pushkin develop his artistic style, introduce new trends to Russian literature and remain an original creator (Stachurska 2008).

Japanese family and scholars from many countries, including Japan, Russia and Poland (Kuczyński 2005: 362-5; CWBP 1: v, viii, 728).

The statue is made of gabbrodiorite. It is a 2-meter stone with Bronisław's portrait (a sculptured face) in the upper left part. Initially, it was thought out to be a bust, but then the artist decided to change the form (CWBP 1: viii, 728; ³¹⁶).

Over the years, Chebotaryov received many prizes for his artistic works: the title of Honoured Artist of the Russian Federation (1997), the title of laureate of the Sakhalin Region Cultural Foundation (2004), the Order of Friendship by the decision of President of Russia (2011), a diploma of appreciation from the Union of Artists of Russia (2013), the titles of honorary citizen of Sakhalin (2016) and Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk (2019).^{317 318}

As indicated by the above information, Chebotaryov as a sculptor focuses on commemorating people (politicians, officers, artists, inspirational personas) important to the Sakhalin region and Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. Bronisław has been recognised as one of them and his monument, together with others, create the landscape of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk.

7.12. Tomoji Kumagai

Tomoji Kumagai is the author of Bronisław's monument in Shiraoi.

Kumagai is a Japanese sculptor, who specialises in bronze statues. In 1976, he graduated from Musashino Art University in Tokyo. Later, he studies traditional craft under the supervision of Jiichi Kome³¹⁹ and sculpting under

³¹⁶ Vetrov 2024, cf. footnote 305.

³¹⁷ Vetrov 2024, cf. footnote 305.

³¹⁸ Russian News Agency "RusTeam" 2019. "Chebotaryov Vladimir Nikolayevich", biographical entry by RusTeam Media, September 14. <https://rus.team/people/chebotarev-vladimir-nikolaevich>.

Российское информационное агентство Рустим 2019. "Чеботарев Владимир Николаевич".

³¹⁹ Jiichi Kome was a sculptor and author of several thousand art pieces and about 200 bronze statues. His works were purchased by Emperor Shōwa and Prince Chichibu (Bunka isan onrain n.d. "Kome Jiichi nengajō" ['Jiichi Kome annual greetings'], an on-line project supported by the Japanese Agency of Cultural Affairs. <https://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/599370>.

文化遺産オンライン n. d. 米治一年賀状.

Jun'ichirō Hannya.³²⁰ In 1977, his works were selected for Takaoka City Exhibition and Tōyama Prefectural Exhibition. In 1982 and 1983, he was a prize-winner at the Takaoka City Exhibition.³²¹

Kumagai's most prominent works are: statue of Niō, Buddha's guardian protective deity at the buddhist Hōonji Temple in Tochigi Prefecture, statue of Nichiren³²² at Shōhōji Temple in Osaka and statue of general MacArthur³²³ in Atsugi, Kanagawa Prefecture (*ibid*). He is also the author of a standing statue of Arihara no Narihira³²⁴ in the Kakitsubata Iris Garden in Chiryū City. The statue was founded by donators in 2009 and is engraved with a *waka* poem.³²⁵

On October 19, 2013, a bronze patinated statue of Bronisław Piłsudski by Kumagai was unveiled at the east wing of Poroto Kotan Museum, now integrated into Upopoy National Ainu Museum in Shiraoi, Hokkaido. It presents the bust of Bronisław in an Ainu traditional *attus* attire (Inoue 2014). The bust stands on a black cuboid pedestal, on which dedication to Bronisław is engraved in four languages: Polish, Japanese, Ainu and English.

Below is the English version of the dedication:

³²⁰ Jun'ichirō Hannya was a sculptor and Kome's student. One of his works is the fountain next to the Musashi-Kosugi Station in Kawasaki (Kabushiki gaisha Takenaka Dōki n.d. "Jun'ichirō Hannya", Takenaka Dōki sculpture masters' index. <https://www.takaokadouki.net/商品案内/作家名から探す/般若-純一郎/>. 株式会社竹中銅器 n. d. 般若純一郎.

³²¹ Jakuets n.d. 2023-4 "Jakuets General Catalog 469/568", Japanese on-line design catalogue. <https://www.jakuets.co.jp/catalogue/2023-24/pageindices/index469.html>. ヤクエツ n. d. 2023-4 ジャクエツ 総合カタログ 469/568.

³²² Nichiren was a buddhist priest, who stressed the rule of universal salvation to make Buddhism more understandable and accessible to the general public. He simplified buddhist practises and popularised the sacred text *Lotus Sūtra*, which he thought of as the most important canonic sutra (Métraux 2016).

³²³ Douglas MacArthur was a US general assigned by US president Harry S. Truman to act as the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers and sign Japan's declaration of unconditional surrender to end Second World War MacArthur entered Japan through the Atsugi Air Base near Yokohama (Guillemin 2017).

³²⁴ Ariwara-no Narihira was a poet and son of Imperial Prince Abo. A historical record of him appears in the *Nihon sandai jitsuroku* ('the Japanese true record of three reigns', 901). He is described as elegant and handsome. A great number of his poems are featured in the Japanese aristocratic classic *The Ise Stories* (*Ise monogatari*, 9-10th century). The author of *The Ise Stories* is unknown and plural (Mostow & Tyler 2010).

³²⁵ "Yatsunashi kakitsubata-en. Chiryū (Chiryū) shi-no kankō annai" ['Yatsunashi Kakitsubata Iris Garden. Chiryū City tourist guide'], on-line tourist travel guide. http://www.katch.ne.jp/~kakitu64/sub_1.htm. 八橋かきつばた園. 知立 (池鯉鮒) 市の観光案内.

Bronisław Piłsudski
1866–1918
Polish exile, eminent ethnographer,
researcher of the Ainu
and other peoples of the Far East
stayed and worked in Shiraoi
in August 1903

The pedestal stands on a plinth.

The unveiling of the monument was attended by around 100 guests, including the Polish ambassador to Japan Cyryl Kozaczewski, Minister of Culture and National Heritage Bogdan Zdrojewski, Shiraoi mayor Yasuhiko Toda, Upopoy National Ainu Museum's chief of culture promotion Masahiro Nomoto, Bronisław's Japanese grandson Kazuyasu Kimura and Polish and Japanese scholars Kōichi Inoue and Alfred F. Majewicz (*ibid.*).

The statue was sponsored by the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Tokyo, Polish Institute in Tokyo and Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage (*ibid.*).

The unveiling of Bronisław's statue next to the now National Ainu Museum in Japan is not only an act of commemoration, but also a symbol of international appreciation of Bronisław's contribution to the development of Ainu studies. The statue was very well received by the viewers and became part of Shiraoi's urban architectural aesthetics.

7.13. Maki Sekine

Maki Sekine designed a monument of Bronisław for the Municipal Museum in Żory.

Sekine is an Ainu craftswoman and designer. She creates modern items with a note of Ainu culture, especially folk patterns (shirts, neckties, purses, scarfs, jewellery). As a child, she helped her family at their folk craft shop and became interested in Ainu craft. At 16, she started wood carving and later polished her skills in the field of Ainu design.³²⁶

Sekine and her husband Kenji teach Ainu language classes to children in Nibutani. Her journey as an Ainu teacher started, when she was asked by

³²⁶ Ainu Upopoy Museum 2023. "International Symposium: a journey to break new ground in indigenous tourism", symposium agenda, September 14, 2023. <https://ainu-upopoy.jp/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/7a9e34936cd0a3284493299b539e7946.pdf>.

Shigeru Kayano³²⁷, Japan's first Ainu politician and member of the House of Councillors, to make a transcription of a tape recording of an Ainu language lecture. She was home with a little child and could not do other work, so she agreed (Takeuchi 2014).

Sekine said the most heavy pressure was that she did not know Ainu language, so first she taught it to herself and then to children in her classes. She did not believe she could handle Ainu language conversations, but her husband had a different mindset and he did that. It was also stressful to have both Ainu and non-Ainu children in class and make sure everyone was learning equally (*ibid.*).

Sekine's daughter Maya is an Ainu YouTuber and owner of the channel called *Shito channel*. *Shito* is an Ainu word for dumpling made of *inakibi* millet and rice. It is eaten with kombu sauce. Maya's grandmother, Yukiko, prepares this snack for her family.³²⁸

Maya used to be ashamed of her roots, but a Māori³²⁹ family from New Zealand taught her to be proud of her origins (*ibid.*). For her graduation ceremony, she wore Ainu patterns. Her Ainu name *Noto*, which means "calm", was given to her by Shigeru Kayano.³³⁰

Maya was brought up in a specific way, based on Ainu animistic beliefs. When a drink spilled over the table, she was told that "the table was thirsty" and when a plate got broken during the Hidaka Iburi earthquake, she was told "the plate was on display and got tired". Maya was also taught how to survive in the forest and to show respect to animals, which become food to sustain peoples'

³²⁷ Shigeru Kayano was the first Ainu politician to enter the Japanese National Diet. He was a native speaker of Ainu language. Kayano became known for his fight to protect Ainu from uneven law and discriminatory practices. For example, he tried to stop the creation of Nibutani Dam to prevent the flooding of sacred Ainu lands.

³²⁸ Nittere News 2022. "NNN dokyumento: Watashi-ga mamoru watashi-no rûtsu Ainu bunka tsutaeru daigakusei-no omoi, Hokkaidô, NNN sekushon" ['An NNN document: I protect my roots. The thoughts of a university student, who promotes Ainu culture, Hokkaido NNN section', on-line video resources]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MP2TS8eRII>.

日テレNEWS 2022. NNNドキュメント: 私が守る私のルーツ アイヌ文化伝える大学生の思い 北海道 NNNセレクション.

³²⁹ Māori were New Zealand's indigenous people.

³³⁰ STV Nyûsu Hokkaidô 2022. "Dosanko Waido 179 tokushû: «Ainu go-o mirai-e tsunagitai» – kono haru daigaku-o sotsugyô shita Ainu-no chi-o hiku kanojo-ga eranda michi" ['Dosanko Wild 179 special: «I want to pass on the Ainu language to the future» – the path chosen by this spring's university graduate of Ainu descent'; Japanese program on Ainu]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J99JvjFAaFA>.

STVニュース北海道 2022. どさんこワイド179特集: 「アイヌ語を未来へつなぎたい」 この春大学を卒業したアイヌの血を引く彼女が選んだ道.

lives. In the future, she would like open an Ainu language nursery, café, and promote Ainu culture overseas.³³¹

The whole Sekine family (Maki, Kenji and Maya) took part in the *Kikenteki-na jōkyō-ni aru gengo, hōgen samitto* ('endangered languages and dialects summit'), which took place in 2017 at Hokkaido University Academic Exchange Hall in Sapporo. At the summit, the family raised their concern in regard to the UNESCO report from February 2009, which stated that in Japan, 8 languages and dialects are endangered: Ainu, Amami, Hachijō, Miyako, Yaeyama, Yonaguni, Kunigami and Central Okinawan. As for Ainu, the status is *critically endangered*. The family promised to do their best to promote and preserved Ainu language and asked the audience to do the same and cherish the cultural heritage left by ancestors. The speech ended with Sekine speaking hopeful words for the future in Ainu language.³³²

In 2018, Sekine and her husband Kenji came to Poland to participate in the unveiling of Bronisław Piłsudski's monument at the Municipal Museum in Żory. Sekine is the designer of the statue. The project was cast in bronze by Marek Dronszyk from Rydułtowy city, Poland.^{333 334}

The monument presents Bronisław sitting with his legs crossed, elegantly dressed in a suit. He is using his Edison's phonograph to record the Ainu woman accompanying him. She is sitting on her knees and is placed to

³³¹ Borderless Station 2024. "Sekine Maya-san: Eigaka-de wadaifutōchū! Ainu bunka-ga oshiete kureta ikite iru koto-no kachi-to imi (ROOTS TV vol. 3)" ['Ms Maya Sekine: The film adaptation is much talked about! What Ainu culture taught me about the value and meaning of life', on-line video resource]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2mPeRxawpR8>.

関根摩耶さん： 映画化で話題沸騰中！アイヌ文化が教えてくれた生きていることの価値と意味 (ROOTS TV Vol. 3).

³³² Sekine Maya, Kenji & Maki 2017. "Taikai senden. Heisei 29 nendo «Kikenteki-na jōkyō-ni aru gengo, hōgen samitto» (Hokkaidō taikai)" ['Conference announcement. 2009 «Endangered languages and dialects summit» (Hokkaido conference)', record of Sekine family's conference speech]. https://www.bunka.go.jp/seisaku/kokugo_nihongo/kokugo_shisaku/kikigengo/summit/pdf/r1396328_01.pdf.

関根真紀, 健司 & 摩耶 2017. 大会宣伝. 平成29年度 危機的な状況にある言語, 方言サミット(北海道大会).

³³³ Kamczyk, Szymon 2018. "Pomnik Bronisława Piłsudskiego w Żorach – dzisiaj oficjalne odsłonięcie posągu przy muzeum" ['Bronisław Piłsudski monument in Żory – today official unveiling of the statue beside the museum'], May 22, on-line news page Żory Naszemiasto. <https://zory.naszemiasto.pl/pomnik-bronislawa-pilsudskiego-w-zorach-dzisiaj-oficjalne/ar/c13-4657027>.

³³⁴ Machowska, Sylwia 2018. "Posąg Bronisława Piłsudskiego stanął przed siedzibą muzeum" ['A statue of Bronisław Piłsudski erected in front of the museum's building'], local news, May 24. <https://zory.com.pl/i,posag-bronislawa-pilsudskiego-stanal-przed-siedziba-muzeum,200274,915142.html>.

Bronisław's right. She is wearing traditional Ainu clothes and a traditional headband. It is a bronze monument and on its right (viewer's point of view) there is a rock with a memorial plaque dedicated to Bronisław.

Present at the unveiling were Waldemar Socha – Żory city president, Lucjan Buchalik – head of the Municipal Museum in Żory, Danuta Onyszkiewicz – Józef Piłsudski's granddaughter, Satoru Takahashi – chargés d'affaires of the Embassy of Japan in Poland, Kenji Morioka – head of Nibutani Ainu Culture Museum, professor Alfred F. Majewicz – Bronisław Piłsudski researcher and more. Sekine conducted classes and workshops on Ainu culture during her short stay in Poland (*ibid.*).

The Sekine family is exceptional in the field of promotion of Ainu culture. They continue their educational mission initiated by the late Shigeru Kayano. They are not researchers nor linguists, but they feel responsible for preserving the Ainu language. Their activities (art, language classes, media conference appearances) require a great investment of time and practice. The challenge is also difficult – UNESCO estimates that there are only 19 Ainu language speakers alive.³³⁵ It was a local and yet historic event that the family took part in commemorating Bronisław's Ainu heritage.

7.14. Vytautas Musteikis

Vytautas Musteikis is one of the authors of Bronisław's monument in Zułów.

Musteikis is an independent Lithuanian artist. He graduated from Vilnius University with a degree in history, major in archeology. He worked as a specialist in the Lithuanian Folk Culture Centre and was a teacher at the Conservatory.³³⁶

Musteikis has been a committed participant of the International Ice Sculpture Festival in Jelgava, Latvia, since long. In 2023, the main topic was *Ancient Deities*. Together with his brother Kęstutis, they won first prize in the large

³³⁵ Data as for 22.07.2024 of UNESCO's on-line *World Atlas of Languages*: <https://en.wal.unesco.org/countries/japan/languages/hokkaido-ainu>.

³³⁶ Pieszko, Anna 2017. "W Zułowie stanął pierwszy na Litwie pomnik braci Piłsudskich" [The first monument of the Piłsudski brothers in Lithuania was erected in Zułów], local news by *Kurier Wileński*, April 24. <https://kurierwilenski.lt/2017/04/24/w-zulowie-stanal-pierwszy-na-litwie-pomnik-braci-pilsudskich/>.

sculpture category.^{337 338} Same year in Selkirk, Canada's province of Manitoba, he created a 6-meter straw sculpture of a magic lantern together with local artists, students and teachers. The lantern was scheduled to be burned some time after its display, similarly to how in Middle-East Europe customs of burning straw figures are carried out.³³⁹

But most importantly, Musteikis together with Kęstutis and two other artists, Marius Grušas and Čestovas Kavaliūnas, were the initiators and authors of the project to erect a monument dedicated to Bronisław and Józef Piłsudski in Zułów, Świeciany district, on a private property of Baliulis family, next to the place of birth of both Piłsudskis. The artistic group's goal for this project was to increase the historical awareness of the viewers. They wanted to present how members of one family can take on different approaches towards live and go opposite directions.^{340 341}

The monument was unveiled on April 25, 2017. Due to financial restrictions, it was engraved only in Lithuanian. The upper side of the monument says: *Giniotams Piłsudams-Piłsudskiams* ('for the Giniet, for the Piłsudski family'). The Lithuanian dedication is a reminder that both Piłsudski brothers are Lithuanian descendants. There are two bas-reliefs: the left depicts Bronisław and the right – Józef. The inscriptions say: *Bronislavas Petras Piłsudskis (1866–1918)* and *Juozapas Klemensas Piłsudskis (1867–1935)*. In the middle slightly above the bas-reliefs, the Piłsudski family crest is placed, and beside it on the left is the Latin maxim: *Sit mihi palma fide* ('let faith be my shield'). Its Lithuanian translation is on the right (*ibid.*).

³³⁷ Anglickis, Egidijus 2023. "Tūkstančiai lietuvių plūdo į Latviją dėl neeilinio vaizdo: iš daugiau nei 80 tonų ledo sukurta per 60 skulptūrų" ['Thousands of Lithuanians came to Latvia for an extraordinary sight: over 60 sculptures made of more than 80 tonnes of ice'], TV 3 News, February 4, 2023. <https://www.tv3.lt/naujiena/lietuva/tukstanciai-lietuviu-pludo-i-latvija-del-neeilinio-vaizdo-is-daugiau-nei-80-tonu-ledo-sukurta-per-60-skulpturu-n1216480>.

³³⁸ Jelgava's House of Culture n.d. "History. International Ice Sculpture Festival", on-line resources on the International Ice Sculpture Festival in Jelgava, Latvia. <https://kultura.jelgava.lv/en/vesture-ledus-skulpturas/>.

³³⁹ Dow, Katherine 2023. "Holiday Alley's 20-foot straw sculpture to be displayed, then torched", on-line article from CTV Winnipeg News, November 16, 2023. <https://winnipeg.ctvnews.ca/holiday-alley-s-20-foot-straw-sculpture-to-be-displayed-then-torched-1.6648390>.

³⁴⁰ Pieszko 2017. Cf. footnote 336.

³⁴¹ Wilnoteka 2017. "W Zułowie stanął pomnik Piłsudskich" ['Piłsudski monument erected in Zułów'], Polish *Wilnoteka* multimedia portal in Vilnius, April 26. <http://www.wilnoteka.lt/artykul/w-zulowie-stanal-pomnik-pilsudskich>.

Below the bas-reliefs there is a calendarium of Bronisław and Józef's life events. It starts with 1887, when both brothers took part in the act of conspiracy against Tsar Alexander III and then it is divided into two columns, symbolising two different life paths (*ibid.*).

While Bronisław's biographical note stresses his dedication to aborigine research in Sakhalin and quotes a message of brotherhood he wrote to his father, Józef's on the other hand underlines his ambition to unite Poland and Lithuania and introduce his own sense of political order (*ibid.*).

On the bottom side of the monument, engraved in Lithuanian is the inscription, which means: 'Lithuania, your roots are so powerful, but why are their fruits torn off by strangers?' (*ibid.*).

The artistic group's monument in a thought-provoking way questions the history of Poland and Lithuania. It urges one to re-think his or her heritage as an individual and member of family. It encourages the viewer to search for a possible link to a historical lineage and re-define his own definition of *nation*. It is a question about one's identity and the roots it is build on. Are the roots historical self-awareness or ignorance? On a philosophical level, it is simply the question: *who am I?*

The use of Latin on the monument suggests that all of Europe has universal roots in Ancient Greece. The Lithuanian names transfer the point of identification from a national level to a global, intercultural and intertextual perspective. Upon that, the monument underlines the characteristics unique to each individual and his life path, but unifies them under the banner of fighting for common morals against a common enemy – tsarist Russia.

What is most powerful about this form of expression is that the independent artists ran this project at their own initiative. They did not inform local authorities nor local Polish community. They took the risk of criticism from both Polish and Lithuanian representatives. In their opinion, history must be told as it is – whether the truth is accepted or not.³⁴²

7.15. Mariko Hosokawa

Mariko Hosokawa composed a musical about Bronisław Piłsudski.

Hosokawa was a music teacher and the director of Sapporo Children Musical Education Association (*Sapporo Kodomo Myūjikaru Ikuseikai*) in years 1981–2015. She taught dancing and singing to school children up to high school level. She incorporated into her work knowledge about Ainu and the motif of world

³⁴² Pieszko 2017. Cf. footnote 336.

peace. Peace was the most important value for her, since her hometown Nagasaki experienced nuclear bombing³⁴³ in the Second World War.^{344 345}

Her husband Shinobu was a director at Hassamu Central Hospital in Sapporo (now Hassamu Rehabilitation Hospital). After marriage, Hosokawa moved to Hokkaido and when she started her Children Musical Education Association, she had permission for the rehearsals to take place in the hospital's lobby.³⁴⁶

Hosokawa gained interest in Ainu *yukar* poetry, when she had the chance to meet Shigeru Kayano (cf. Section 7.13). With her work, she caught the attention of NHK's television producer Mikio Kawaguchi,³⁴⁷ who helped her with the screenplay and staging (*ibid.*).

One of her works was a musical, called in Japan an *operetta*, about Bronisław's adventures entitled *Piusutsuki ojisan-no rōkan kara deta ohanashi* ('the stories from uncle Piłsudski's wax cylinders'). The inspiration for the piece were the true sounds of Ainu words recovered from Bronisław's recordings. The first staging took place August 7, 1984 at the Hokkaido Kōsei Nenkin Kaikan (now Nitori Culture Hall) in Sapporo. Performers were Japanese

³⁴³ The nuclear bomb "Fat Man" was dispatched at Nagasaki site on August 6, 1945. The attack killed around 70 thousand people and was one of the reasons Japan decided to surrender.

³⁴⁴ Andō 2020.

³⁴⁵ Hattori Takako & Hiroko Inazuka 2020. "Sapporo kodomo myūjikaru ikuseikai moto kaichō, Hosokawa-san shikyo" ['The passing of former director of Sapporo Children Musical Education Association, Mrs Hosokawa'], *Hokkaidō Shimbun*, July 15 (Wednesday), 2020. <http://hokkaido-poland.com/events/HosokawaMariko2020.pdf>. 服部貴子 & 稲塚寛子 2020. 札幌こどもミュージカル育成会 元会長・細川さん死去. 北海道新聞, 7月15日 (水曜日).

³⁴⁶ Hattori & Inazuka 2020.

³⁴⁷ Mikio Kawaguchi was a NHK television producer, director and president of the Japanese Broadcasting Association. NHK is Japan's biggest television broadcaster. Kawaguchi work different roles throughout his career. He was an announcer and board chairman of NHK symphony orchestra. As a producer, he created a big hit – the New Year's Eve vocal fight between male and female singers called *Kōhaku Uta Gassen*. Since the program became extremely popular, Kawaguchi was given the nickname *Kōhaku-no Kawaguchi* ('Kōhaku's Kawaguchi'). (*Ryūkyū Shimpō* 2014. "Moto NHK kaichō-no Kawaguchi Mikio shikyo" ['The passing of former NHK chairman, Mikio Kawaguchi'], online article by *Ryūkyū Shimpō*. <https://ryukyushimpo.jp/news/preentry-234157.html>).

school children from Sapporo and Ainu school children from Nibutani (CWBP 3: 789, 818; ³⁴⁸).

Below are the lyrics of one song from the musical, *Piusutsuki ojisan-no rōkan* ('the cylinders of uncle Piusutsuki').

From wax cylinders of uncle Piłsudski
interesting words are heard coming out
poppura poppura poppura poppura
poppura poppura

what could that be about?

From wax cylinders of uncle Piłsudski
unexpected words are heard coming out
sisirmuka tusanapanu –

it is about the river Saru!

From uncle Piłsudski's 100 years old
wax cylinders what is heard coming out
is not a story of Sakhalin Ainu
but a story about a whale from the Saru
river region, an astonishing story!

We enjoyed it!³⁴⁹

After gaining recognition, the musical was broadcasted in Sapporo Television.³⁵⁰ In 1985, HTB (Hokkaido Television Broadcasting) produced and broadcasted a documentary called *Rōkan-o utatta, operetta-to kodomotachi-no 115 nichi* ('we sang about wax cylinders. Operetta and 115 days in the life of children') (Majewicz 2020a: 24).

Hosokawa's musical was a success and together with her Group Lila she was invited to perform in Poland. During the journey, Hosokawa kept notes about their trip, which she named *Piusutsuki ojisan-no furusato aru ki* ('diary of a journey to uncle Piłsudski's homeland') (*ibid.*). The children performed in five big cities in 1990. In Warsaw, Hosokawa was awarded with the title of the

³⁴⁸ Andō Atsushi 2020. "Hosokawa Mariko-san seikyo" ['The passing of Mariko Hosokawa'], *Pole 101*, 12.

<http://hokkaido-poland.com/POLE/POLE101Hosokawa.pdf>.

安藤厚 2020. 細川真理子さんご逝去. ポーレ.

³⁴⁹ CWBP 3: 789.

³⁵⁰ Andō 2020.

Knight of the Order of the Smile³⁵¹ (*Kawaler Orderu Uśmieniu*). The group performed in Poland again in 1997 (Hokkaidō chō 2021).

Hosokawa was very inspired by Poland and she wrote another musical, *Kurafuku monogatari* ('a story from Cracow'), about queen Yadobīgā, named after Poland's queen Jadwiga of Anjou. The piece was performed in Japan by Ainu children from Nibutani with the help of children from a Polish band, Scholares Minores pro Musica Antiqua from Poniadowa (Majewicz 2020a: 24).

Poland was not the only country Hosokawa's group performed in. They also went to Vatican. In 2011, the Sapporo Children Musical Education Association was awarded the Hokkaido Distinguished Service Award.^{352 353}

One more performative project is worth mentioning in connection to Bronisław Piłsudski. It is *Nomadka* (*Nomadic woman*) directed by Katarzyna Pastuszek and presented in 2018 during the 4th International Conference on Bronisław Piłsudski in Manggha Museum in Cracow. The performance was inspired by the life story of an Inuit woman Louise Fontain, who as a child was deported from Greenland to Denmark as a part of a Danish colonial program and in result, lost her native identity, language and culture. The performance was a big success and it was staged in Greenland, Japan, and Turkey.³⁵⁴

7.16. Sōichi Kawagoe

The 162nd biannual Naoki Prize award-winning novel *Netsugen* ('source of heat', Tōkyō: Bungei Shunjū, 2019) by Japanese novelist Sōichi Kawagoe introduces Bronisław Piłsudski as a central character and explores the historical context of the times in which he lived.

Upon his nomination for the prize, Kawagoe was asked why he chose such a topic for his novel. He explained that, a few years earlier, he had visited the Ainu Museum (*Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan*) in Shiraoi, Hokkaido, and

³⁵¹ An international reward established in 1968. It is presented to outstanding adults, who work to build a better world for children (eg. produce music and books for children, promote children wellbeing).

³⁵² Hokkaidō chō [Hokkaido Government] 2021. "Hokkaidō bunka shō. Sapporo kodomo myūjīkaru" ['Hokkaido Culture Prize. Sapporo Children Musical Education Association'], a list of achievements of the Sapporo Children Musical Education Association. https://www.pref.hokkaido.lg.jp/fs/1/0/7/6/5/4/3/8/_/H18-3-文化賞_札幌こどもミュージカル育成会.pdf.
北海道庁 2021. 北海道文化賞. 札幌こどもミュージカル育成会.

³⁵³ Andō 2020.

³⁵⁴ Amareya Theatre & Guests 2025. "Nomadka". <https://www.teatramareya.pl/nomadka>.

wondered why there was a statue of a Polish man in Hokkaido. That is when he learned Bronisław's story.³⁵⁵

Kawagoe also became acquainted with the stories of Yasunosuke Yamanobe (Ainu name Yayomanekuh) and Shinkichi Hanamori (Shisratoka) – two Ainu men who took part in Nobu Shirase's 1910-2 Japanese Antarctic Expedition. He decided to dedicate his book to these great explorers, whose legacy is celebrated alongside Bronisław's in the novel.

Yamanobe is recognised as the one who shared Ainu stories with Bronisław, later included in *Materials for the study of the Ainu language and folklore* (Cracow: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1912).

The book provides the biographical background of each main character: Bronisław's exile to Sakhalin for his involvement in the tsar assassination attempt and Yamanobe's return to Sakhalin after the death of his Ainu wife from cholera on Hokkaido. The story serves as a source of information about the Russo-Japanese War, the Russian Revolution, and Ainu culture for readers who may be unfamiliar with these subjects.

The author describes his characters not as individuals who shaped history but as people entangled in it, who managed to live bravely.

Others mentioned include Józef Piłsudski and Waław Kowalski (who is likely Sieroszewski under a different name), Lev Shternberg, Aleksandr Uljanov, Tarōji Sentoku, Chuhsamma, Bafunke, Futabatei Shimei, Shigenobu Ōkuma, and the Japanese Ainu specialist Kyōsuke Kindaichi, among others.

What sets Kawagoe's book apart from other works inspired by Bronisław is its inclusion of new historical themes, such as the Japanese Antarctic Expedition. Through the character of Tarōji Sentoku, who was a friend of the Ainu Arctic explorers, Kawagoe connects the narration to Bronisław's own Sakhalin experience.

The author stated that he wanted to present this story to modern readers and inspire them to find motivation in their own lives. Perhaps this is why the novel's title *Netsugen* means 'source of heat', in contrast to the cold temperatures the characters endured in Sakhalin and Antarctica. In Japanese, *netsu* also means 'enthusiasm' or 'passion'. Each character possesses their own source of passion, which gives their life meaning.

³⁵⁵ Kabushikigaisha Bungei Shunjū 2020. *Naokishō jushō! Netsugen Kawagoe Sōichi intabyū* ('Naoki Prize winner! Netsugen's Sōichi Kawagoe interview'). <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChKOU7nwcME>.
株式会社 文藝春秋 2020. 直木賞受賞! 『熱源』川越宗一インタビュー.

7.17. Zygmunt Miłoszewski

Zygmunt Miłoszewski is a Polish crime novelist. In his thriller *Kwestia ceny* ('the question of price', Warszawa: Wydawnictwo W.A.B, 2020), he introduces Benedykt Czerski, a character inspired by Bronisław Piłsudski, to encourage the reader to reflect on complex questions about the modern world, the value of morality and wealth, and the role of the individual in society.

In the book's foreword, Miłoszewski mentions numerous sources about Bronisław Piłsudski that served as references and sources of inspiration for him. Besides Goźliński's *Akan* (cf. Section 7.5), this includes *Pożytki z katorgi* ('the gains from forced labour', Wołowiec: Wydawnictwo Czarne 2019) by Wojciech Lada, *Wzgórze Błękitnego Snu* ('the hill of azure dreams', Warszawa: Wydawnictwo MG, 2020) by Igor Newerly, *Dziejów i legendy Ajnów* ('the chronicles and legends of the Ainu', Warszawa: Wydawnictwo "Iskry", 1983) by Alfred F. Majewicz, *Bronisława Piłsudskiego pojedynek z losem* ('Bronisław Piłsudski's struggle against fate', Warszawa: Wydawnictwo "Iskry", 2018) by Jerzy Chociłowski, *Świat Ajnów oczami Bronisława Piłsudskiego* ('the world of the Ainu through the eyes of Bronisław Piłsudski', Warszawa Centrum Polsko-Rosyjskiego Dialogu i Porozumienia, Muzeum Antropologii i Etnografii im. Piotra Wielkiego "Kunstkamera RAN", 2019) by Andrey Sokolov and Weronika Bielajewa-Saczuk, along with publications by Waław Sieroszewski and Anton Chekhov.

In Miłoszewski's book, Benedykt Czerski returns on a ship from Sakhalin exile as a renowned researcher of Siberian aborigines. He worries that Poland is not waiting for his return. He carries with him a mysterious chest containing a hidden item, which he wants to protect at all costs. He is accompanied by a 10-year-old Ainu boy, and they share a close friendship.

Benedykt remembers his Ainu wife, Pukusa, to whom he promised he would return. Meanwhile, in his homeland, others badmouth him, calling him a bearded shaman with a wild wife and children. However, they believe Bronisław has discovered and possesses a mysterious substance that people desperately need – making them willing to tolerate him.

As the story moves into the 21st century, Benedykt's life remains a mystery, and the plot unfolds as the characters learn more about his struggles.

One of the main characters, researcher Bogdan Smuda, is interested in recovering Benedykt Czerski's heritage. He is especially focused on the Cave of Azure Dreams, a sacred site for the Ainu, which, in Smuda's opinion, holds the secret to longevity. However, the cave was destroyed in an earthquake, and the only thing left is a stalactite in the shape of a bear, which Benedykt brought to Europe a hundred years ago. To search for the lost item, Czerski hires professor Zofia Lorentz, an art historian and researcher who is in desperate need of a job after losing her position at the Polish National Museum in Warsaw. Moreover,

her husband has recently begun to lose his memory, so the hunt for artifacts that could change mankind seems quite appealing to her.

Over time, it becomes clear that Bogdan is determined to achieve his goal of longevity at any cost – even if it means that humanity achieves longevity at the cost of infertility. Zofia's humanism is beginning to threaten his plan. This raises the question: at what cost are you willing to accomplish your goals?

Benedykt Czerski's life is an example of the high price one can pay. For instance, he was ridiculed for selling a mysterious mixture called Sakhalina across Russia. He dressed as a shaman and collected money for the Sakhalina treatment, which was allegedly a scheme by Polish revolutionaries to gather funds for independence.

Another price Benedykt paid was his romantic love for Maria Skłodowska-Curie. Both Benedykt and Maria were idealists who had a deep love for their homeland. However, their sacrifice for academic research and Poland's independence deprived them of personal happiness.

Benedykt entrusted part of his research to Maria, asking her to hide it in her workplace. However, the discovery of radiation led to their exclusion, and Benedykt's contributions to the world were forgotten.

In Miłoszewski's book, Benedykt Czerski's – Bronisław Piłsudski's – life and heritage are a pretext for reflecting on the current state of the world. It is a world of instability, crises, and complex moral choices, where each generation and every individual must make a choice, carrying the weight of the past and the future on their shoulders.

7.18. Children's literature

Bronisław Piłsudski's character appears not only in adult literature such as Goźliński's *Akan*, Kawagoe's *Netsugen* and Miłoszewski's *Kwestia ceny*. Below are examples of books for young children featuring Bronisław.

The earliest is Zofia Zawiszkanka's *Świt wielkiego dnia. Opowieść z dzieciństwa Marszałka Piłsudskiego* ('the dawn of a great day. A story from Marshal Piłsudski's childhood', Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy "Biblioteka Polska", 1938).

The book is a deification of Józef's childhood. His siblings are shown as Józef's great companions in playing jokes and games. Bronisław is an especially important figure, as the boys are almost the same age.

Children's games mentioned in the book include pretending a blanket is a sledge pulled by horses, sailing on an imaginary ship, playing war between boys and girls, and more.

At the beginning, Bronisław watches over his younger siblings and Józef's temperament. He is worried when, during play, Józef starts whipping his

siblings, who act as horses. He also supports Józef and shows great empathy when the latter forgets his prayers and is badly scolded by their German teacher, who supervises them while the rest of the family escorts their mother, Maria Piłsudska, to Switzerland for treatment.

However, very quickly, the roles between Bronisław and Józef begin to reverse. Bronisław develops great emotionality: he is the only sibling to lose his puppy, Pluńcio, and swears that when he grows up, he will protect every insect, warm every bird in winter, and lift up trampled grass. Józef remarks that if Bronisław does all this, there will be no time for war. Józef trains himself to walk at night in places he fears, demonstrates initiative by asking their mother to read patriotic literature, and starts to attract the attention of adults, who praise and admire him. His charisma and leadership skills begin to emerge.

The book ends with the great fire at the Zułów estate. Both the old and the newly built manor house burn down. All family members fall into chaos and despair – all but Józef, who suddenly feels an overwhelming calmness inside his body, as if he knew deep down that “his future home was to be larger than a private property or childhood birthplace.”

Another book is Witold Kowalski's *Ognista kula. Obrazki z dzieciństwa Józefa Piłsudskiego* ('the fiery ball. Images from Józef Piłsudski's childhood', Poznań: Media Rodzina, 2002). It presents Józef's childhood as full of symbols indicating his future role as Poland's leader.

As in Zawiszanka's book, Józef spends his days playing with his siblings, but Kowalski focuses more on Józef's bond with Bronisław.

Many games played by the brothers show both cooperation and rivalry between them. For example, the boys think of ways to skip French lessons by playing tiddlywinks in French. One day Bronisław plans to play a joke on his father by hiding in a cauldron being transported to Zułów. He gives up on the idea, but Józef, excited, tries it instead and ends up scolded by their father. Being a young boy, Józef is a bit afraid of darkness and finds comfort in the thought that Bronisław shares a room with him.

Together, the brothers experience life under Russian rule. When their father takes them to Petersburg on business, their mother instructs them to speak only French to isolate themselves from Russians.

When the Zułów estate catches fire, Bronisław searches for Józef, and they embrace. It is a moment of closeness and brotherhood for the boys.

Three years later, they still recall the fire and care for the lost terrain. While visiting Zułów, they notice the land has been leased. They must listen to strangers who now manage Zułów. They try to pick apples in the orchard but are attacked by Jewish children who think they are thieves trespassing on leased land.

Józef keeps being visited by a specter, hinting at his destiny for great things. Meanwhile, Bronisław begins to be portrayed by Kowalski as a boy who easily becomes infatuated.

As time passes, Józef – already respected as the Marshal of Poland – revisits Zułów and finds Minia (Maria Baniewiczowa) wearing his mother's veil. He realises she was closer to Bronisław than he had imagined. He reflects on the inevitability of fate, which caused Bronisław to leave Minia and suffer a meaningless death in the French Seine River, while Józef played the role of the most important Pole in the country.

A more recent book for children featuring Bronisław is Katarzyna Nowak's *Broniś Piłsudski, czyli o tym, jak zostać sławnym na Dalekim Wschodzie* ('Broniś Piłsudski, or how to become famous in the Far East', Kraków: Muzeum Sztuki i Techniki Japońskiej Manggha, 2018). The book's content differs from the two previous ones, as it focuses on Bronisław and is based solely on facts from his life, not imaginary childhood scenes. This marks a change in times: hagiographies are no longer desired by readers or in education, while stories of travel, globetrotting, and encounters with foreign cultures are highly appreciated. The book introduces young readers to Ainu traditional patterns and items, as well as lip tattoos. With many drawings of Ainu utensils, it can be said it has a touch of museology – something to be expected from the Manggha Museum in Kraków as the publisher.

The book explains Bronisław's life from childhood to Sakhalin exile, as well as his trips to Austria, Switzerland, France, and beyond. An addition to the main content is a fold-out world map of places visited by Bronisław. However, the book omits the dramatic background of his travels and the fact of Bronisław's ambiguous death. Instead, it focuses on the excitement of discovering the world, which serves as a main impulse for young readers to remain curious, explore, and ask questions.

Conclusion

This thesis discussed Bronisław Piłsudski's literary contacts and references that had not been previously collected, as well as artistic inspirations based on his figure.

In addition to the books and art pieces mentioned in this dissertation, documentary films such as *Far away to Japan: the untold stories of the Polish people* (Radosław Tyszkiewicz, Tyszkiewicz Films 2024), *Piłsudski Bronisław. Zesłaniec, etnograf, bohater* ('Piłsudski Bronisław. Exile, ethnographer, hero', Waldemar Czechowski, TVP 2016), *Orzeł i Chryzantema* (*Eagle and Chrysanthemum*, Jacek Wan, TVP 2010), *Piłsudski B Majewicz A czyli Ajnowie a sprawa polska* ('Piłsudski B Majewicz A, or the Ainu as a Polish affair', Stefan Szlachtycz, TVP 1999), *Dzwoniły im kajdany* ('their chains were clanging', Czesław Duraj, TVP 1989), *Starszy Brat* ('the elder brother', Witold Stefanowicz, TVP 1989), *Piusutsuki-no rōkan* ('Piłsudski's wax cylinder recordings – a historical documentary, Hokkaido TEN), *Karafuto Ainu hokyo-no koe* ('Sakhalin Ainu voice of nostalgia', Takashi Yamagishi, NHK 1985), *Yukara chimmoku 80nen – Karafuto Ainu rōkan hiwa* ('the yukars that were silent for 80 years – a secret history of wax cylinder recordings of the Sakhalin Ainu folklore', NHK 1984) must also be considered part of the legacy (Sawada 2021: 382; CWBP 1: 43).

Moreover, the story of Polish exiles on Sakhalin – and most likely Bronisław's marriage to Chuhsamma – can also be seen as an inspiration for the hugely popular manga and anime series *Golden Kamui* (Hitoshi Namba, Geno Studio 2018–20), which features a young Ainu girl, Asirpa, a character of both Polish and Ainu ancestry.

The cultural centres dedicated to preserving Bronisław's legacy in Poland include: the "Manggha" Museum in Cracow, the Józef Piłsudski Museum in Sulejów, the Asia and Pacific Museum in Warsaw, the Tatra Museum in Zakopane, the Municipal Museum in Żory – in front of which stands one of the most creative and thoughtful monuments, depicting Bronisław recording an Ainu woman on an Edison phonograph – and the International Institute of Ethnolinguistic and Oriental Studies in Stęszew.

The primary Russian research centre was the Bronisław Piłsudski Heritage Institute at the Sakhalin Regional Museum in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. The Institute concluded its activities after publishing 20 volumes of IINBP (1997–2016) and was succeeded by the journal *Etnograficheskiye zapiski COKM*. In Japan, the leading research institutions are Hokkaido University in Sapporo and the Upopoy

Museum in Shiraoi. Monuments commemorating Bronisław can be found in both Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk and Shiraoi.

The most important research project resulting from years of studies on Bronisław Piłsudski's legacy – the frequently mentioned CWBP – is moving towards its long-awaited completion. The upcoming fifth volume, *Materials for the study of the Nivhgu language and folklore*, will reconstruct Bronisław's documentation on the Nivhgu people, contributing to the preservation of their linguistic and cultural knowledge, and further demonstrating Bronisław's impact on literature and ethnographic studies.

The survey included in the appendix to this thesis demonstrates that internet users are also increasingly aware of Bronisław Piłsudski's life story and legacy.

The turbulent times in which Bronisław lived in shaped the psyche of the outstanding individuals mentioned throughout this thesis. As presented, these individuals had a direct influence on politics and the world we know today. Shigenobu Ōkuma, who discussed the future of Europe in Japan and favoured disconnecting Siberia from the Russian Empire. Of similar thought was Grigory Nikolayevich Potanin, who at the time wielded enough influence to save Wacław Sieroszewski from the obscurity of exile and introduce him to the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Eventually, Sieroszewski was able to do the same for Bronisław Piłsudski.

Chinese politicians and intellectuals, such as Sun Yatsen, Song Jiaoren, and Huang Xing, who maintained contact with Bronisław and played key roles in the overthrow of the Chinese Empire.

Kentarō Kaneko and Kenchō Suematsu, who were dispatched to the US and UK to convince their citizens that Japan was more civilised and sophisticated than Russia. Kaneko proved successful even with President Roosevelt, who had initially planned to remain neutral. The intellectual discussions with Kaneko about *bushidō* and Japanese women proved tempting and inspirational for him.

Former Polish president Stanisław Wojciechowski, who began as a comrade to Józef Piłsudski and ended by surrendering to Piłsudski's armed forces, and whose son Edmund was sent to Auschwitz and died there as the Nazis tried to exert political pressure on Wojciechowski.

Sieroszewski's daughter Maria, who deeply loved her father but felt neither Yakut nor Polish, and found it safer to grow into a Moscow citizen identity, in isolation from her family.

Stefan Żeromski and his comrades, who risked their lives to promote education among the masses, formed the first farming delivery chains, which led to the creation of the shop brand known as *Spółem*.

Educators of Polish culture and history from the "Flying University" and the Warsaw Central School.

The first Polish promoter of vaccines, Odo Bujwid, and his feminist wife, Kazimiera Bujwidowa. One of the first female politicians, Irena Kosmowska, who was temporarily arrested for speaking out against Józef Piłsudski.

The Ainu, the Nivhgu, Uilta, and other ethnic minorities, who balanced between survival and maintaining their cultural identity, and are represented in this thesis by recorded individuals such as Indyn, Vunit, Chuhsamma, Bafunke, and Tarōji Sentoku, among others.

Zen'ichirō Oyabe, who aspired to become the next John Batchelor.

Ludwik Janowski, who cared for Bronisław empathetically, but at the same time fought for what he believed was the historical truth.

Józef Piłsudski, who, through outrageous decisions, built the Poland we know today.

And others who contributed to the advancement of humanity by relinquishing personal gain, financial stability, and privileged social status – and who stood in opposition to systems founded on competition, oppression, and illusions of authority and influence. Their ethical commitment and actions remain a significant part of the world's collective legacy.

The thesis was built on a solid historical background, which helped discover new directions for research on Bronisław Piłsudski's biography during its writing.

The most promising is the New York Jewish community research approach. Bronisław's New York contact, Dr. Charles Rayevsky, proved to be a very prolific magazine contributor. *Forverts* (*The Forward*) remains an active magazine to this day, with recent articles citing Rayevsky's popular scientific contributions.

It must be checked whether the memory of him is still alive among the editors and readers. New Yiddish-language sources could contain more information on Bronisław. Even though Bronisław's stay in the US was illegal, and there is a possibility the magazines did not report on it, there might still be personal notes and diaries waiting to be discovered. The Jewish community was very strong and had a significant cultural impact on 20th-century New York.³⁵⁶ New information is likely to be discovered in its archives. Bronisław mentioned the Jewish community as early as his teenage diary. Jolanta Żyndul's interest in Bronisław also began when she was tracing connections between the Jewish community and Józef Piłsudski.

³⁵⁶ Museum of the Yiddish Theatre n.d. "New York City's Yiddish Theatre and the Forward: how they reviewed the plays that entertained the mostly Jewish public during the Great Depression, 1929–1941", on-line resources on New York Yiddish culture. <https://www.moyt.org/exhibitions/1/gd/main.htm>.

Another promising ground is the First World War conferences, which gathered nations seeking freedom from imperialistic regimes. The discussion on this matter was initiated by the author of this thesis in Chapter 6. Several sources refer to these events, and one in Lithuanian, *Juozas Purickis-Vygandas* (Vilnius: Vilniaus knyga 2004) by Aldona Gaigalaitė and Jūratė Žeimantienė, mentions Bronisław Piłsudski as the chair of the Central Committee for the Relief of War Victims in Lithuania, which was later disbanded due to the perceived threat of Polonization. Possibly, each nation that participated in the conferences has different memories of these events and recorded them in some way, creating important sources. Sieroszewski noted that Poland, the Caucasus, Crimea, Central Asia, Turkestan, Mongolia, and Ireland all supported each other and demanded independence in the spirit of brotherhood (Czachowski 1947: 151). Further research into this topic from the perspective of each nation is required to understand Poland's and Bronisław's roles in these events.

A third direction, perhaps of slightly lower probability but still worth exploring, is the business aspect of Bronisław's time in Japan. As the research highlighted, some Japanese writers, including Hōmei Iwano, tried their luck in business to make a living. *Heimin Shimbun* also had supporters who owned businesses and bought advertisements in the newspaper. An example is Onokichi Hemmi who promoted his family's canned food business in *Heimin Shimbun*. Since Bronisław was also reported to have sold water in Japan, further research into this matter is required.

The topic of national identity, appearing in this thesis alongside Bronisław's decisions to conduct foreign research and continue traveling, proved to be of great political and global importance for future generations. The rise of independent thought under the partitions by foreign powers, especially Imperial Russia, gave birth not only to Polish national identity but also to that of Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and others.

This, at a time when Poland and Ukraine are redefining their attitudes towards each other and revisiting mutual political and historical relations, especially in light of the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian War, which intensified in 2022, remains a topic in the process of transformation.

As presented in Chapter 6, Ludwik Janowski continually shifted his academic affiliations between Cracow, Lviv, and Kyiv in accordance with the military advancements of Józef Piłsudski's army. Each time Janowski was forced to relocate, he was devastated and had to rebuild his library collection and Polish academic courses.

Now, more than a century later, new waves of migration are occurring worldwide as refugees seek shelter from war.

A new chapter in the diplomatic relations between Poland and Eastern Europe has begun, with countries cooperating to find new ways to counter Putin's aggression. As the conflict unfolds, themes from the past resurface, brought to light in a new context, as Derrida's hauntology suggests.

Bronisław's concept of the closeness between Poland and Lithuania, as well as the efforts of Vytautas and his fellow artists to explore the common heritage of both nations, resonates with recent media coverage of Ukrainian forces congratulating Poland on the anniversary of the Miracle on the Vistula in 1920, when Józef Piłsudski's army fought against the Bolsheviks. While Bronisław did not succeed in shaping the historical memory of Poland and Lithuania, his biography exemplifies the emotional distress, identity crises, and extermination of cultures, languages, and beliefs that can result from insufficient efforts in minority protection, cultural and civilisational preservation, and peace-building. His life underscores the vulnerability of individuals to the times and rulers, but also demonstrates how to forge lasting intercultural bonds amidst political terror and diversification.

Turning to another significant aspect of Bronisław Piłsudski's intellectual legacy, his forward-thinking thoughts on the idea of Orientalism and Japan's place in Asia, as well as Asia in contemporary world affairs, remain a valuable source of cultural criticism.

Such individuals as politician and novelist Inazō Nitobe (cf. Section 4.11), along with the French officer and traveler Pierre Loti (cf. Section 4.22), contributed to the romantic view of Japan, which continues to misshape the perception of Japan in European countries to this day. In contrast, Bronisław over a hundred years ago collected data regarding Nitobe and Loti, and transformed it into a logical and realistic portrayal of Japan in press articles.

Recently, the term "Orientalist Studies" is slowly being replaced by terms such as "Asian Studies" or "Japanese Studies" to avoid stereotypization and bias. However, as unobjective as the positive, romanticised vision of Japan is, it was built by the Japanese in response to the repeated slogan of the "Yellow Peril" and the threat of being colonised if one did not become a coloniser himself. Bronisław strongly opposed colonisation and ethnic minority extermination, and at the same time, aimed to create a more objective picture than populist soft power. He worked towards building international understanding, language and cultural education, and improving equal opportunities for all. His efforts have spread to the modern world, where the preservation of rare cultures has taken the lead just as there are fewer and fewer to protect.

As times change, contemporary Poland still faces challenges known from Bronisław's era. These include forging a modern European identity, increasing military funding to counter authoritarian oppression, and striving to build an open stance towards ethnic minorities and foreigners – much like Bronisław

Piłsudski, who was viewed as an outsider by many after years of yearning for Poland while in exile.

Bronisław Piłsudski's ambitious life story and tragic suicidal end can serve as a contemporary lesson on the importance of transforming helplessness into intercultural bridges, sorrow into a striving for better education, and the courage to confront tyranny for a better tomorrow.

Appendix. Is Bronisław Piłsudski a known character?

Survey results

The survey titled *Research on the recognisability of the figure of Bronisław Piłsudski* was conducted from April 7th to May 2nd, 2023, and targeted Polish users on Meta's social media platforms: Facebook and Instagram. The first 76 responses were collected via Facebook groups, while the remaining 596 were collected through Instagram. In total, 672 users responded to the request to fill in the questionnaire.

The invitation to the survey was promoted on Instagram in the form of a paid advertisement. It gained unexpected recognition: it reached 91,549 individual users, encouraged 1,349 of them to open the survey, and received 196 likes. It was considered an unusual advertisement for an online commercial platform.

The survey consisted of 13 questions, only one of which was an open question, and it was optional. However, a surprising number of users chose to fill in the open question with information.

The questions were written in an easy-to-understand, semi-informal language to match the communication style of social media users. No stiff, academic, or honorific wording was used. This was a necessary measure to ensure that no one would feel excluded or annoyed by an unmatched level of communication.

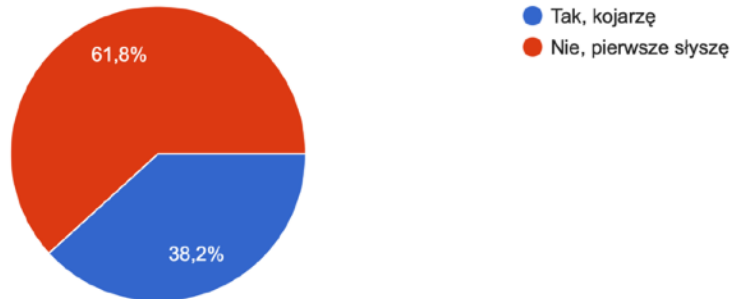
The survey is included in the thesis as a kind of supplement to the main body, which is written from the perspective of Literary Studies. For that reason, it is preliminary research and does not feature complicated algorithms or calculations. However, the data collected is archived by the author of the thesis, who is open to further cooperation on the topic if any research group wishes to analyse the collected data further.

Below are the answers to the asked questions.

1. Can you recall who Bronisław Piłsudski was?

Czy kojarzysz, kim był Bronisław Piłsudski?

672 odpowiedzi

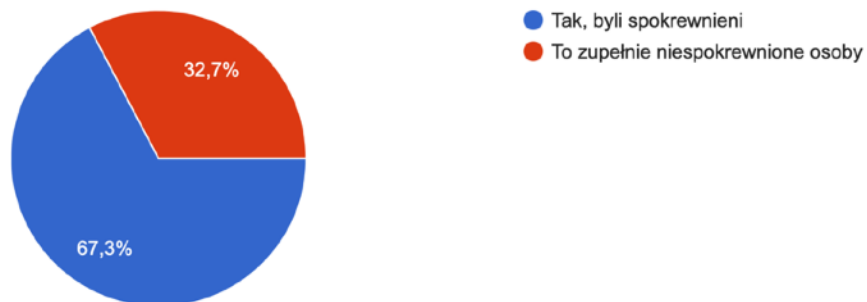


To the question *Can you recall who Bronisław Piłsudski was?*, 38,2% (257) of the respondents answered “Yes, I can”, while 61,8% (415) said “No, I’m hearing about him for the first time”.

2. Do you think he was a relative of Józef Piłsudski or a completely different person?

Jak sądzisz, czy to krewny Józefa Piłsudskiego, czy zupełnie inna postać?

672 odpowiedzi

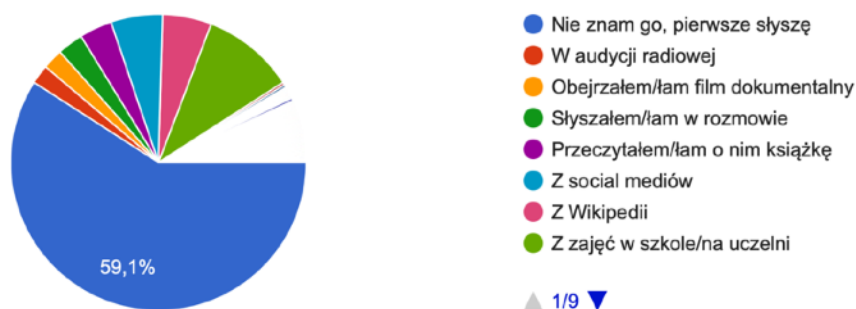


To the question *Do you think he was a relative of Józef Piłsudski or a completely different person?*, 67,3% (452) of the respondents answered “Yes, they were related”, while 32,7% (220) said “They were completely unrelated people”.

3. If you know the figure of Bronisław Piłsudski, where did you hear about him for the first time?

Jeśli znasz postać Bronisława Piłsudskiego, to gdzie usłyszałeś/łaś o nim po raz pierwszy?

672 odpowiedzi



Color	Percentage	No. of participants	Answer
	59,1%	397	I don't know him, I'm hearing about him for the first time
	10,1%	68	Classes at school/university
	5,7%	38	Social media
	5,4%	36	Wikipedia
	3,6%	24	I read a book about him
	2,8%	19	During a conversation
	2,2%	15	I saw a documentary film
	2,1%	14	In a radio audition
	9%	61	Other, including: - from my stay on Hokkaido (0,1%) - from Żory museum (0,1%) - I took a course as a tourist guide in Beskidy and I've seen his symbolic gravestone in Pęksowy Brzyzek - from my parents (0,1%) - from your advertisement on Instagram (0,1%)

			• from a couple of sources. In recent months he was a part of an episode of “The report on the state of the world” and probably “I like science” also talked about him and I think there’s also an old comic about him • from your questionnaire • I’ve seen the book <i>Akan</i> but I haven’t read it • I studied ethnography and included him in my thesis • from <i>Polityka</i> magazine • I’ve seen a sign on YouTube but I never clicked • my university has a commemorative plaque honouring him • from <i>Gazeta Wyborcza</i> newspaper • he was discussed on TV when his grandson died • as a teenager I’ve learned from grandma • from <i>Przekrój</i> magazine • from Manggha Museum

A very interesting picture of how internet users acquire knowledge about Bronisław Piłsudski was gathered based on the question: *If you know the figure of Bronisław Piłsudski, where did you hear about him for the first time?* Although 59,1% of users stated that they have never heard of Bronisław, 10,1% (68 users) said they had heard about him in school. Probably any researcher on Bronisław will understand that this is quite a high number, since Bronisław’s biography and legacy are not part of Polish school education. This could mean these students were taught by very ambitious teachers who offer extracurricular materials to students.

The above-shown graph is not ideal, as the author did not foresee the 9% of respondents who would write in an answer to the option "other". This 9% reveals a fascinating profile of people who gather information through cultural activities such as visits to Żory Museum, Manggha Museum in Cracow, reading contemporary Polish press – *Gazeta Wyborcza* (‘electoral news’), *Polityka* (‘politics’), *Przekrój* (‘the cross-section’), and even private travels to Hokkaido.

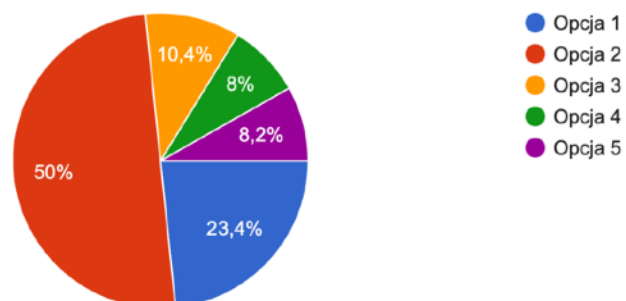
Moreover, they are aware of popular books like *Akan* by Paweł Goźliński (cf. Section 7.5), listen to top-rated informational podcasts such as *Raport o stanie świata* (‘the report on the state of the world’) and *Nauka. To lubię* (‘I like science’), and search for interesting videos on YouTube.

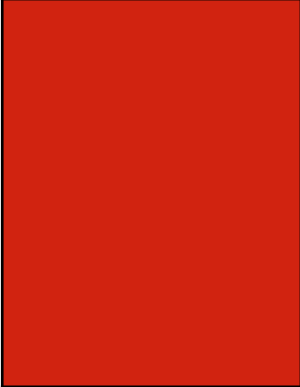
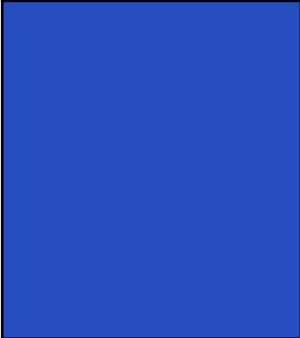
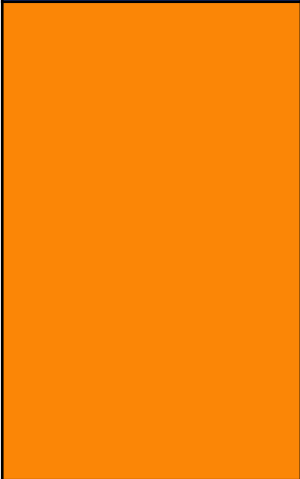
An incredibly interesting answer came from a user who took a tourist guide course in Beskidy and is aware that a gravestone commemorating Bronisław was placed in Pęksowy Brzyzek.

4. Which portrait represents Bronisław Piłsudski?

Który portret przedstawia Bronisława Piłsudskiego?

672 odpowiedzi



Color	Percentage	No. of participants	Answer
	50%	336	Option 2. Bronisław Piłsudski 
	23,4%	157	Option 1. Tsar Alexander III Romanov 
	10,4%	70	Option 3. Józef Ignacy Kraszewski 

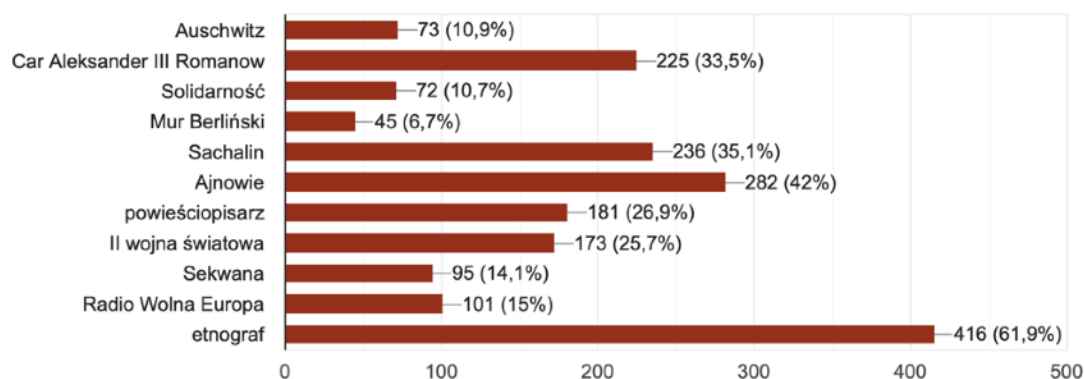
	8,2%	55	Option 5. Bolesław Prus 
	8%	54	Option 4. Henryk Sienkiewicz 

When asked to point to the picture representing Bronisław Piłsudski, 50% of users were able to recognise or guess which picture showed him. The second most popular answer was a picture of tsar Alexander III. This answer is, of course, very mistaken, since it was tsar Alexander III whom Bronisław was accused of planning to assassinate, leading to his exile to Sakhalin.

5. Check all the answers you associate with Bronisław Piłsudski

Zaznacz wszystkie odpowiedzi, które mogą kojarzyć się z Bronisławem Piłsudskim

672 odpowiedzi



English answer list:

Auschwitz

Tsar Alexander III Romanov

Solidarity Movement

Berlin Wall

Sakhalin

Ainu

novelist

II World War

Radio Free Europe

ethnographer

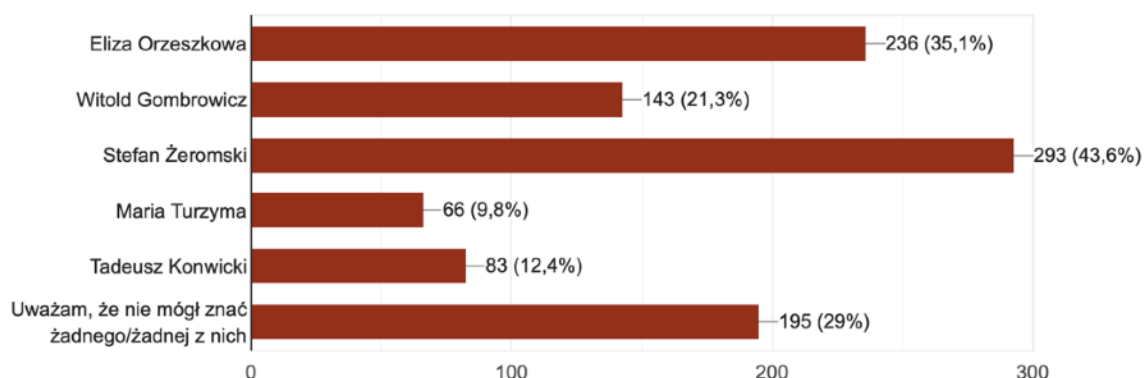
This question was designed with the consideration that most of Polish history education focuses on World War II, and users might associate every aspect of history with that war. However, surprisingly, 61,9% (416) identified Bronisław as an ethnographer and associated him with tsar Alexander III (33,5%, 225 users) and the Ainu (42%, 282 users).

Some users voted for unrelated keywords such as "Solidarność," which might suggest confusing Bronisław with former Polish president Lech Wałęsa (b. 1943, Popowo) or a complete lack of knowledge on the topic.

6. What do you think? Which one of the below-mentioned authors could Bronisław have known?

Jak sądzisz, czy Bronisław Piłsudski mógł znać któryś/któreś z poniższych pisarzy/pisarek?
(pytanie wielokrotnego wyboru)

672 odpowiedzi



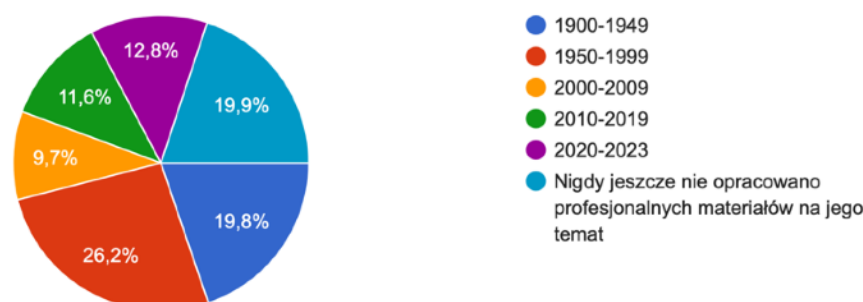
The answers to the question *What do you think? Which one of the below-mentioned authors could Bronisław have known?* varied significantly. 43,6% (293) correctly answered that Bronisław knew Stefan Żeromski, and 35,1% (236 users) answered that he might have known Eliza Orzeszkowa as well. However, 29% (195 users) assumed that Bronisław did not have any literary connections to the mentioned authors at all, and some suggested that he might have known Witold Gombrowicz, who was an author of grotesque, satirical works from a completely different era.

These answers demonstrate the need for a detailed study of Bronisław's literary connections, as well as the promotion and availability of such information, to broaden the awareness of Polish internet users on the topic.

7. In what years do you think the last works on Bronisław Piłsudski were published?

W jakich latach Twoim zdaniem mogły zostać opublikowane ostatnie prace nt. Bronisława Piłsudskiego?

672 odpowiedzi



Answers to the question *In what years do you think the last works on Bronisław Piłsudski were published?* varied.

26,2% of the respondents believed it was between 1950–99. 19,9% (light blue on the graph) thought professional materials on Bronisław had never been published before, and 19,8% assumed it was between 1900–49. The correct answer for this questionnaire, conducted in 2023, was „2020–3”, which was selected by 12,8% (86 respondents), making it the fourth most popular answer.

8. If you know something about Bronisław Piłsudski, name 2 facts from his life. If not, write 2 things, which you would like to know about him.

Question 8 was an open question, and there was a possibility to leave it unanswered. However, 292 out of 672 users decided to leave their feedback.

A considerable number of respondents knew Bronisław was an Ainu researcher and the husband of Chuhsamma, but most could not spell "Ainu" correctly. "Ajmka", "Ajanka", "Ajnka", "Anaje", "anjijskiego wodza" ('aniyi leader') were some of the variations Polish users chose to represent the Ainu.

Many respondents wrote "Piłsudski" as "Piłsudzki." However, as is known, Bronisław himself sometimes signed his name as "Ginet-Piłsudzki."

The questions of the survey were composed in a way to trick the respondents into thinking that Bronisław might have lived during World War II, thus the inquiry of one respondent wanting to know more about what Bronisław had been doing around that time.

The answers revealed alternative beliefs about who Chuhsamma was. Additionally, the respondents knew that a member of Bronisław's Japanese

family had recently died but were unsure whether it was his grandson or great-grandson.

Someone suggested there is a Bronisław Piłsudski Museum on Hokkaido. This is a misconception, as there is a sculpture of Bronisław in Hokkaido but not a museum dedicated entirely to him.

One answer mentioned that Japanese people have a song about him, but no further details were provided. Someone also wrote that Bronisław is a national hero of Sakhalin.

Additionally, one respondent promised to Google Bronisław after completing the questionnaire, and another was certain that Bronisław helped the Ainu during World War II. Someone also inquired about the living relatives of Bronisław – are they really the only ones? One comment was very critical of the fact that Bronisław left his wife and children “in Japan”. There was even a suggestion that Bronisław himself created the wax cylinders for recordings, and also a claim that Bronisław was a descendant of Józef Piłsudski.

One respondent, likely more informed, asked what Bronisław liked to eat and whether he was a socialist in his youth. Another question, probably from an animal lover, was whether Bronisław had pets and if he liked dogs. Some users speculated whether Bronisław was a soldier and whether he had any academic titles.

A very interesting inquiry came from one user who wanted to know if Bronisław Piłsudski was real or created by AI. He wondered if Bronisław was a real figure or if the survey was a set-up to trick internet users. This motif is important for this thesis, as it reflects the concept of *digital decay* presented in the introduction and the constant need to question newly acquired information, which is already putting a strain on internet users who do not wish to be deceived.

One respondent recalled that a French-sounding publisher had published four volumes of Bronisław's work, and he had wanted to buy them in the past, but they were out of his reach. Another mentioned hearing about Bronisław at the Józef Piłsudski Museum in Sulejówek, where as recently as April 2023, a lecture on Bronisław was given by Prof. Kimura.

Furthermore, one respondent remembered that Bronisław was buried in the Zakopane cemetery, Pęksowy Brzyzek.

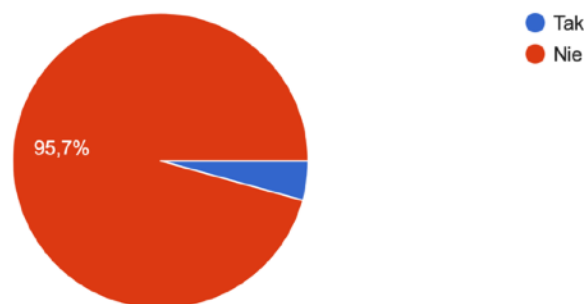
To clarify, the grave is only a symbolic gravestone. In 1999, the 3rd International Conference on Bronisław Piłsudski took place in Kraków and Zakopane. Present at the event was Teresa Jabłońska, the director of the Tatra Museum from 1991 to 2012, who received an urn with soil from Bronisław's grave in Montmorency near Paris, with the promise that she would actively work on preparing a symbolic gravestone for him at the Cemetery for the Well-Deserved in Zakopane. This was accomplished in 2000, and a symposium named “Bronisław Piłsudski – Human – Researcher – Patriot” (October 20–1) accompanied the event. On October 21, 2000, at 9 AM, Bronisław's symbolic

gravestone was consecrated as it was placed near the grave of Stanisław Witkiewicz (cf. Section 7.4; Kuczyński 2001: 201-16).

All of the above-mentioned answers are well-selected examples from the 26-page-long answer sheet, which consists mainly of inquiries such as *Who was he?*

9. Did you use the internet for help in answering the questions in the survey?

Czy korzystałeś/łaś z pomocy internetu, żeby odpowiedzieć na pytania o Bronisławie Piłsudskim?
672 odpowiedzi

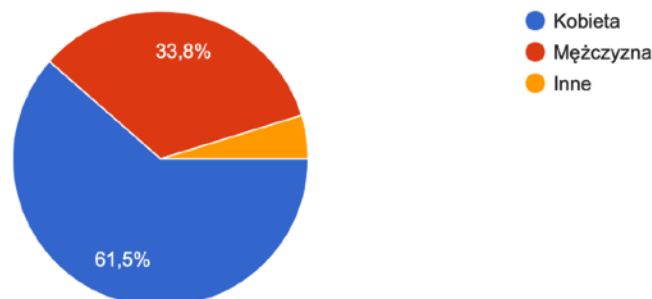


Near the end of the questionnaire, users were asked if they had used the internet for help in answering the questions. However, only 4,3% (29) of 672 users admitted to using the internet.

10. Metrics of the respondents

The last four questions related to the metrics of the respondents: their sex, education, age, and the size of their hometown.

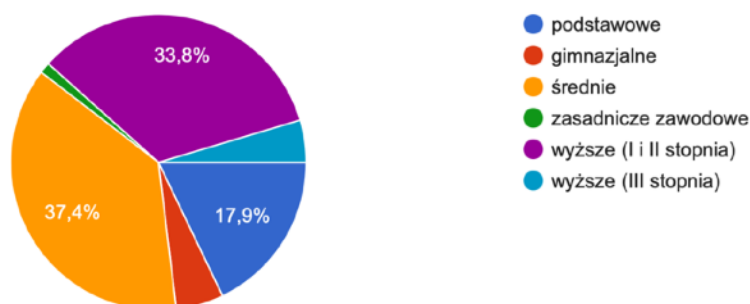
Twoja płeć
672 odpowiedzi



61,5% (413) of the respondents were female, 33,8% (227) male and 4,8% (32) identified with the category “other”.

Jakie jest Twoje wykształcenie?

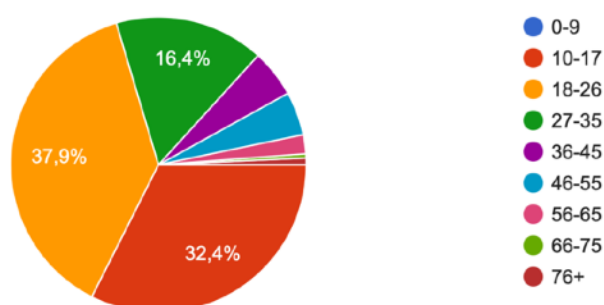
672 odpowiedzi



37,4% (251) of the respondents had completed secondary education, 33,8% (227) had higher education, and 17,9% (120) had elementary education.

W jakim przedziale wiekowym się znajdujesz?

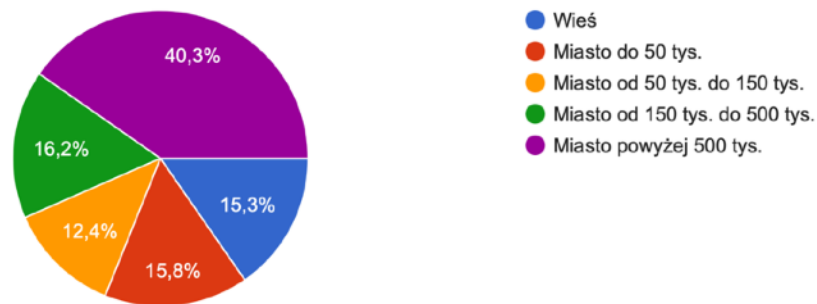
672 odpowiedzi



Since the survey targeted social media users, the three largest age groups of respondents were 18–26, 10–17 and 27–35. Additionally, 5,2% were between 36–45, 4,8% were 46–55, 2,1% were 56–65, 0,4% were 66–75 and 0,7% were 76+.

Jaka jest wielkość miejscowości Twojego zamieszkania?

672 odpowiedzi



40,3% of all respondents lived in cities with a population of over 500,000. The countryside was represented by 15,3% of respondents.

11. Survey results

Below is the ranking of the most correct answers on the recognisability of Bronisław Piłsudski, divided by sex, age, education, and location:

1. Males, 18–26 years old, city over 500,000 inhabitants, higher education (I and II degree) – 72% correct answers
2. Females, 26–35 years old, city over 500,000 inhabitants, higher education (I and II degree) – 68% correct answers
3. Males, 26–35 years old, city of 150,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, higher education (I and II degree) – 65% correct answers
4. Females, 18–26 years old, city of 150,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, higher education (I and II degree) – 62% correct answers
5. Males, 35–45 years old, village or small town, higher education (I and II degree) – 60% correct answers
6. Females, 35–45 years old, city over 500,000 inhabitants, higher education (I and II degree) – 58% correct answers

7. Males, 45–55 years old, city of 150,000 to 500,000 inhabitants, higher education (I and II degree) – 54% correct answers

8. Females, 45–55 years old, city over 500,000 inhabitants, secondary education – 50% correct answers

9. Males, 18–26 years old, village or small town, secondary education – 48% correct answers

10. Females, 26–35 years old, village or small town, higher education (I and II degree) – 45% correct answers

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