

Original article

History and contemporaneity of Polish emigration to Chile

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ABSTRACT

The emigration of the Poles to Chile is a subject of research which, despite the passage of more than two centuries since the first Poles appeared in this part of the world, still raises many questions and is a source of myths. Both the scale of emigration – as it turns out – and the fate of the Poles in Chile are still a fascinating subject for sociologists, ethnographers, and cultural anthropologists. The historical context of research on Polish emigrants in this country also inclines to look at emigration from an economic perspective. That is justified by the activity of the most famous figure – Ignacy Domeyko, who has become a national hero and a symbol of Chile's economic development. The article aims to present the genesis and scale of Polish emigration to Chile in a retrospective and contemporary perspective and a description of Ignacy Domeyko's contribution to this country. The article attempts to answer the question about the reasons for the Poles' emigration to Chile, its scale over the years, and the Poles' fate in exile.

KEYWORDS

Polish emigration, Polish Chileans, Chile, Ignacy Domeyko

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Introduction

The issue of emigration of the Poles to Chile and their fate in the country is still devoid of consistent and reliable results of scientific exploration. The deficit of knowledge on this subject is a result of various factors, the most important of which stem from incomplete sources describing Polish emigration to Chile and the relatively small population of Polish emigrants in this country. These two factors make the fate of Poles in Chile a fascinating area for research. The deficit of knowledge about them is confirmed by a relatively small number of Polish and foreign scientific publications. These address this problem in a holistic and, at the same time, a reliable way. The publications describing Ignacy Domeyko's fate and achievements have an unquestionable scientific value. The most esteemed ones include publications by Jan Brzoza, Zbigniew Wójcik, Aniela Chałubińska, Jan Ryn, and other Polish and foreign authors [1-8]. Besides, Irena Klarner-Kosinska's publication entitled *Polonia in Chile* and Maria Paradowska's

work describing the fate of the Poles in South America [9-11], which deal with the problem of the Poles in Chile in a holistic although not entirely scientific way cannot be ignored.

One of the contemporary researchers, who have largely managed to fill the 'white spot' in researching the fate of Poles in Chile is Krzysztof Smolana. In his article entitled *History of Poles in Chile* published in 1992 in the journal "Studia Polonijne" (Polish Studies), he synthesized the current knowledge about the Polish community in Chile until the end of the 1950s [12]. The unquestionable value of the article is an in-depth empirical research based mainly on the materials from the Archive of New Files and materials scattered outside Poland, which were found in the archives of the Polish Scientific Institute in New York, especially in the files of the Polish Parliament in Rio de Janeiro (1919-1945), individual documents of the Piłsudski Institute in New York and the collection of a hundred documents of the Polish Fund Committee in Chile from the years 1915-1919, which was exhibited on April 21, 1990 at an antiquarian auction in Warsaw. Despite the research, there is still a significant 'gap' in knowledge about the Chilean Polish community. A particularly pronounced deficit of archives concerns the period before World War I, which forced K. Smolana to use the Polish press, especially the articles published in the magazine "Polak w Chile – El Polaco en Chile".

Krzysztof Smolana is one of the contemporary researchers who have significantly managed to fill the blank in the studies on the fate of the Poles in Chile. In his article entitled *History of Poles in Chile* published in the journal "Studia Polonijne" (Polish Studies) in 1992, he synthesized the current knowledge about the Polish community in Chile until the end of the 1950s [12]. The unquestionable value of the article is in-depth empirical research. It was based mainly on the materials from the Archive of New Files and documents scattered outside Poland, which were found in the archives of the Polish Scientific Institute in New York, especially files of the Polish Legation in Rio de Janeiro (1919-1945), individual documents of the Józef Piłsudski Institute of America in New York, and the collection of a hundred papers of the Polish Fund Committee in Chile from the years 1915-1919. They were exhibited on April 21, 1990, at the antiquarian auction in Warsaw. Despite the research, there is still a significant 'gap' in knowledge about the Chilean Polish community. A particularly pronounced deficit of archives concerns the period before World War I, which was why K. Smolana was forced to use the Polish press, especially the articles published in the journal "A Pole in Chile – El Polaco en Chile".

The archival resources of the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in Santiago cannot be omitted either. In addition to the publications of most of the authors mentioned above, there are works by Aleksandra Pluta's works entitled *Na fali historii. Wspomnienia Polaków w Chile* (*On the wave of history. Memories of the Poles in Chile*) and Raul Nałęcz-Matachowski. *Wspomnienia z dwóch kontynentów* (*Raul Nałęcz-Matachowski. Memories from two continents*) [13, 14], Fernando Riquelme Sepulveda *La Arquitectura de Luciano Kulczewski* [15], as well as a collection of Jarosław Fischbach's reportage entitled *Polskim szlakiem przez Amerykę Południową* (*The Polish Route through South America*) [16], which is an interesting supplement to the knowledge about the Polish community settled in Chile and other South American countries. Michał Kołakowski's MA thesis written and defended at the Institute of American Studies and Polish Studies of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków in 2015, entitled *Sytuacja najnowszej emigracji polskiej w Santiago de Chile* (*Situation of the latest Polish emigration in Santiago de Chile*), has invaluable cognitive value. The work was developed thanks to field

research based on interviews with the Poles and study of source materials during the author's one-year stay in Santiago de Chile¹.

The cognitive purpose of this article is to explain the reasons and scale of the Poles' emigration to Chile and describe the fate of famous Poles and the life of the modern Polish community in this country. The goal formulated in this way was aimed at answering the question concerning the life and existential (including cultural) problems of the contemporary Chilean Polish community and the causes and scale of contemporary Polish immigration to Chile. Since the goal is partly exploratory, no research hypothesis has been put forward. The research used qualitative methods, mainly the analysis of sources based on the technique of analyzing the literature content addressing the Polish community in Chile, the immigration of the Poles to South America, as well as on a comparative and historical analysis of the content describing the genesis and size of emigration and the fate of the Poles in this country. For the historical analysis, the publications about the most famous Pole and national hero of Chile – Ignacy Domeyko, among others, his diaries published in three volumes under the title *Świat oczami Domeyki. Pamiętniki podróżnika (World through the eyes of Domeyko. Traveler's diary)*. What is more, they included letters that were written to Władysław Pawlicki entitled *Listy do Władysława Laskowicza (Letters to Władysław Laskowicz)* found in I. Domeyko's apartment in Santiago de Chile and developed in one volume by Ewa Nieciowa. The analysis of secondary data (desk research) from the data of the Polish Embassy in Chile, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, International Organization for Migration (IOM) World Migration, Office for Foreigners, as well as source materials concerning the Chilean population of the Polish community and publications, was employed to estimate the contemporary society of the Poles in Chile.

1. Emigration of the Poles to Chile – retrospective approach

1.1. Conditions for emigration of the Poles to Chile

Explanation of the causes of Polish emigration to Chile will begin with the reflection on its conditions and specificity. It should be emphasized that three variables distinguish it from most of the directions of the Poles' emigration in the past: the social origin of emigrants, the nature of emigration, and the environment (geographical, socio-cultural, and political-economic). The first variable is Polish emigrants, who – in contrast to emigrants leaving for other South American countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, or Costa Rica – were mainly representatives of elites (scientists, engineers, and entrepreneurs) emigrating under the influence of repression in the country or in search of conditions to cultivate Polish culture and their own scientific interests. In a few cases, they were contracted by the Chilean government. Only some of the emigrants from Poland came from the lower classes – peasant and working class. Like the elites, they did not create a compact Polish community. The second variable concerns the emigration itself, which is difficult to relate to the peasant-worker expansion to the USA, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, or other directions. It is also difficult to speak of “chain emigration” based on attracting new emigrants by the Poles already settled and partially assimilated in Chile. As Mateusz Kołakowski claims, *the Chilean Polish community*

¹ The work is so important and unique empirical material that it has been qualified for the archives of the Polish Embassy in Chile.

has an entirely different genesis and character. It did not come from a single wave of population influx, but rather is the product of a long process of arrival of individuals at different stages of history (...) [17, p. 4].

Taking the third variable – the environment of emigration – as a distinguishing feature of emigration, one should undoubtedly see in the foreground the diverse climate and geographical conditions, which even for the Chileans were a serious adaptation problem. The geographical specificity of the country is fully reflected in Nicolás Sáez's metaphor, where Chile appears as a "country off the coast" that is stretched mainly on a narrow strip between the Pacific and the Andes with a distance of about 4300 km between the extreme points in the north and south, and an average width in the east-west axis of about 177 km (in the broadest strip 468 km, and in the narrowest 90 km) [18]. The specificity of the country is also shown by four different climatic zones running through Chile: tropical, subtropical, moderate, and subpolar ones, which, apart from the terrain layout (from 0 to 6885 m above sea level), significantly hamper settlement and the steady development of the economy.

Both in the past and nowadays, socio-cultural factors were and still are essential variables (dependent and independent) of the analysis. These include adaptation problems and related assimilation barriers for immigrants. For the Poles emigrating to Chile both in the nineteenth and twentieth century, the main assimilation barrier was the lack of cultural competence, which is created by such matters as a lack of knowledge about the culture and society of the host country, its history, traditions, national heroes, as well as little or no linguistic competence. The assimilation problems – besides the mentioned above – were aggravated by the heterogeneous culture of Chile and the unfavorable ethnic structure of the migrating nations, which, unlike the Poles, were characterized by social and economic solidarity and a high level of cultural assimilation and social integration with the Chilean nationality. It should be emphasized that there were diasporas of the Englishmen, the Italians, the Germans, the Spaniards, the French as well as the Croats, the Irish, and the Scots before Polish immigrants arrived in Chile. They played a crucial role in the economy of the country and had an impact on national culture. It is difficult to assess their population today, but they constituted a severe adaptation barrier for the Poles due to the permanence of social relations, the trust of the Chilean authorities, and the high level and culture of work. It should be pointed out that apart from the adaptation as mentioned earlier problems, there was also an issue of acceptance of the Poles by the Chilean Government. They did not want to conclude migration agreements with the Polish authorities and often refused to allow the Poles to enter the territory of the country. That problem concerned mainly peasants, for whom qualified settlers from Germany and immigrants from other countries were a significant competition.

There is a lack of reliable sources describing Chile's real population from the period in question (19th and early 20th century). It may have ranged from 1 to 2 million people. The reason for the population underestimation was its dispersion and the difficulty in carrying out reliable censuses. The first reliable data came only from the period after the Second World War, when, in 1950, the Chileans population was estimated at 6.14 million. An important observation is a demographic change in Chile from that period, which justifies, for example, annual population growth. Within ten years – until 1960, the population of Chile increased by more than 1.5 million and already amounted to 7.69 million, in 1980 it almost doubled compared to 1950 and amounted to 11.23 million, and in 2000 it increased almost 2.5 times – 15.17 million people [19]. Today (2019), out of 18.73 million people, i.e., as many as 88.9%

of the Chileans are white people, including 39.3% of the Mestizas (descendants of Indians and the whites) and 11.1% of the Indians of various tribes: Mapuche 9.1%, Aymara 0.7%, and others 1% (Rapa Nui, Likan Antai, Quechua, Colla, Diaguita, Kawesqar, Yagan, or Yamana) [20]. Although the contemporary Chilean society is relatively racially homogeneous, cultural differences associated with the settlement of different nationalities on such a vast territory are still visible. The central regions of the country, especially around the capital city, are dominated by the Spaniards from Castile, Andalusia and the Basque Country, while the south by the Germans and its farthest reaches by Croats. The geographical conditions are also linked to the polarization of society. Nearly half of the population lives in the most important and richest Capital Region, while class and political differences are clearly visible throughout the entire territory and they were shaped under the rule of Salvador Allende and then Augusto Pinochet [17, p. 8; 21, p. 27].

1.2. The beginnings of Polish emigration to Chile

The analysis of the literature does not allow for precise identification of the first Pole to settle on Chilean soil. K. Smolana indicates that the first traces of the Poles in Chile are related to the service of Polish soldiers and sailors to the Spanish Crown as early as in the 16th century. Such presumptions have their origin in the lists and statements of the soldiers since distorted Polish names repeatedly appeared in the notes and documents of the Spanish army and ship's logs [22, p. 13]. The first more credible mentions of the Poles in Chile appeared in *Mały słownik pionierów polskich kolonialnych i morskich (Little dictionary of Polish colonial and naval pioneers)* from 1933. They referred to the figure of Ksawery Karnicki, who, in the light of one of the versions of his biography, had to leave the Polish lands and emigrated to South America in 1774, probably for political reasons [17, p. 10]. Although many later sources reproduced this information, according to K. Smolana, it should be treated as a legend not supported by any facts.

Franciszek Dunin-Borkowski was one of the first Poles whose stay in Chile is confirmed by facts. He came to Chile in 1813 and fought for the country's independence [23, p. 206]. Following various sources, he took part in several campaigns, of which those from the years 1817-1818 brought Chile's independence. He received the medals "Legion Mérito de Chile" and "Honor y Premio al Patriotismo" for his merits in the struggle [12, p. 75]. After the war, he married Rafaela Lecumberrei, a Chilean woman, with whom he had two children: Franciszek Rafał and Franciszka Petronila. His story in Chile ended with sudden death in 1826. The sources describing his fate are incomplete and repeatedly mysterious, which makes many authors challenge the authenticity of this character. One of the authors questioning him is Mariusz Malinowski. He claims that not the previously mentioned Franciszek Dunin-Borkowski was the first Pole in Chile but Juan Cristobal Borcoski, who arrived in 1744 and later became an owner of a silver mine [24, p. 60].

The unquestionable leader of the Polish community in Chile was Ignacy Domeyko due to his merits and the multitude of sources describing his achievements. He came to this country with other Poles after the defeat of the November Uprising. In the further part of the article, more attention will be devoted to him. There is evidence that two Poles with unknown names arrived there at the same time as Domeyko: a probable November insurgent named Postępski – the owner of a hotel in Valparaiso, and a shop manager named Łapiński from Biała [12, p. 78]. Their fate is practically unknown, apart from a few mentions of their lives

appearing in the press. Apart from I. Domeyko, Leonard Lachowski and Stanisław Pągowski are the best-known Poles. The first of them came to Chile in 1840. He was also a November insurgent and a graduate of the mining school in St. Etienne in France, where he practiced in mines. After the lack of success in the work for the state administration, he took up copper smelting, which brought him significant profits and allowed him to start his own business and family. He settled permanently in Rancagua, where he died in 1873. His descendants still bear the surname Vial-Lachowski [25, p. 437, 523, 659]. The other one is Stanisław Pągowski, also a November insurgent and Ignacy Domeyko's close friend, whose road to Chile led through France, Tunisia, Turkey, England, and Australia. For 20 years, he was engaged in various professions in Chile, from gardening through gold prospecting to working in the industry. As a Chilean citizen, he returned to Poland in 1863, where he was arrested and sentenced to 15 years of hard labor for having foreign citizenship. Thanks to diplomatic interventions, he had to leave for France, where he died on January 20, 1867 [12, p. 79; 25, p. 362, 373].

Ignacy Domeyko's letters to Władysław Laskowicz indicate that apart from Leonard Lachowski and Stanisław Pągowski, several other Poles arrived in Chile, with whom Domeyko had various relationships. The author of the letters gives such surnames as Kulczewski, Rymarkiewicz, Karczewski (no first names), Alfred Kranas, and Linski (no first name). There are also mentions of a writer and a poet, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's son Jan [22]. Maria Paradowska also mentions other Poles who left their mark on Chilean soil. Among them, there were Edward Fergus, H. Boberski (no name), an aristocrat Edward Aleksander Raczyński, and a vagrant Felician B. (no surname) [10, p. 49; 22, p. 23]. More information appears in the case of two priests connected with the national liberation movement in exile. The first one was canon Karol Mikoszewski, who came to Chile in 1867, while the other one was priest Mateusz Matulski, who was mentioned in Punta Arenas in 1877 [24, p. 60]. Polish scientists also arrived in Chile, among whom the following should be noted: an environmental researcher Józef Warszewicz, geologists Paweł Edmund Strzelecki, Hugo Zapałowicz and Rudolf Zuber. The latter discovered coal deposits in the Argentinian province bordering on Chile [9, p. 155].

1.3. Ignacy Domeyko – life and symbolism of the national hero of Chile

The description of Ignacy Domeyko's fate in Chile imposes the necessity of bringing his life before emigrating to Chile closer. It was of vital importance for his later activities and merits. On July 31, 1802, he was born in the village of Niedźwiadka Wielka, on the territory of present-day Belarus. His family originated from the social elite – the nobility of the Dangiel coat of arms [26]. His father, Hipolit Domeyko, was the president of the land courts, while his mother, Karolina, was closely related to Maryła Wereszczakówna, later in love with Adam Mickiewicz, who was also Ignacy's heartfelt friend. An essential role in shaping Domeyko's natural interests and patriotic values was also played by his uncle Ignacy, who, after his parents' death, took over the family's care. Nature became his passion due to socialization in the family, as well as values passed on to him by his parents and later uncle. He devoted himself to his education at the Piarist College in Szczuczyn, and later during his studies at the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics at the Imperial University of Vilnius [12, p. 76].

A significant role in Domeyko's life was played by Adam Mickiewicz, who directed his underground patriotic and political activities already during his studies. Its practical dimension was revealed after he had been admitted to the Society of Philomaths in 1819. Unfortunately, after defending his master's degree in 1822, Domeyko's connections with the Philomaths led

to his arrest together with other members of the Society. His uncle's intercession protected him from sentence and exile, thanks to which he returned to his family estate in Lida, which he later inherited from his parents. Not only did the estate provide him with prosperity and position, but it also revealed his talent for management and entrepreneurship. Adam Mickiewicz significantly contributed to Domeyka's economic initiatives since he persuaded him to get involved in the life of the landowner and set up a village school [12, p. 76]. Domeyko remained in the family estate until the outbreak of the November Uprising of 1830.

The November Uprising could have been tragic for Domeyko. He was prepared to take part in it from the very beginning, although the opportunity came only in spring 1831. His insurgent activity was accompanied by many events that could change his fate. He was captured as a spy already on his way to General Skrzynecki, and the last confession saved him from being shot. Thanks to the clergyman who ordered Domeyko to escape to the forest, he managed to save his own life and join General Dezydery Chlapowski's units. There he also met Emilia Plater and Karol Marcinkowski. After the battle of Saule, he had to flee to Prussia and then was interned [17, p. 13]. Despite that, he got involved in helping doctor Marcinkowski he had met earlier. He helped to treat those affected by cholera and bury the dead. Like every prisoner, he thought about escape and freedom [27]. His first and unsuccessful attempt to leave Prussia on a British sailing ship was wiped out by storms.

Regardless of the search for the way to freedom, I. Domeyko devoted himself to science. The research he carried out in mines and hiking along mountain routes brought him the measurable result. Finally, under pressure from the Russian consul, he was forced to flee to Paris. The road led through Germany, where he met his former friends, Mickiewicz and Odyniec. In France, during a session at the French Academy, he met great scholars, thanks to whom he began the next stage of his education in mining studies. In 1837, he was awarded the title of mining engineer at the *École des Mines* (School of Mining), after which he commenced working for the newly established steelworks. His career in France was disturbed by a letter with a proposal to become a lecturer of mineralogy and chemistry in Chilean Coquimbo [22, p. 19]. The offer was extremely tempting, notably as his fame established him a certain position and opportunities for scientific development in Chile. The main incentive to take up the challenge was the possibility of development within the exploitation of new deposits in this country. At the same time, he took up the position of a chemistry professor and mineralogy professor at the Coquimbo Mining College, where in addition to physics and chemistry, he taught mineralogy and metallurgy.

The work of a geologist and miner and his scientific career was complemented by travels around Chile to collect mineralogical material. The result of his trips and field research was numerous scientific works, the most famous of which were *Tratado de ensayes...* (*Treaty on Assay...*) [28] and a textbook on mineralogy entitled *Elementos de mineralogia o del conocimiento de las especies minerale en jeneral i en particular de las Chile* [29]. Domeyko's scientific achievements were appreciated by the Chilean authorities, who, in 1842, entrusted him with the development of a reform of the teaching system. He carried it out based on the models from the Vilnius school district. The success of the reform enabled him to join the Council for Public Education and, in 1846, to work on the reform of the University of Santiago, where he taught physics, chemistry, and mineralogy. His achievements and unquestionable authority made the University of Santiago a critical scientific center in the world. In 1867, Domeyko became its Rector and held this position for sixteen years [23, p. 27]. As far

as mining is concerned, his successes allowed him to take up the post of Mining Judge and received the informal title of “father of Chilean mining”. I. Domeyko’s undoubted success was building a “young school” of mining. He sent his best students to Paris, thus hoping to have successors and continuation of his research when they returned. He planned a trip to Poland, as he was still observing the uncertain and changeable situation on its territory. The Chilean government successfully detained Ignacy in Coquimbo, thereby granting him Chilean citizenship in 1848.

His private life also deserves attention. In 1850, he married Enriqueta Sotomayor, with whom he had three children: Ana, Hernan, and Kazimierz. Domeyko’s descendants live to this day, and his house symbolizes not only his achievements in Chile but also of patriotism and Polishness. At the end of his life, his dream came true; namely, he visited Poland. Upon his return, he died on January 23, 1889, and during the funeral, his son fulfilled his father’s last wish by throwing a lump of land brought by Ignacy from the Kościuszko Mound on the coffin. The gesture’s symbolism emphasized his eternal love for Poland, which he carried within him, despite the distance that separated him from the country. Ignacy Domeyko’s grave is located in the main cemetery in Santiago by the alley named after him.

Domeyko left a substantial scientific and symbolic legacy that is still visible today. His name is not only that of the streets and towns, but also, since 1889, the Cordillera Domeyko mountain range, located in the northern part of Chile and forming the Central Andes, stretching from north to south for 600 km to the west of the Salar de Atacama [30, p. 55-80]², and the mountain peak near Copiapo. The mineral discovered by Domeyko, called “domeykit” by the German mineralogist Wilhelm Ritter von Haidinger, also originates from his name. The previously mentioned textbook on mineralogy, in which he described in detail the properties of most of the known and newly discovered minerals, gained outstanding worldwide fame. Their collection at the University of Santiago numbered over 4000 different specimens. It should also be noted that the figure of Domeyko appeared as Żegota in an epic by Adam Mickiewicz entitled *Pan Tadeusz*.

I. Domeyko’s diaries, written down for nearly 50 years, has a priceless scientific value for researchers of his fate. Apart from reflections on life, they contain accounts of his travels through the Andes, the Pacific coast, and the Holy Land, as well as memories of the homeland [31]. The diaries are also a form of writer’s nostalgia set in the reality of forced emigration from the country, his nostalgia for it, and a grudge against fate. Apart from diaries, Domeyko published over 500 scientific works, available both in Chilean and Polish libraries. In 1887, he was awarded an honorary doctorate of the Jagiellonian University. The cult of Domeyko also continues in Chile. Thanks to science, discoveries, and a considerable contribution to the development of the mining industry, Chile has changed from a developing country to a developing and internationally recognized country through Domeyko. The symbolism and cult of Domeyko in Chile are evident almost everywhere. In addition to these geographical and administrative designations referring to his name, anniversary celebrations are organized, and numerous publications on his life and achievements are produced. The Chileans are proud to speak of Domeyko as follows: *Domeyko first showed us our treasures and taught us how to use them* [32].

² The highest peak of the Domeyko Mountains is Cerro Quimal with a height of 4278 m a.s.l.

Paradoxically, even though he is an unquestionable hero and, at the same time, the “father of the Chilean Polish community” in Chile, his memory in Poland remained for many years in the shadow of his Polish diaspora measure. It is only for a few years now that the memory of him in Poland has been restored, and the Ignacy Domeyko School (CXXII Ignacy Domeyka Secondary School in Warsaw) and the Ignacy Domeyko Polish Social School in Brest, Belarus, which by organizing projects and exchanges give a chance to learn about this forgotten part of Polish history, contribute the most to the above. One of the manifestations of cultivating the memory of Domeyko was a visit of the delegation from the Chilean mining school in Lubin to the School Complex No. 1. Within the framework of Chile’s cooperation, students from Junior High School No. 4 in Lubin visited the school [33]. The same Junior High School was visited by Ignacy Domeyka’s great-grandson Pablo Domeyko, who traveled around Poland in 2016. It is also worth mentioning the teachers from Chile, who also take advantage of the development opportunities offered by schools in Poland. In honor of one of the Polish cities, where Chileans have been coming for several years, the handball club in Coquimbo was named Deportivo de Balonmano “Lubin”.

The initiatives of cooperation between Polish schools and Chilean schools bring significant results. It should also be added that education in Chile is not available to everyone and is dependent on the level of income. The high tuition fees mean that poor children, usually living in districts with high unemployment, crime, and other social pathologies, have no chance of getting any education. Thanks to the Domeyko School in Coquimbo, even the most impoverished children today are provided with educational opportunities. Its phenomenon is that teachers, spending their resources and time trying to give students everything they do not have at home, try to influence individuals who grow up in extreme poverty and pathologies. At present, education in Chile at all levels of education suffers from low investment. That is particularly affecting higher education, which, thanks to Domeyko, reached the level of European universities at that time. Today there is no trace of his reforms, and students are raising protests against the authorities. Despite poverty and institutional negligence in Chilean education, the memory of Domeyko is still alive. A significant event was the opening of the Ignacy Domeyko Museum in La Serena in 2017, owing to the co-founder of higher education in Chile and the Chilean economy animator. It has the character of a cultural center with a permanent exhibition, library, and auditoriums and lecture halls [34].

1.4. The Chilean Polish community of the early 20th century

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, whole Polish families such as the Kosiba, the Kulczyński, the Niedbalski, and the Janiszewski came to Chile. The reason for their emigration from Polish lands were political changes and the desire to explore exotic corners of the world. As already mentioned, the Polish intelligentsia arriving in Chile in the 19th century did not even create the foundations of the Polish community. Moreover, most families lived in their own relatively isolated sub-worlds. It should be emphasized after K. Smolana that (...) *on the eve of World War I, there were at least a few dozen Poles in Chile living mainly in Santiago de Chile, Valparaiso, and Temuco. These were civil servants, tradesmen, craftsmen, workers, and priests. These Poles kept in touch with each other, but they did not know what the “Polish life” is like* [12, p. 80]. The reason for social disintegration was the relative lack of threats, the favor of the authorities, and the Chileans themselves. At the beginning of the 20th century, apart from the Domeyko family, the Polish elite included Florian Niedbalski and his family

from Temuco, Bronisław Sydow, as well as Michał Chmyzowski. The latter came to Chile in 1903, and in 1910 he was nominated as the Russian honorary consul in Santiago [12, p. 80].

The breakthrough came with the outbreak of World War I. It is precisely this moment that is associated with the Polish Fund Committee's establishment on May 25, 1916, whose task was to provide financial assistance to the Poles experienced by fate. According to K. Smolana, despite quite significant funds gathered for the benefit of the affected Poles (31,817 Chilean peso and 2,000 francs deposited in a bank in Switzerland), it is difficult to speak about the solidarity of the Chilean Polish community. Of the approximately 3000 Poles living in Chile at the beginning of the twentieth century, only known families showed their generosity. Indeed, the lack of interest in fundraising was not influenced by economic factors since most of the Poles lived in Chile prosperously, but by the geographical dispersion of the Polish community [35]. On July 1, 1916, the Polish Cultural Circle named after I. Domeyko was established, and it was to become a meeting place for all Poles in exile in Chile. It also served as a library and reading room and organized the cultural life of the Polish community and events commemorating significant figures and events related to Polish history. As part of its activity, the Circle was to promote Polish culture and problems among Chileans. The information activities were supported by press articles published in 13 magazines and a leaflet entitled *Proclama a la sociedad chilena* describing the situation in Poland, the destruction and losses incurred by the society, as well as the actions taken by Henryk Sienkiewicz and Ignacy Paderewski for the benefit of war victims [12, p. 82]. The National Committee in Paris did not back the activities of the Circle. That caused the organization to lose the support of the Chilean authorities due to difficulties in determining the national identity of its members holding the citizenship of the partitioning countries.

Despite that, the Poles have been established in Chileans' perception as the extremely persistent nation, which respects its identity. They became a synonym and symbol of faith in independence, which was inscribed in the slogans "Polonia Heroica", which means "Heroic Poland", and "Polonia Martir" that stands for "Sacrificial Poland" [36, p. 142]. The goal of the Chilean Polish community was to regain independence by Poland, and the pursuit of it at the same time united the emigrants but also allowed them to forget about any disputes. Over time, the Polish community in Chile began to devote itself to politics, but the Poles' violent nature did not allow for a long love affair with this field. The government of this country did not facilitate the assimilation process for the Poles, mainly due to internal beliefs about low culture and preferences for the Germanic nation. In contrast to the period of World War I, in the interwar years, with the expiry of the activities of the Ignacy Domeyko Polish Cultural Circle and the Polish Fund Committee in Chile, the azimuths of the Polish community's activities changed from strictly political to purely cultural and social. Nevertheless, this activity of the Polish community was also gradually losing its strength, which was the reason for the lack of an efficient diplomatic post (only the Honorary Consulate of the Republic of Poland, established in Santiago in 1921 was active) maintaining the bonds of the Poles with their homeland and the process of their cultural assimilation with the Chilean society. The process of acculturation of the Poles based on accepting the characteristics of Latin American culture intensified due to the dispersion of the Polish community and its disintegration. It was supported by excellent relations with the Chileans on social and economic grounds. At the same time, Poland's process of slow immigration was hampered entirely, which was the reason for the Chilean authorities' policy towards Polish economic immigrants. Due to

the low work culture and productivity, the Chilean authorities preferred other nationalities, mainly the Germans. Despite the intervention of the Polish government and the suspension of saltpeter imports, even though the demand for this commodity was low, the Chilean authorities decisively refused to admit the Poles to their territory, and in 1937 they banned the issuance of visas to them [23, p. 211-12].

In 1927, another attempt to integrate the Chilean Polish community took place. The establishment of the Marshal Józef Piłsudski Polish Circle by the 12 founders was intended to serve to that. Its role boiled down to helping the newly arrived Poles and sustaining Polish culture by, among other things, promoting native music, art, and journalistic activity. Although the number of its members increased to 48, the activity of the Circle soon expired. The last traces of its activity were registered in 1930 [37].

As K. Smolana indicates, one more wave of immigrants from Poland arrived in Chile through the USSR, China, and Japan [36, p. 135]. According to I. Klarner-Kosińska, there were also soldiers of the International Brigades in Spain and a soldier from the Polish formations, including the army of General Anders, fighting in the West [23, p. 212]. The Chilean Polish community, which at the beginning of World War II counted about 380 Polish citizens, organized the Committee to Aid the War Victims in Poland in 1940, and in 1943 the Polish Red Cross representation. It aimed to support Polish prisoners of war [12, p. 85]. During that period, efforts were made to help people affected by the war, e.g., Polish soldiers in German captivity and refugees staying in different parts of the world. Assistance from Chile was also sent to the Poles in the USSR. Due to the small percentage of the Poles in Chile, such a large amount of help proves the extraordinary generosity that characterized them. Attempts were also made to help families, friends, or relatives who were in need individually. Ships from the United States provided help in the form of clothes, food, but also other gifts, which, in addition to the American Polish community, were also received from the Poles staying in Chile. It is difficult to estimate the entire population of the Poles living in Chile during World War II. K. Smolana states that about 200 Poles came to Chile in the war period [22, p. 51].

Noteworthy is also the role of the Polish intelligence post operating in Chile in 1942-45, called "Signalca" or "Signalva". The structures in Chile were closely connected with the post in Buenos Aires, which was subordinate to the "Estezet" in New York. They were headed by the Overseas Department of Intelligence of the 2nd Division of the Commander-in-Chief Staff [38, p. 155-9]. The post was mainly concerned with the observation of Chile and its relations with the Axis countries, migration movements from the areas neighboring Poland, and the intelligence activity in the Axis countries [38, p. 157-8]. It also dealt with the recruitment of the Poles to the front. According to Mariusz Malinowski, due to the intelligence, no more than ten representatives of the Chilean Polish community were recruited [24, p. 64-5].

2. The Polish community in Chile after the Second World War

2.1. The Chilean Polish community of the communist period

Both during and immediately after the Second World War, the Chilean Polish community constituted a small percentage of the Chilean society. According to the census of 1952, Chile was inhabited by about 1500 people declaring Polish citizenship. M. Malinowski points out that probably most of them were of Jewish origin and still belonged to the pre-war emigration [24,

p. 64-5]. At the same time, the post-war years revealed a tendency of the Poles to emigrate from Chile to Canada and the United States, which led to a situation similar to the one from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. It was then that the Polish community's disintegration was accompanied by the process of cultural assimilation of Poles. The reasons for this process were the same as in previous years, namely the lack of contact with Polish institutions in the country, geographical dispersion, and a small population of the Poles. It should be emphasized that post-war contacts with Poland had political limitations, because the Poles remaining in exile (not only in Chile) showed, at least in the first period of independence, aversion to the authorities of the Polish People's Republic. In later years they divided into a decidedly anti-communist camp, whose initiative was the creation of the I. Domeyko Polish-Chilian Society, and a moderate camp allowing for cooperation with People's Poland, which created the Council for Polish Emigration in Chile. With time, the first organization disappeared and ideological differences began to lose their importance. Hence, in the 1950s, only the Polish Union, which in 1954 had about 100 members, existed in Chile [17, p. 20; 22, p. 51]. Other initiatives that were undertaken by the Chilean Polish community also appeared in this period. Such organizations as Polish Veterans' Associations, the Institute of Polish Culture in Santiago, and the Center of Polish Friends at the Chilean University, which later became the Chilean-Polish Cultural Institute, were established [17, p. 20]. In the 1960s, their activity gradually began to disappear, even in the face of further attempts to establish diplomatic relations between the government of the People's Republic of Poland and the Chilean government.

Bogusław Borowicz, a Polish sociologist and photographer, emigrated to Chile in the 1950s. It was thanks to him that photography was opened at the Faculty of Fine Arts of Chilean University. He was devoted to analog photography, and, while repeating that "modern man is not complete if he does not know photography", he encouraged his students to do so [39]. Borowicz is distinguished by black-and-white photographs, mainly portraits, and frames documenting the life of Chilean streets. He developed his unique style, which has made him famous all over the world. He was also an excellent educator who taught a group of young photographers at Chilean University. Students remember him as cheerful but a demanding teacher as well whose charisma was enchanting since the first meeting. Borowicz considered it his goal to teach young adepts the "photography of the decisive moment", a French tendency promoted by Cartier Bresson. It was based on taking a picture of a fleeting moment in a painting frame [40]. Among the well-known Poles in Chile during the communist period, one should mention such figures as an architect and builder Józef Cajtek living in Valparaíso, a long-time head of the Department of Machine Building at the University of Concepción Prof. Zygmunt Koryzma, a draftsman in the Sewell mine Zbigniew Piotrowski, a painter, actor and ballet master Raul Nałęcz-Małachowski, a lecturer at the University of Santiago Prof. Bogumił Jasinowski, as well as a writer Marian Rawicz, and a visual artist and lecturer at the University of Santiago Maria Klyuchynska. Edmund Stefan Urbański also describes the figure of Zygmunt Sławiński, an economist living in Chile for 25 years, as well as the missionary and Rev. Szymon Wójcicki, who lived in this country for almost 60 years, and many other distinguished Polish scientists and clergymen [41, p. 129, 199].

The second half of the 1950s was a period of secondary emigration, mainly to such countries as the United States, Australia, or Great Britain. The decision to leave was made by researchers, for example, Michał Poradowski. This period was a symbol of the substantial weakening of the Polish community in Chile. The 1960s allowed for the return of diplomatic relations

between Chile and Poland, which were interrupted during World War II and were again suspended after General Augusto Pinochet's coup d'état in 1973 [24, p. 66-7]. The Chilean Polish community's rapprochement took place in 1978 after the election of Karol Wojtyła as Pope, which motivated the creation of the John Paul II Polish Circle in Santiago. The essence of this organization was to develop the Polish culture. In 1987, the Pope's visit was an excellent experience for the Polish community [24, p. 68].

2.2. Migration of the Poles to Chile after 1989

After 1989, migration regulations were liberalized and the threat of sanctions for emigrants who left Poland during World War II and later ceased to exist. Diplomatic relations in the 1990s were also of great importance for free travel to Chile, which resulted in the abolition of visas and the creation of the Chilean-Polish Cultural Institute based in Santiago. There were still such organizations as the Ignacy Domeyko Polish Association in Chile and the John Paul II Polish Circle. According to M. Malinowski, the Chilean Polish community consisted of 250 people in 2002. In the following years, there was an upward trend in their population in Chile. As a result, following the data of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), in 2010, the population of the Poles in this country was estimated at 740 people without distinction between those born in Poland and Chile or another country [42]. According to the data of the Polish Embassy in Santiago de Chile, the population of Chilean Polish community was 472 people in 2012, 500 people born in Poland, and holding a Polish passport) in 2015, and 700 people with Polish origin [43]. Leaving that issue aside, it should be emphasized that at the beginning of the 21st century, the Poles' interest in this direction of migration increased. That was related to KGHM's investments in the Chilean market [44]. The contemporary Polish diaspora inhabits not only the central region and the capital city but also the far north – the Antofagasta region. What is more, the Poles live in smaller centers, for instance, Valparaíso or Puerto Montt. The Poles employed by KGHM Polska Miedź during the construction of its largest Ignacy Domeyko mine in Sierra Gorda settled in the Antofagasta region. During its construction, the workforce of almost 10 thousand employees was used. Currently, the Polish investment is the largest of its kind in the world, and KGHM employs 2 thousand workers, mainly from China. However, the key positions are filled by the Poles [45]. Following the data from the Office for Foreigners, the number of Poles leaving for Chile has been growing over the last decade. According to them, in January 2020, 109 of them had valid documents (except for the Polish community), including for permanent residence – 44, temporary residence – 57, and long-term EU residence – 8. Most of them are men in the number of 92, and 17 women [46]. Figure 1 presents the Poles' growth who have the right to stay in Chile in the years 2010-2020.

The upward trend in the Poles population in Chile is expected to continue, especially as KGHM Polska Miedź plans further long-term investments in Chile. Cooperation on a scientific basis is also gaining in importance, based on the employment of educated and sometimes Polish engineers in Chile. The scientific traditions of I. Domeyko are also being maintained, as, on December 11th, 2018, a declaration on scientific and technical cooperation with the University of La Serena was signed in Chile. KGHM also intends to introduce a scholarship program for local students [47].

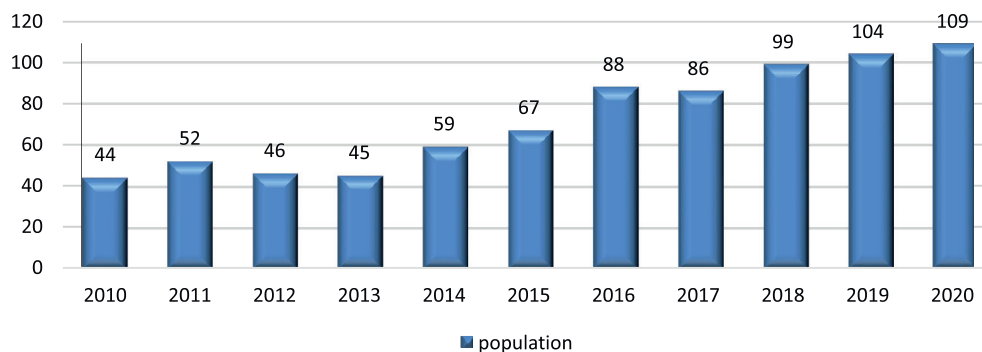


Fig. 1. Population of the Poles who have the right of residence in Chile in 2010-2020

Source: Own study based on [46].

2.3. Existential problems and everyday life of Polish communities in Chile

To make a description of everyday life of the Polish community in Chile, the results of research conducted by M. Kořakowski in Santiago in 2015 need to be synthesized. The justification is based on the fact that these are one of the few and at the same time reliable studies conducted on the Chilean Polish community. Noteworthy are the initial assumptions for the study, which was based on a deliberate sample selection in accordance with the criterion of 10-year residence in Chile. The author raises numerous limitations, which appeared while in Chile. Knowing only three people, he used snowball sampling – a technique based on the selection of respondents for interviews by obtaining knowledge about them during previous interviews. Such a methodological approach is the most correct, especially in relation to poorly identified research area.

The essence of such research is to explore new knowledge about a known phenomenon or population – in this case, the Chilean Polish community and its everyday life. As a result, the empirical material under analysis was gathered through qualitative (in-depth) interviews, using the technique of partial and structured interviews (as indicated by the accepted instructions for interviews). Among them, there were such issues as the time of stay in Chile, motives of arrival and professional and family situation, cultural competence and opinion about Chile before and during the stay, frequency, and nature of contacts with other Poles in Chile, relations, and contacts with Chileans – their nature, possible tensions, and conflicts, mutual perception, including stereotypes and prejudices, assessment of one's standard of living and lifestyle in Chile, and plans for the future [17, p. 34]. To illustrate the Poles' situation in Chile, only selected dependent variables examined during interviews were applied. The first of them concerns the motives for going to Chile. The results of M. Kořakowski's research show fascinating conclusions; namely, the vast majority of the respondents (out of 11) declared autotelic motives – feelings and sympathies, while in the background, instrumental motives were revealed, to which he included job search. The respondents also included adventure seekers [17, p. 37]. The second variable refers to the standard of living in exile and family life. The research shows that most respondents remained in relationships with Chilean partners, including four of them married, and three had children. The author also points to one respondent who found a family with the same rare name in Chile [17, p. 39-40].

Another variable concerned the cultural competence of respondents before and during their stay. Some respondents had already visited Chile before deciding to live in this country. This experience allowed them to acquire cultural competence and knowledge about the country and motivated them to explore it. Some of the respondents went to Chile almost “blindly”, relying solely on secondary knowledge from their friends, which in the case of quality and cost of living proved to be mostly inadequate to reality. The process of cultural assimilation naturally contributed to the acquisition of cultural competence and knowledge of the country’s specificity. The respondents declared their interest in the literature and art of Chile and getting to know Chilean culture. However, they emphasized that they did not lose contact with other Poles in exile, and even more so with Poland [17, p. 40, 44, 46].

The analysis of the content of interviews concerning the existence of the Poles in Chile resulted in mutual relations between the Poles and the Chileans. They are related to the process of cultural assimilation and social integration. The results of the research indicate that both nationalities showed no or a low level of social distance. The vast majority of respondents indicated good relations with the Chileans and a very open and friendly attitude towards the Poles. They assessed the attitude of the Chileans towards the Poles in categories ranging from neutral to positive. As the author points out, that has its etiology in the Chilean culture, which, in comparison with other Latin American nations, is characterized by trust, tolerance, and a peaceful lifestyle. The research also shows significant similarities in the style of being of both nationalities, relative permanence of relationships, high level of Catholicism, and the tendency to combine [17, p. 49]. On the cultural ground, on the other hand, apart from the difference written in the civilization code, many communication barriers related to the approach to keeping contracts, vocabulary, punctuality, which in the Chilean culture have a completely different meaning and dimension than in Poland, emerged. While in the phase of cultural shock, these elements have meaning, in the subsequent phases of cultural assimilation, they remain a natural and acceptable issue. Among the cultural differences, the author also included the “work ethos” among Chileans, which is rather apparent, as the relatively long working time spent at work does not prove their productivity and effectiveness [17, p. 50]. In the Chilean culture, the traditional, often patriarchal, and multi-generational model of the family as the highest value stands out very firmly. The Chileans show a high level of attachment and family solidarity.

The author highlighted a deficient level of knowledge of the Chileans about Poland and the Poles, which in relation to Domeyko’s merits and the manifestation of his symbolism, raises some doubts. In the respondents’ opinion, their knowledge is almost zero, even in terms of geographical location, language, and politics. The surveyed people instead revealed knowledge based on misperception and stereotypes, which are almost invisible. In the minority, there were relationships indicating interest in Polish culture and art, or they sometimes identify Poland with John Paul II, Lech Wałęsa, Grzegorz Lato, Robert Lewandowski, or possibly with Ignacy Domeyko [17, p. 58].

The presented conclusions derived from M. Kořakowski’s research, although based on a small sample, demonstrate a significant fragment of reality from the life of the Chilean Polish community, its coexistence in a foreign, and a specific cultural environment. Both in the past and nowadays, very different motives of the Poles emigrating to this country have been revealed, and they are often difficult to justify. The distance from Poland, the specificity of the geographical environment, relatively low standard of living, and cultural diversity indicate that

cultural assimilation and social integration are a priori harsh, even impossible. The reality, however, is entirely different than one might suppose. As it turns out, feelings, the desire to know a different world have become the main reasons for emigrating to Chile. Applying this thesis to the Poles working at the KGHM Polska Miedź mine in Sierra Gorda seems problematic since the financial factor is the primary determinant of emigration. Nonetheless, it should be assumed that, as in the 20th and 20th centuries, contract workers will also supplement the Chilean Polish community's population.

Summary and conclusions

The analysis of literature and sources has allowed for a relatively coherent description of the emigration of the Poles to Chile in the past and nowadays, their fates, and existential problems in a heterogeneous and culturally and geographically foreign environment. While in the descriptive layer, the assumed objective of qualitative research has been achieved, the explanation layer still leaves many gaps. Disregarding both historical and contemporary emigrants leaving Poland for the planned contracts (e.g., I. Domeyko), it does not seem easy to explain why the Poles chose such a distant part of the world to emigrate. Many of the examples described in the article show the whole range of barriers that the Poles encountered not only on the way to Chile but also while living there. The distance itself was and still is a severe organizational and financial challenge for the emigrants, and under the assumption that most of them went away "blindly", it proves their courage and desperation. Geographical conditions, relative poverty, past political disadvantages, as well as cultural barriers, including language, also remain in opposition. The argument in favor of choosing Chile as a country of emigration is the relatively inviting society that is open to foreigners and inclined to cultural assimilation. That has revealed itself as a bipolar absorption of cultural components, including cultural values. It is evidenced not only by traditions and customs written in Polish-Chilean families but also by the tendency of the Chileans to maintain the memory of Domeyko.

These days, in the era of KGHM Polska Miedź investment, emigration to Chile seems to have another dimension. While in the past, the Polish community in Chile was mostly made up of representatives of the elite – landowners and scientists, today they are qualified employees of the mining industry, chemical industry, and scientists cooperating with KGHM. There is a chance that some of the contract workers will stay in Chile and start families, which will be the nucleus of the new Chilean Polish community.

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Author contributions

All authors contributed to the interpretation of results and writing of the paper. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

Ethical statement

The research complies with all national and international ethical requirements.

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Historia i współczesność polskiej emigracji do Chile

STRESZCZENIE Emigracja Polaków do Chile jest przedmiotem badań, który mimo upływu ponad dwóch wieków od pojawienia się pierwszych Polaków w tym zakątku świata, nadal rodzi wiele pytań i jest źródłem mitów. Zarówno skala emigracji – jak się okazuje nielicznej i losy Polaków w Chile stanowią wciąż fascynujący temat dla socjologów, etnografów i antropologów kultury. Historyczny kontekst badań nad polskimi emigrantami w tym państwie skłania również na spojrzenie na emigrację z perspektywy gospodarczej, którą uzasadnia działalność najślawniejszej postaci – Ignacego Domeyki, który stał się dla Chile bohaterem narodowym i symbolem rozwoju gospodarczego. Celem artykułu jest prezentacja genezy i skali emigracji Polaków do Chile w ujęciu retrospektywnym i współczesnym oraz opis zasług Ignacego Domeyki dla tego państwa. Artykuł stanowi próbę odpowiedzi na pytanie dotyczące przyczyn emigracji Polaków do Chile, jej skali w latach a także ich losów na emigracji.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE polska emigracja, chilijska Polonia, Chile, Ignacy Domeyko

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