CROSSROADS OF THE OLD CONTINENT. CENTRAL AND SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY

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SPIS TREŚCI

"NOT ONLY FLOWING WITH MILK AND HONEY..."

SERVICE OF CERTIFIED LIEUTENANT COLONEL MARIAN MORAWSKI (1892–1945) IN THE ARMY OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC. AN OUTLINE OF A BIOGRAPHY

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The Republic of Poland, which was reborn in 1918, had to deal with many external and internal problems. Strenuous work on the reconstruction of statehood was carried out both in political cabinets and on the fronts of wars over state borders. However, the fight with the neighbours would not have been possible without the army, and therefore the Polish forces was reborn in parallel with statehood. In its ranks there were many soldiers for whom the Motherland was the most important. However, the army is not only privateers, but also officers who often spent the period of World War I in the partitioning armies, and who joined the Polish Army in 1918 and served in it in the following years. Over time, many of them have been forgotten or their names appear occasionally when discussing other topics. In my text, I would like to recall and outline the biography of one of the officers of the Second Polish Republic, certified Lieutenant Colonel (podpułkownik dyplomowany) Marian Morawski.

Marian Morawski was born on March 25, 1892 in Pruszków as the son of Władysław and Rozalia née Bartoszewicz.[1] Marian Morawski in the documents collected in the personal file stated that his father was a mechanic in railway workshops in Żbików. This information is some-

[1] CAW WBH, Marian Morawski, ap. 4654, Stan służby z 1920 r., bp.

what misleading. When filling out the State of Service (Stan Służby) document twice in 1918 and 1920, M. Morawski was to indicate his father's last place of work. As the railway workshops in Żbików near Pruszków, as a base for the Warsaw-Vienna "Iron Road", began to be built in 1895,[2] therefore W. Morawski could start working there no sooner than three years after his son was born. Young Marian received elementary education in his family home, then he graduated from the railway technical school and the Artur Jeżewski's 7-class commercial school in Warsaw,[3] obtaining his high school diploma (matura), and then four semesters of the Kiev Trade Institute. He married Paulina Bagocka[4]. However, he did not associate his career with trade, and after the outbreak of World War I, he joined the tsarist army. From December 1914 to May 1915, he was a student of the Konstantynów Military Infantry School in Kiev. His first assignment was the 132nd Infantry Regiment Reserve Battalion, in which he served until August 1915 as a company officer. From August 1915 until December 1917, he was associated with the 5th Turkestan Rifle Regiment, where he served as a company and battalion commander as well as a regiment's adjutant. Then, until January 29, 1919, he was associated with the eastern formations of the Polish Army (including the 2nd Polish Corps), and was also the commander of the Polish Military Organization—PMO (Polska Organizacja Wojskowa—POW) in the Vinnytsia district.[5] During his service in the tsarist army, he achieved the rank of lieutenant (appointed on October 4, 1916), while, as reported in the documents in Polish formations in the east, he was appointed captain (on November 7, 1917, presented to the rank, from April 11, 1918, captain).[6]

On January 29, 1919, he was admitted to the Polish Army and assigned to the 32nd Infantry Regiment Battalion in Ciechanów, where

[2] For more information about factory in Żbików see J. Kaleta, *Pruszków przemysłowy*, Pruszków 2010, pp. 97–112; B. Mielczarek, *Szkice z dziejów Pruszkowa. III. Przemysł pruszkowski w latach 1878–1918*, „Przegląd Pruszkowski" 1982, nr 1, pp. 10–12; M. Skwara, *Historia Pruszkowa do roku 1945*, Pruszków 2011, pp. 58–59.

[3] This school was established in place of A. Ubysz's school, closed after the events of 1905. It was supported by advocate Artur Jeżewski, it was characterized by a relatively high level of upbringing and teaching. See J. Miąso, *Szkolnictwo handlowe w Królestwie Polskim (1855–1914)*, „Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty" 1965, nr 8, p. 161.

[4] CAW WBH, Marian Morawski, ap. 4654, Stan służby z 1920 r., bp. The author did not manage to establish the date of the wedding of the Morawski's parents.

[5] CAW WBH, Marian Morawski, ap. 4654, Karta kwalifikacyjna dla Komisji Weryfikacyjnej, bp.

[6] CAW WBH, Marian Morawski ap. 4654, Karta ewidencyjna z 1920 r., bp.

he became the commander of the Non-Commissioned Officers School. In March 1919, he was a student of the 1st Staff Adjutants Course at the Supreme Command of the Polish Army.

In the initial period, the resurgent army suffered from a small number of officers. Therefore, professional soldiers were accepted into its ranks, regardless of their previous affiliation. Such a situation, however, posed many difficulties, because first of all, each group was trained according to different patterns. There was also a shortage of trained officers for staff work. This problem was noticed at the dawn of the formation of the officer corps of the Polish Army. In December 1918, one of the seven departments of the created Ministry of Military Affairs was the VII Department of Military Education headed by Gen. Jan Jacyna. At the beginning of 1919, the problem of the shortage of staff adjutants was dealt with, on March 10, 1919, the first course, headed by General Second Stefan Majewski. His listeners were officers from all infantry, artillery and cavalry regiments as well as from Command of the General District (Dowództwo Okręgu Generalnego-DOG) (1 per unit). The course ended on April 19, 1919. After graduating, M. Morawski was assigned as one of 33 officers as a staff adjutant. He was sent to the Command of the Lithuanian-Belarusian Front.[7]

During the battles for borders he was associated, with among others, with the command of the 1st Lithuanian-Belarusian Division. When M. Morawski was admitted to the Polish Army, there was a problem with his rank. The conducted proceedings showed that he was admitted to the newly formed Polish Army as a lieutenant, while he was mistakenly assigned as a captain to the Lithuanian-Belarusian Front.[8] In 1922 he was verified as a major,[9] and in January 1929 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel.[10] During his service in the Polish army, M. Morawski, apart from decorations from the tsarist army (Order of St. Anna, 4th and 3rd degree, and Order of St. Stanisław, 2nd and 3rd degree[11]), received four times the Cross of Valor, the Gold Cross of Merit, the Cross of Independence and the Cross of Merit of the Lithuanian Army Central.[12]

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[7] A. Wszendyrówny, *I kurs Wojennej Szkoły Sztabu Generalnego w budowaniu bezpieczeństwa państwa*, „Kwartalnik Bellona" 2015, nr 3, pp. 117–120.

[8] CAW WBH WBH, Marian Morawski, ap. 4654, Arkusz wywiadowczy do Sekcji 2 Departamentu Personalnego z 19 lutego 1920 r., bp.

[9] *Lista starszeństwa oficerów zawodowych*, Warszawa 1922, p. 35.

[10] *Dziennik Personalny MSWojsk.* 1929, Nr 2 z 24 stycznia, p. 1.

[11] See CAW WBH, Marian Morawski, ap. 4654, Karta ewidencyjna z 1920 r., bp.

[12] See *Rocznik Oficerski 1929*, Warszawa 1929, s. 22.

The next assignment of M. Morawski was 50th Infantry Regiment (IR), in which he was a full-time officer seconded to the Department of Soldiers' Settlements in the Cabinet of the Minister of Military Affairs.[13] In May 1924 he was transferred to 24 IR from 27th Infantry Division stationed in Łuck to the position of the commander of the 2nd battalion.[14] On November 1, 1924, he was directed to a one-year course at the Higher Military School,[15] and after completing it, he obtained a scientific diploma of an officer of the General Staff. On October 15, 1925, he was assigned to the 27th Infantry Division, where he took the position of chief of staff.[16] He held this position for two years, and at the end of October 1927 he returned to the position of deputy regiment commander at 24th IR.[17] He served in the Łuck regiment until November 1930, and then he was assigned to an equivalent position up to 10th IR from Łowicz (26th Infantry Division). His next assignment in 1932 was the 10th Regional Office of Physical Education and Military Training at the Command of Corps District No. X in Przemyśl.

The State Office of Physical Education and Military Training (Państwowy Urząd Wychowania Fizycznego i Przysposobienia Wojskowego—PUWFiPW) began its activity in 1927, and its primary role was to manage work related to general physical education and military training. In April 1928, a decision was made to create a District Office of Physical Education and Military Training, which is The State Office of Physical Education and Military Training in a nutshell, at each Corps District Command (CDC, Dowództwo Okręgu Korpusu–DOK). One of them was the one to which M. Morawski went. According to the opinions left by his superiors, he did not perform well in this position. Commander of the Corps District No. X of Gen. Brig. Janusz Głuchowski, who gave his opinion in 1934, explicitly stated that M. Morawski was not suitable for this position, indicating, inter alia, for his low resolve, often misguided initiative and family problems. Also Col. Dipl. Władysław Kiliński, director of the State Office of Physical Education and Military Training, gave him a similar assessment, agreeing to the arguments indicated by the commander of CDC X. There was also a need to transfer him.[18]

[13] *Rocznik Oficerski 1923*, Warszawa 1923, p. 266.
[14] *Dziennik Personalny MSWojsk.* 1924, Nr 48 z 15 maja, p. 274.
[15] *Dziennik Personalny MSWojsk.* 1924, Nr 78 z 12 sierpnia, p. 445.
[16] *Dziennik Personalny MSWojsk.* 1925, Nr 106 z 15 października, p. 571.
[17] *Dziennik Personalny MSWojsk.* 1927, Nr 25 z 31 października, p. 313.
[18] CAW WBH, Marian Morawski, ap. 4654, Roczne uzupełnienie listy kwalifikacyjnej za 1934 rok, bp.

During his service in Przemyśl, M. Morawski also belonged to the Polish White Cross (Polski Biały Krzyż — PBK).[19] This organization was established in the United States and Canada during World War I, and was headed by Helena Paderewska, the wife of the outstanding Polish pianist, composer and independence activist, Ignacy Paderewski. Initially operating in exile, after regaining independence, PBK started operating in Poland, cooperating with the army, among others in combating illiteracy in the army.[20]

In 1934 he was transferred from 10 SOPE&MT at CDC X to 45th IR from Rivne commanded by Col. Dipl. Bronisław Prugar–Kettling. This unit was part of the 13th Infantry Division, and in this regiment M. Morawski took the position of deputy commander once again in his career.[21]

Marian Morawski once again, during his service, found himself in the south-eastern territories of the Second Polish Republic. These were not foreign areas to him—for many years he was an officer in the 24th Infantry Regiment stationed in Lutsk. Now it came to Rivne, which was the largest city in the then Volyn Province. Despite the fact that in the times of the Second Polish Republic this city with over 40,000 people was a large military garrison (among others the 13th Infantry Division and the command of the Volhynian Cavalry Brigade were stationed here), it did not appear to be the promised land. Officers who arrived here, such as Jerzy Kirchmayer (in 1932–1935, the 1st Staff Officer of the 13th Infantry Division) pointed to the ugliness of Rivne, but the activities of the Polish city authorities slowly changed this situation.[22]

On the other hand, the regiment to which Lt. Col. M. Morawski came from the Polish Army in France. As the 3rd Polish Rifle Regiment, it was part of the 1st Polish Rifle Division (1st PRD) formed in 1918. After the end of World War I and the international recognition of Ignacy Paderewski's government, 1st PRD was sent to Poland. It was directed to the Lublin and Volhynia regions, where it took part in Polish strikes. In April 1919, the regiments of the 1st PRD changed their name from Polish Rifle Regiments to Foot Rifle Regiments, while in September 1919 the 1st PRD became the 13th Infantry Regiment,

[19] *„Oświata – to potęga". Wydawnictwo pamiątkowe z okazji obchodu 15-lecia Niepodległości Państwa Polskiego*, Przemyśl 1933, p. 95.
[20] A. Niewęgłowska, *Polski Biały Krzyż a wojsko w latach 1919–1939*, Toruń 2005, pp. 18–29.
[21] *Dziennik Personalny MSWojsk.* 1934, Nr 14 z 22 grudnia, p. 257.
[22] For example see J. Kirchmayer, *Pamiętniki*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 301, 340–341.

and its regiments were included in the Polish army as 43rd, 44th, 45th and 50th IR. This composition of the division was maintained until the fall of 1921, when as a result of the transition to peace, Polish infantry divisions changed to the three-regiment system, so 50th IR went to the 27th Infantry Division. The new regiment of M. Morawski also went down in history during the fights for the borders of the reborn state, among others fighting at Napadówka (now Ukraine) with the Soviet 6th Cavalry Division on May 31, 1920.[23]

From the very beginning, M. Morawski in the new assignment became known as a person with quite big problems. After arriving in Rivne, he and his family signed up for dining in the regimental casino. He also noted that he would temporarily not make payments for meals because he had not yet repaid other debts. For Christmas, however, he ordered a large amount of food and alcohol. After Stanisław Bobrowski consulted with the then commander of 45th IR, B. Prugar-Kettling, it was decided to release only food from the casino to M. Morawski. This event had an impact on the relations between M. Morawski and S. Bobrowski. Some time after the described situation, field exercises took place, during which S. Bobrowski was the commander of the party, and M. Morawski his arbitrator. During their lifetime, S. Bobrowski made a certain tactical decision, which turned out to be the right one. The deputy commander of 45th IR changed his decision, considering the previous one to be wrong. During the discussion of the exercise, the second conciliator recognized the correctness of S. Bobrowski's original order.[24] Cooperation with M. Morawski with both officers lasted until the end of 1935, when Col. Dipl. B. Prugar-Kettling was promoted to the head of the Infantry Department of the Ministry of Military Affairs, while Major S. Bobrowski was delegated to the Corps District No. X Command in Przemyśl. Lt. Col. Stanisław Hojnowski was appointed the new commander of the 45th IR, so far serving in the 15th IR in Dęblin, who took command on November 19, 1935, and then on November 22, he left for Lublin to report to the commander of Corps District II, General Mieczysław Smorawiński, and went for a two-week transfer leave. Therefore, until December 9, 1935, M. Morawski was in command of the regiment.[25] As a deputy com-

[23] More about history of 45th IR see J. Dąbrowski, *Zarys historji wojennej 45-go pułku piechoty strzelców kresowych,* Warszawa 1928, passim.
[24] S. Bobrowski, *W służbie Rzeczypospolitej. Moje wspomnienia*, Warszawa 2006, p. 123.
[25] See: CAW WBH, 45 pp, I.320.45.10, Rozkaz dzienny nr 231 z 19 XI 1935 r., bp oraz Rozkaz dzienny nr 248 z 9 XII 1935, bp.

mander in the regiments in which he served, he performed many functions. For example, during his term in office in 24th IR in April 1928, he participated in the ceremonial completion of the thirteenth course of the non-commissioned officer school of 24th IR, while in September of that year he became a member of the committee for the care of graves and battlefields located in Volhynia.[26] On the other hand, during the service in 45th IR, he was replacing his immediate superior, e.g. in March or at the turn of September and October 1936, in the event of absence due to leaves.[27] He also appeared as a representative of the unit at ceremonies, e.g. in 1937 he was a delegate to the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the formation of Polish formations in France, which took place in Warsaw.[28] He also participated in the training of the unit and participated, among others. in the work of the Coordination Committee at CDC II. The institution of the Coordination Committee appeared in May 1936. General Tadeusz Kasprzycki, who was then the Minister of Military Affairs, convened a meeting in the ministry. As a result, the Central Coordination Committee was established at the Military Scientific and Educational Institute. It was an inter-union institution representing organizations such as the Union of Reservists, the Riflemen's Association or the State Office of Physical Education and Military Training. With its inception, the propaganda activity among the population came to the fore. Over time, Coordinating Committees began to be established at subsequent CDC. The same happened in CDC II located in the eastern borderlands.[29]

During the Second Polish Republic, the Volhynian Voivodeship was one of the territories with a large percentage of national minorities, especially Ukrainian. When Henryk Józewski was serving as the voivode of Volhynia, there were attempts to win over the Ukrainians living in Volhynia by granting them privileges. However, after the death of Józef Piłsudski in 1935, the opinion that these areas were Polish by the actions of the army and state authorities began to prevail. This was to be achieved by the meetings held from 1935 by the voivode H. Józewski with the commander of Corps District II Lublin, General

[26] P. Dymek, *Wołyńska Dywizja. 27. Dywizja Piechoty 1921–1939*, Oświęcim 2015, pp. 79, 101–102

[27] CAW WBH, 45 pp, I.320.45.11, Rozkaz dzienny nr 58 z 12 III 1936 r., bp; Rozkaz dzienny nr 204 z 28 IX 1936 r., bp.

[28] CAW WBH, 45 pp, I.320.45.12, Rozkaz dzienny nr 123 z 4 VI 1937 r., bp.

[29] J. Kęsik, *Z działalności Komitetów Koordynacyjnych w latach 1936*–1939, „Res Historica" 2013, no. 35, pp. 111–113.

Mieczysław Smorawiński. On the other hand, the following year, the Committee was established at CDC II, whose task was to coordinate the national policy in the eastern territories of the Lublin Voivodeship and in the Volhynian Voivodeship.[30] The organizational meeting was held on December 11, 1936, when a decision was made to keep the proceedings confidential, unlike other committees in the country. The first plenary meeting was held on June 4, 1937, it was attended by representatives of the army, but also civil authorities, the Polish Teachers' Union (Związek Nauczycielstwa Polskiego–ZNP) and professors of the Catholic University of Lublin, as well as representatives of provincial structures of such organizations as, for example, the Riflemen's Association, the Union of Reservists, the League of Anti-Aircraft and Anti-Gas Defense, etc.[31] During its operation, the Committee at CDC II was a structure that showed great activity, especially when compared to its counterparts from other parts of the country.[32]

Lieutenant Colonel M. Morawski in his report, which was probably prepared for one of the Committee meetings on June 3, 1937, raised many issues related to Volhynia (Wołyń). He indicated, inter alia, on the need to increase the percentage of the Polish population in Volhynia, which would allow it to have a stronger impact on the opinion of Volhynian towns and villages. He also postulated, in cooperation with schools, Catholic Church and Easterm Orthodox Church, social organizations, theater, etc. Creation of a new type of borderland citizen associated with Poland, who would be a "Wołyniak".[33] The views presented in this paper by M. Morawski largely coincided with the priorities set by the members of the Coordinating Committee at CDC II, such as strengthening and expanding Polish culture in Volhyn.[34]

Marian Morawski, while serving in 45th IR, not only devoted himself to the officer's service. In the 1930s, he was troubled by financial problems, the symptoms of which can be found in around 1931. His superiors began to notice the difficult financial situation of M. Morawski. He was supporting a family of seven from his salary.[35] His troubles

[30] A. Ostanek, *„Nasze dzisiaj i nasze jutro na Wołyniu". Niepublikowany referat ppłk. dypl. Mariana Morawskiego na temat wizji przyszłości Wołynia w granicach II Rzeczypospolitej*, „Гілея. Науковий Вісник" 2018, Вип. 138 (№ 11) Ч. 1. Історичні науки, p. 42.

[31] J. Kęsik, op. cit., p. 120-121.

[32] Ibidem, p. 128.

[33] A. Ostanek, op.cit., p. 43.

[34] J. Kęsik, op. cit., p. 122-123.

[35] CAW WBH, Marian Morawski, ap. 4654, Roczne uzupełnienie listy kwalifikacyjnej za rok 1931, bp.

in private life began to affect his professional career. In the opinion of his superiors, he was never an outstanding officer, rather a solid laborer. As such his position in army as a trainer and superior slowly began to degrade. Bronisław Prugar-Kettling, commander of 45th IR in 1935, giving the opinion on him, stated that he was a calm and good man, full of hope and good intentions, but with a soft character. On the other hand, about his debts, he wrote that they exceed the possibility of their repayment, and the material conditions of M. Morawski are deplorable. The relations in the lieutenant colonel's family also caused him a lot of worry.[36] Opinions about the deputy commander of 45th IR did not change during the term of office of Stanisław Hojnowski, who wrote in 1936:

> *He was of little benefit in the position of deputy commander. This is mainly due to the lack of authority among subordinates, followed by family and material troubles, which take up a lot of thought and time. This has a negative effect on service. For the benefit of the subject and the service, it is absolutely necessary to transfer him from the regiment to another area, where he could start working in new conditions.*[37]

The then commander of the 13th Infantry Division, Col. Dipl. Aleksander Myszkowski also suggested that he should be transferred to the units of the National Defense or to the position of the commander of the County Supplement Commission.[38]

Marian Morawski, however, did not change the unit in which he served, or the position he held. By decision of the military-medical commission at the Ministry of Military Affairs for professional military of April 12, 1938, Lt. Dipl. Marian Morawski retired at the end of July 1938.[39]

As it turned out, however, it was not the definitive end of M. Morawski's career. It is worth mentioning that during the fights in 1939 he was captured by the Soviets, then imprisoned in the camp in Griazowiec. In October 1940, he was one of the Polish Army officers

[36] CAW WBH, Marian Morawski, ap. 4654, Roczna lista kwalifikacyjna za 1935 rok, bp.
[37] CAW WBH, Marian Morawski, ap. 4654, Roczna lista kwalifikacyjna za 1936 rok, bp.
[38] Ibidem.
[39] CAW WBH WBH, ap. 4654, Marian Morawski, Orzeczenie komisji wojskowo-lekarskiej przy Ministrze Spraw Wojskowych dla wojskowych zawodowych z dnia 12 IV 1938 r., bp.

who were tried to be recruited for cooperation with the Soviets. This was the result of talks between General Marian Januszajtis, arrested by the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs), and Lavrenty Beria about the possible organization of Polish troops at the Red Army. It was intended to use for this purpose the military survivors of the Katyn massacre, including Griazowiec prisoners. Marian Morawski was transported to Moscow, among others with Lt. Col. Zygmunt Berling. After arriving in the capital, he and other officers were sent to the NKVD prison in Butyrki.[40] At that time, he was interrogated by the NKVD.

Among the ideas of M. Morawski, which he presented to the Russians during the talks were establishing an independent Polish People's Republic (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa—PRL), as well as the Polish People's Social Committee in Moscow. The second of the aforementioned institutions would be composed of representatives of Polish social activists and prisoners of war and would start the process of creating the Polish People's Army. However, he did not cooperate, so he returned to Butryki,[41] where he stayed until the signing of the Sikorski-Majski pact on July 30, 1941. Having regained his freedom, he joined the Army of General Władysław Anders, where he commanded, among others, Reserve Center of the 5th Infantry Division. He died on August 6, 1945, and was buried in Cairo.

As a curiosity, it is also worth mentioning that one of the five children of Marian Morawski was Zygmunt, born in Pruszków in 1921. After graduating from high school in 1938, he joined the Polish Army, took part in the September Campaign (Invasion of Poland in 1939) and was a member of the Separated Unit of the Polish Army of Major Henryk Dobrzański "Hubal". After the unit was dissolved, he made his way to the Middle East, where in 1943 he committed suicide.[42]

This article is only an outline of the biography of Lt. Col. M. Morawski. He was one of the many who devoted themselves to their homeland. It is obvious that the officer corps of the Polish Army consists of hundreds of names and biographies. Each of them deserves a commemoration, even in the form of a short biographical article. Not

[40] S. Jaczyński, *„Willa szczęścia" w Małachówce. Próby pozyskania przez NKWD oficerów polskich do współpracy politycznej i wojskowej (1940–1941)*, „Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy" 2011, nr 3, pp. 62–65.
[41] Ibidem, p. 74.
[42] See M. Szymański, *Oddział majora Hubala*. Warszawa 1986, pp. 153–156.

everyone will be given it, however, but from today Marian Morawski is among the few who have received this honor.

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Summary

The article outlines the biography of an officer in the Polish Army of the Second Republic of Poland, Lieutenant Colonel Marian Morawski. Through this text, M. Morawski is another restored descendant of the Polish pre-war army. He was born at the end of the 19th century in Pruszków near Warsaw, he probably planned to engage in trade in the future, but the outbreak of World War I made M. Morawski join the ranks of the tsarist army. After the end of the global conflict, he joined the resurgent army of the Second Polish Republic, holding various functions. In 1938, for health reasons, he was transferred to the reserve, and after the Polish campaign of 1939, he was taken prisoner by the Soviets, where attempts were made to obtain him for the construction of Polish troops at the Red Army. After the Sikorski-Majski pact, he went to the West. He died in 1945 in Cairo.

Keywords: Second Polish Republic, Polish Army, Marian Morawski, 45th Infantry Regiment, Polish officers, biography, Interwar Poland

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MECHANISMS OF UNOFFICIAL DIPLOMACY
THE CASE OF FRANTIŠEK ZACH'S ACTIONS DURING THE 1844 ALBERT NUGENT VISIT IN BELGRADE

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Introduction

As Hans Henning Hahn stated in his study about the limitations of foreign policy in exile, the sole existence of this kind of political activity almost entirely depends on the abilities and personal connections of émigrés.[1] He demonstrated this argument in the case of Hôtel Lambert and the role which its leader, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, played in this process. Hahn stated Czartoryski himself as the first precondition for the existence of Polish exile foreign policy. Without its leader, the Hôtel Lambert would neither have been created nor have established the massive structure of unofficial embassies (Polish agencies) throughout Europe.

While accepting his statements, it still should be noted that neither he, nor any other author who has conducted research on the Czartoryski organization's Balkan interests,[2] have yet paid specific attention to

[1] H. H. Hahn, *Possibilities and Limitations of Foreign Policy in Exile: Adam Jerzy Czartoryski´s Hotel Lambert in Western Europe, 1831–1840*, [in:] *Eastern Europe and the West*, ed. J. Morison, London 1992, p. 5.

[2] A. Cetnarowicz, *Tajna dyplomacja Adama Jerzego Czartoryskiego na Bałkanach. Hotel Lambert a kryzys serbski 1840–1844,* Kraków 1993; M. Handelsman, *Pierwsza stała misja polska w Belgradzie w XIX w.,* Paryż 1929; Idem, *Czartoryski, Nicolas I et la question du Proche Orient*, Paris 1934; J. Skowronek, *Polityka bałkańska Hotelu Lambert (1833–1856),*

the possibilities and limitations of activities in the lowest tier of Hôtel Lambert structure or, therefore, on the operational mechanisms which agents followed during the course of their missions. The actual work of agents was, after all, not fully under the control of the Paris centre, which could choose their location and goals, appoint or revoke them and support them with resources (material as well as personal), but, in the end, the success or failure of the mission was in the hands of these agents in the first place.

The goal of the present study is to analyse these operational methods, which, if followed, could allow agents to achieve successful results of their work. As a particular case study for this research, I have chosen to analyse the actions of František Zach (1807–1892), a Hôtel Lambert agent in Belgrade between 1843–1848 during one specific event—the visit of Count Albert Nugent to the Serbian capital during the first two weeks of April 1844.

Albert Nugent (1816–1896) was the eldest child of Austrian military commander Laval Nugent von Westmeath[3] and like his father, he pursued a military career. Yet, he gained much more renown as an advocate and agitator of Illyrism, than as an army officer. Despite the fact, that he had an Irish, not a Slavic ancestry, Nugent adopted the Illyrian idea and quickly became one of the most active members of the movement. He voluntarily conducted many risky actions like smuggling of propagandistic journals from Serbia to Croatia (and *vice versa*) or even acquisition of firearms.[4] Thanks to this enthusiasm, he was nicknamed "The Croatian lion."[5]

Nugent appeared in Belgrade in April 1844 without proper preparation and, in his activities and decisions, he totally ignored the fact that his agenda was considered to be suspicious if not even dangerous. Considering the huge amount of risk, which Nugent's actions could cause, Zach immediately took the role of his guide and spent the whole two weeks in following and directing the count.

Warszawa 1976; P. Żurek, *Hotel Lambert i Chorwaci 1843–1850*, Warszawa 2005; P. N. Hehn, *Prince A. Czartoryski and the South Slavs*, „The Polish Review" 1964, vol. 8, no. 2, pp. 76–87; K. Popek, *„Niewygodny, acz bezsilny partner." Współpraca Hôtelu Lambrt z bułgarskimi działaczami narodowymi w latach czterdziestych XIX wieku*, „Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace Historyczne" 2017, vol. 144, no. 1, p. 119–135, etc.

[3] For more detailed information about Laval Nugent and Nugent family in general see: C. Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich. Zwanzigster Teil*, Wien 1869, pp. 428–434.

[4] V. Žáček, *František A. Zach*, Praha 1977, p. 61.

[5] P. Żurek, op. cit., p. 81.

Based on the analysis of these events, I have stated two research questions. What kind of general operational mechanisms could be detected in Zach's actions during this timescale and what were the consequences, potential and real, of Nugent's stay in Belgrade? How successfully could Zach have avoided the negative results of this unpleasant scenario?

The study is divided into two parts. The first provides the description of the most important events which occurred during Nugent's stay in Belgrade and the second uses this description as a foundation for answering the research questions.

Consequently, the aim of presented results is not to only contribute to the knowledge about the Serbian mission of Hôtel Lambert or its Balkan interests *per se*, but on the specific example of one member of a wide established site of unofficial diplomatic representatives (agent, emissaries, etc.) and also to deepen the general knowledge about this second, hidden dimension of international relationships in the first half of the 19th century.

Zach's description of Nugent's visit to Belgrade—a course of events

According to Zach's report, he first became aware of Count Albert Nugent and his engagement in the Illyrian movement in December 1843 during a dialogue with another Illyrian agent, Stjepan Verković.[6] At that time, Nugent was on a mission in Constantinople, where he tried to use his family name and status to gain an audience with Ottoman officials as well as British and French diplomats. Zach became rapidly interested in the Illyrian movement and supplemented his next report to Michał Czajkowski in Constantinople with a letter[7] for Nugent in which he asked him to visit Belgrade during his journey back from the capital of the Ottoman Empire.[8] Czajkowski approached Nugent in January 1844 and quickly attracted his attention to the possibility of cooperation with Hôtel Lambert. They mutually agreed that any

[6] Zach à Czajkowski, 23.12.1843, Biblioteka Książat Czartoryskich w Krakowie [BCz] 5390 IV, p. 146.

[7] As an attachment to the letter, he also sent the sketch of the house of bookseller Vosarović where Zach has inhabited the apartment, see: Zach à Czajkowski, 6.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, p. 461.

[8] Zach à Czajkowski, 30.12.1843, BCz 5390 IV, pp. 159–160.

member of the Illyrian movement would contact the main agency in Constantinople and, therefore, Czajkowski himself, only through Zach, who would serve as a mediator. Also, it was stated that Nugent would visit Zach in Belgrade on his way from Constantinople, which he did not execute and, instead, travelled directly to Zagreb.[9]

Piotr Żurek assumed that Nugent's decision was caused by his need to consult over next steps with Ljudevit Gaj, which is the same assumption that probably led Czajkowski to give Zach recommendation to establish a correspondence with Nugent and not necessarily wait for their planned meeting.[10] The Polish agent in Belgrade followed the advice of his supervisor, but despite this, he did not possess any kind of information about Nugent's plan to visit the Serbian capital. In the report from the 30 March 1844, Zach wrote that he had received information, though he immediately questioned its veracity, that Nugent has visited Vienna and currently should be in Novi Sad, with Constantinople as the final destination of his journey.[11] His doubt was confirmed during the evening of the same day when Count Albert Nugent suddenly appeared in his room.[12] It was quite an irony that the unexpected visitor entered the room at the very same moment when Zach was receiving news about Nugent's arrival from Timotije Knežević. The Polish agent made it very clear that his cooperation with Stjepan Car[13] from the previous weeks had nothing to do with this visit, since Nugent and Car could not meet and, therefore, the count was conducting the trip on his own.[14]

Immediately after Nugent entered Zach's room, which according to reports was between 8pm and 9pm in the evening, the two agents, accompanied by the aforementioned Timotije Knežević, began to discuss Nugent's surprising (and, for Zach, almost shocking) decision to visit Belgrade without any proper preparation.[15] The count had decided to take advantage of the fact that he possessed an Austrian passport, although issued in June 1843, and, by avoiding Zemun, where he would be almost certainly have been halted by its *Militär-Commandant*, Gen-

[9] P. Żurek, op. cit., pp. 81–83.
[10] Ibidem, p. 86.
[11] Zach à Czajkowski, 30.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, p. 450.
[12] Zach à Czajkowski, 6.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, p. 461.
[13] For more information about Car's visit in Belgrade and his cooperation with Zach, see: P. Żurek, op. cit., pp. 86–87.
[14] Zach à Czajkowski, 6.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, p. 461.
[15] Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, p. 477.

eral-Major Maximilian Ungerhoffer,[16] he was able to reach Belgrade without any inconveniences. This decision also shows that Nugent was well aware that his previous activities would lead to denial of a request for a new passport.

During the conversation, Zach persuaded the Illyrian agent that he must firstly visited the Austrian consul, Colonel Nikolaus Filipović, who, even though in the service of the Habsburg monarchy,[17] still possessed Serbian ancestry and, were the political situation to rapidly shift, would possibly join the national cause.[18] Nugent agreed to the plan and so did Ilija Garašanin, Serbia's Interior Minister, to whom Zach went during the same evening to refute any suspicions that he was somehow engaged in Nugent´s careless actions. Garašanin's opinion and approval were crucial for Zach's activity. Polish agent has arrived in Belgrade only in the fall of the previous year and it was Garašanin who took the role of his mentor and guide. Minister helped him with the language barrier, introduce him into Belgrade society and explain the geopolitical situation of the region. Garašanin even monitored Zach's correspondence. Consequently, Zach did not want to conduct any action without informing Garašanin and ask for his opinion and advice.

The proposed plan expected that Nugent would ask Colonel Filipović to introduce him to Belgrade high society and arrange meetings with the Serbian political elites, above all, with Prince Alexander Karađorđervić. Following such steps would then allow Nugent to negotiate with Garašanin, Stojan Simić or his brother Alexa without the suspicion of Austrian spies. Before the departure, Nugent was also ordered to make some unfavourable quotes about Serbia and the possibility of cooperation with its government, which was intended to disprove the idea of a mutual agreement between the Illyrian movement and the Serbian government.[19]

However, Zach intended to wait another twenty-four hours so that he would have enough time to make all necessary preparations for the successful realisation of this plan. His decision was made on the assumption that he possessed this preparatory time because none of the

[16] *Militär-Schematismus des österreichischen Kaiserthumes*, Wien 1847, p. 77.

[17] A. Cetnarowicz, op. cit., p. 203.

[18] "(...) un homme dévoue à l'Autriche, mais qui pourtant est encore allez Serbe pour que l'avenir de son pays ne lui soit pas tout-a-fait indifférent, mais c'est un de ceux qui ne veulent pas les mettre a table que quand tout le dîne est déjà servi." Zach à Czajkowski, 6.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, p. 461.

[19] Zach à Czajkowski, 6.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, p. 462.

Austrian officials had been aware of Nugent's arrival.[20] Since the first Austrian report about Nugent's arrival in Belgrade was written by Colonel Filipović on the 4 April, Zach's assumption proved to be correct and neither the Austrian spies nor the officials were aware of Nugent's visit before the actual meeting with Filipović, which happened on the 2 April.[21] However, the registry of the Austrian military headquarters in Zemun shows that Nugent crossed the Austrian-Serbian border on the 26 February and the 13 March; therefore, at least some Austrian officials must have been aware of Nugent's journey to Serbia.[22]

During the next morning, while the count was spending some time in a bath, Zach arranged a meeting with Stefan Hrkalović and Izidor Stojanović—the latter agreed to host Nugent in his house for the rest of the day, which was situated in an isolated spot outside the city. Nugent departed for Stojanović's house approximately around noon, accompanied by Pavao Čavlović,[23] another Illyrian agent who was residing in Belgrade, although, contrary to Nugent, his mission was prepared and ordered by Ljudevit Gaj.[24] Zach, along with Hrkalović, joined them at dinner and instructed Nugent how to proceed during his stay in Belgrade.

Following the plan, Nugent went to visit Colonel Filipović on the 1 April, but, since no Austrian official was present, the count had to return on the next day. In the meantime, he spent time at the house of Emanuel Jokić,[25] which was also approved by Radovan "Raja"

[20] Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, pp. 477–478.

[21] Bericht des k.k. Obersten Philippovich an Fst. Metternich dto. Belgrade 4. April (1)844, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv [HHStA], Informationsbüro (1791–1909) [IB], Zentralinformationsprotokolle (1834–1848) [ZIP], 1844, 26/160, pp. 6–7.

[22] P. Żurek, op. cit., p. 87.

[23] Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 478.

[24] D. Bataković, *The foreign policy of Serbia (1844–1867). Ilija Garašanin´s Načertanije*, Belgrade 2014, p. 140.

[25] According to the report from general Ungerhoffer to Metternich count Nugent was staying at the house of Emanuel Jokić: "Die neuesten aus Belgrad erhaltenen Nachrichten über den Grafen Nugent lauten dahin, daß er daselbst bei einem sicheren Emanuel Jokič̆h (Privatier u. bekannter Kundschafter der gegenwärtigen serbischen Regierung) sich aufhalte." Bericht des G. M. Ungerhoffer an Fst. Metternich dto Semlin 8. April (1)844, HHStA, IB, ZIP, 1844, 29/188, p. 9; On the other hand Zach did not mention the first of the name of Jokić, but instead wrote a short description of Jokić´s family, according to which it could be assumed that Jokić was a son of Petar Jokić, judge, former military commander and companion of Karađorđe: "(...) Nugent soit logé dans le maison de Mr. Jokić dont sa famille jouit de la meilleure reputation parmi les patriotes, surtout a cause du pére, aujourd´hui juge, mais autrefois voisin de Karatjortje a Topola et des les premiers commencements son compagnon d´armes inseparables." Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 478.

Damjanović,[26] the Belgrade police director, who had visited Zach on the previous day to consult on Nugent's stay in the capital.[27]

The count finally visited Colonel Filipović on the 2 April and, according to Zach's report, the Austrian consul was greatly surprised to see Nugent entering his mansion. It was already mentioned that Filipović's first report about Nugent's visit in Belgrade was dated on the 4 April and, therefore, the plan to hide the count from the eyes of Austrian spies until he voluntarily visited the consulate was successful. During the conversation, Filipović asked Nugent about his intentions in Serbia to which the count replied that his visit was only the result of his desire to travel, to meet people, and to see the country, therefore, he should be provided with a passport which would allow him to conduct his planned journey.[28] He also presented Fillipović his wish to meet Prince Alexander Karađorđervić and other members of the Serbian government and asked for the colonel's willingness to help. Zach recorded in his report that Filipović firstly agreed to introduce Nugent to no one but Stojan Simić, since the count was in Belgrade without any official position. However, when Nugent returned the next day, Filipović had changed his mind and only sent his corporal to accompany Nugent to visit Alexa Simić.[29] Filipović himself did not mention any of these events in his report, he only acquainted Metternich with Nugent's request, which he refused, and then confirmed that the count had had a meeting with the Simić brothers and some other persons. According to the information which Filipović received, Nugent declared in this meeting that he intended to stay in Belgrade only for a short time, then visit some other Serbian places and return back home.[30]

Consequently, Nugent was allowed to meet many prominent Serbian officials, besides the already mentioned Simić brothers, and also the former prime minister, Stefan "Tenka" Stefanović and, most of all, Prince Alexander, who received Nugent in an audience on the 5 April. Their conversation immediately revolved around Illyrism, but the Prince was completely deaf to the count's arguments and clearly declared that Serbs would not give up their name and join the Illyrian

[26] In his reports Zach used only the nickname "Raja".
[27] Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, p. 478.
[28] Bericht des k.k. Obersten Philippovich an Fst. Metternich dto. Belgrade 4. April (1)844, HHStA, IB, ZIP, 1844, 26/160, p. 6.
[29] Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, p. 479.
[30] Bericht des k.k. Obersten Philippovich an Fst. Metternich dto. Belgrade 4. April (1)844, HHStA, IB, ZIP, 1844, 26/160, pp. 6–7.

movement. Nugent later confided to Zach that, in his opinion, the Prince's ideas were certainly influenced by Colonel Filipović.[31] Nonetheless, Prince Alexander's disinterest in any discussion about potentially joining the Illyrian movement soon proved to be the lesser issue, because the Ottoman authorities became suspicious and decided to interfere with Nugent's presence in Belgrade and proclaimed him a dangerous person.[32] Zach was fairly sure that Colonel Filipović and General Ungerhoffer were the ones to blame for the engagement of Ottoman officials, although, in their reports, neither of the Austrian representatives detailed their role in the whole process. Filipović even stated that the governor of the Belgrade fortress, Hafiz Mehmed Pasha, became suspicious about Nugent's activities after some of his letters were intercepted in Zemun.[33] Ungerhoffer asserted that he had been also contacted by Pasha asking whether Nugent should be expelled from Serbia or allowed to continue his journey.[34]

The Serbian government answered Pasha's comments with the distinct statement that Nugent had arrived with a valid Austrian passport, which must be respected and, therefore, they would not banish the count from its territory.[35] On the other hand, both Fillipović and Ungerhoffer approached Nugent with the request to avoid travelling deeper into Ottoman territory.[36] In particular, the letter which was sent by Ungerhoffer on the 11 April was very clear about Pasha's decision to warn every Ottoman governor about the possible travel of a dangerous person and that, in that case, Nugent should be returned to the Ottoman borders with an armed escort.[37]

Nugent discussed this matter with Zach and Garašanin and, di-

[31] Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, p. 480.

[32] "...un homme dangereux pour la Porte." Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 481.

[33] Bericht des k.k.Obersten Philippovich an Fst. Metternich dto Belgrad 11. April (1)844, HHStA, IB, ZIP, 1844, 28/175, pp. 2–3.

[34] Bericht des G.M.Ungerhoffer dt. Semlin 11. April (1)844 an Fst. Metternich, HHStA, IB, ZIP, 1844, 28/181, pp. 15–16.

[35] Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 481.

[36] Bericht des k.k.Obersten Philippovich an Fst. Metternich dto Belgrad 11. April (1)844, HHStA, IB, ZIP, 1844, 28/175, pp. 2–3.

[37] "Vous comprendrez maintenant, que de moment ou un gouverneur d'une province turque vous regardez comme suspect, il en communiquera a tous les gouverneurs des autres provinces de la Turque européenne et ça conséquenu on vous empêchera certainement à continuer votre voyage projeté. Je vous engage donc avec instant d'abandonner la continuation de votre voyage projeté à travers les provinces Turques, pour ne vous pas exposer à une insulté ou même à être renvoyé forcement par les autorités turques." Zach à

rected by them, he went to visit the governor on the next morning, the 12 April. At the meeting, he protested against this denunciation and reminded that he had fought on the Ottoman side at the battle of Saint Jean d´Acre[38], had been a friend of the Porte, and always defended it against her enemies.[39] Even though Hafiz Pasha did not accuse Nugent of anything and just informed him that this opinion about his person was quite common in Belgrade society, nothing that Nugent could say would diminish the consequences of the events of previous days.

Probably the most challenging situation for Zach to manage during Nugent's stay in Belgrade was a controversy concerning Kovačević's deployment to Bosnia. It all started on the 7 April when a Belgrade pandour named Toma Tomić asked for a *teskere* (Ottoman passport). However, the real intention of this request was to provide Kovačevič with a fake identity which would allow him to undertake a conspiracy mission in Bosnia without causing any suspicion. He even covered his travel to Bosnia by a statement that he was going to visit his parents. Kovačević, under the identity of Tomić, left Belgrade on the 9 April, the same day when Hafiz Pasha visited Prince Alexander Karađorđervić to discuss Zach's presence in the capital and, more importantly, the same day when Ahmed Effendi recognized Tomić with the group of fellow pandours and immediately confronted him. Zach wrote in his report that all of this had been reported to him by Garašanin during the evening of that day and so a quick mutual decision had been made to send a courier to Kovačević with the instruction to destroy every letter he was carrying. The Polish agent was persuaded that Austrian officials also shared their part in the revelation of this plan, since an unnamed Austrian corporal had met Kovačević on the stairs of Jokić's residence, where Nugent was living. Because they had cooperated with Ahmed Effendi, who, according to Zach was paid by Austrians on a regular basis, then they could easily connect one hint with another. These details were given to Zach during the evening of the 10 April and, since he assumed that Pasha would order the Bosnian authorities to seize Kovačevič, he ran to "Raja" who then sent a letter to the police

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Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 482; Bericht des G.M.Ungerhoffer dt. Semlin 11. April (1)844 an Fst. Metternich, HHStA, IB, ZIP, 1844, 28/181, p. 16.

[38] Nugent was most probably referring to the battle of Acre, which occurred on 3 November 1840. During the fight, the combined Austrian, British and Ottoman forces have taken the city from the Egyptians, who fleeted after a heavy naval bombardment.

[39] "Je suis l´ami de la Porte et je la défendrais toujours vis-a-vis de ses ennemies comme par exemple la Russie." Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 482.

chief in Šabac, in which Zach instructed him to turn left on Užica and wait for subsequent orders. Fortunately for Zach, Effendi informed Pasha about the whole situation no earlier than after Nugent's audience on the 12 April, the day when the Polish agent sent the third despatch to order Kovačević to immediately return to Belgrade and act as though he had never left. Based on Zach's report from the 20 April, his letters were delivered to Kovačević before he left Serbian territory and, therefore, he was able to return to Belgrade before causing more complications.[40]

The whole controversy was successfully resolved, at least at a first sight, and, after a few more discussions over the next two days Nugent finally agreed to Zach's proposal to follow Ungerhoffer's advice and not continue in his travel, but return to Croatia. Before the actual departure, Nugent promised to Zach that he would send a man to Bosnia to inform about Kovačević's forcibly cancelled mission and also to help with the establishment of Ludwik Zwierkowski-Lenoir as the Hôtel Lambert agent there.[41] The Illyrian agent finally set out on his voyage from Belgrade to Zemun and then back to Croatia on the 13 April.[42]

Zach's actions during the events—mechanisms of an unofficial diplomacy

The events of the first two weeks of April 1844 offer not only a quite interesting story about the unexpected visit of the Illyrian agent, Albert Nugent, to the Serbian capital and Polish agent František Zach's effort to keep the negative consequences of this unpleasant surprise as limited as possible, but they are also an appealing case study of the working mechanisms of Zach as a role-model of agents in the service of Hôtel Lambert, or, in the general view, even as a member of a widespread network of unofficial diplomacy during the first half of the 19th century. During the course of action, Zach proved that he had his own working standards which he used to follow during his activities and that he also tried to use these mechanisms immediately after being involved with Nugent and his imprudent improvisation.

[40] Zach à Czajkowski, 20.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 499.
[41] Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 486.
[42] Zach à Czajkowski, 20.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 500.

As a result of my research, I was able to classify four categories of Zach's working method: valuable planning, constant awareness of risk, a wide network of reliable contacts, and importance of official cover. The worthiness of the presented case is that it specifically shows how these mechanisms were utilised in the real situation and also how (un)--successful they were with regard to the consequences of a surprising affair such as Nugent's visit to the Serbian capital.

The importance which Zach put on preparation of every step and, even more, the criticism which he addressed to Nugent for his omission of this procedure is clearly evident in all his related reports.[43] In his report from the 13 April, he even presented his own view of the count as a person wherein he did not forget to mention that Nugent was a devoted man with good heart and loyal character, who was willing to sacrifice everything for the ultimate goal of the union of Southern Slavs, but that his thoughts were very unstable, he was not able to consider every possible option and consequences, and his plans usually disappeared as quickly as they were created.[44]

On the other hand, Zach proved his ability to construct precious a valuable plan promptly after the potential danger—related to Nugent's presence in Belgrade—had arisen. During the same evening, he was able to persuade Nugent to follow his ideas and Ilija Garašanin that he had no share in the irresponsible actions of the count. This assurance also led the Serbian minister to help Zach with the execution of his plan. Even though Zach did not mention it specifically, it could be assumed from the text of his report, that he got the idea of unfavourable quotes about Serbia which Nugent should publicly proclaim before his departure from the country, during the conversation with Garašanin.[45] *Inter alia*, it is not without interest that Zach saw his guidance to Nugent not only as a mission to avoid the imperilment of him or his companions, but also as an act which would gain him solid gratitude from these men—gratitude that could come in handy during future events. In this matter, he specifically named Garašanin and police chief Raja Damjanović.[46]

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[43] "M[onsiuer] Nugent est arrivé sans plan arrêté." Zach à Czajkowski, 6.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 466; "Son voyage en Servie, où il apparu subitement, sans avoir pris des mesurés préparatrices, était une faute." Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, pp. 480–481.

[44] Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, p. 480.

[45] Zach à Czajkowski, 6.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV.

[46] Ibidem.

As already stated in the text above, the idea to wait another day to make all required preparation and to escort Nugent into isolation to avoid a possible revelation proved to be right and Austrian officials first obtained information about the count's arrival to Belgrade only on the 4 April; thus, at the time when he voluntarily reported his presence in the city. The willing reporting to the Austrian consul may look odd on a first sight, after all, from this moment onwards, every step of Nugent in the Serbian capital was ordered to be monitored by Austrian agents, but it was actually the distinct illustration of Zach's experiences and knowledge of local conditions. The Austrian representatives would sooner or later certainly find out about Nugent's stay in Belgrade. As was mentioned earlier, even though Filipović and Ungerhoffer were not aware about the count's arrival into the capital, his crossing of the Serbian borders was registered and, therefore, his presence in Serbia must have been known to at least some members of the Austrian apparatus. However, the sudden discovery of Nugent´s incognito arrival to Belgrade would have caused a much worse scenario than the plan that he followed. In this matter. Austrian representatives (with the help of the Ottomans) were able to stop Nugent's further journey and also compromised Kovačević's mission to Bosnia, but, on the other hand, neither of the Serbians were accused of conspiracy, despite the fact that Filipović's and Ungerhoffer's reports mentioned persons like Emanuel Jokić, Izidor Stojanović, Simoen Militunović[47] and, above everyone else František Zach. However, the consequences of his position will be mentioned later.

From the first moment after his arrival, Nugent agreed to follow the ideas that Zach had presented to him, but the course of events proved to be much more complicated and the counselling to the count much more of difficult task that Zach probably thought. However, he should have had a clue since Stjepan Car had told him during their meeting in Belgrade that even Ljudjevit Gaj did not have full confidence in Nugent, not because of his loyalty, that was unquestionable, but because of his temper and lack of countenance.[48] According to his report, the Polish agent had his own experience with these characteristics very quickly. Nugent wanted to conceive many projects that were totally

[47] "(...) Emanuel Jokič, (...) dem als Emissar bekannten Franz Zach, (...) dem dortigen Professor Isidor Stojanovich, dem serbischen Dichter Simon Millutinovich." Bericht des G. M. Ungerhoffer and Fst. Metternich dto Semlin 8. April (1)844, HHStA, IB, ZIP, 1844, 29/188, pp. 9–10.

[48] P. Żurek, op. cit., p. 86.

inappropriate for a man in his position and it was Zach who was then forced to stop him or, as in the case of Kovačević, tried to save situation. On one occasion, for example, Nugent voluntarily offered to carry a petition signed by the friend of the exiled Serbian ministers, Avram Petronijević and Toma Vučić, and persuade them to return to Belgrade,[49] despite the fact that they had never met before and, as a son of Austrian general, he would certainly looked suspicious. On the other hand, he wanted to withdraw from the project of memorandum for the British ambassador in Constantinople, Stratford-Canning, the idea on which he agreed with Czajkowski during his time in the Ottoman capital.[50] Zach even wrote that Nugent has required guidance like a child.[51]

Taking into account this incaution, it is interesting to see that, at least according to reports to Vienna, Austrian officials were not completely sure about the true intentions of Nugent's visit to Belgrade or his journey in general. In the first message from the 4 April, there is an assumption, based on the dialogue between Nugent and Filipović, that, after his stay in the capital, he intended to spend some time at the countryside and then return home.[52] Nonetheless, four days later, General Ungerhoffer wrote that he had received confidential information about Nugent's aim to set on a voyage to Greece.[53] Yet, in the report from the 11 April, Ungerhoffer mentioned that Hafiz Pasha declared to Filipović that he has thought about issuing an order which would disallow Nugent to travel to Bosnia and Albania.[54] In his letter to Nugent, which was mentioned earlier in the text, Ungerhoffer did not mention his next destination, but only advised the count to not try to travel further into the Ottoman empire, because he would be expelled. The final message related to Nugent's visit to Belgrade Ungerhoffer received almost two weeks after the count's departure. An anonymous confidant provided the general with information about revolutionary activities planned in Bosnia. According to a confession

[49] Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, pp. 486–487.
[50] P. Żurek, op. cit., p. 82.
[51] "(…) le diriger comme on guide un enfant." Zach à Czajkowski, 13.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 486.
[52] Bericht des k.k. Obersten Philippovich an Fst. Metternich dto. Belgrade 4. April (1)844, HHStA, IB, ZIP, 1844, 26/160, p. 7.
[53] Bericht des G. M. Ungerhoffer and Fst. Metternich dto Semlin 8. April (1)844, HHStA, IB, ZIP, 1844, 29/188, p. 10.
[54] Bericht des G.M.Ungerhoffer dt. Semlin 11. April (1)844 an Fst. Metternich, HHStA, IB, ZIP, 1844, 28/181, pp. 15–16.

from Pera Popović, a Belgrade police officer, Count Nugent was chosen to be a head of this revolution and he had arrived in Belgrade to conduct all necessary preparation; however, any outbreak of revolution was then postponed until Petronijević and Vučić would return to the Serbian capital.[55]

Even though a situation in Bosnia was considered to be unstable[56] and a revolution was a real threat,[57] Albert Nugent was certainly not planned to be its leader and neither was his visit to Belgrade somehow relevant to any potential insurrection in Bosnia. Regardless, these false messages (Bosnian revolution, Greece as final destination) are an interesting illustration about the limits of clarity of information received from the unofficial sources—network of spies, confidents, agents, etc.

However, despite the fact that not every gained information would be correct, the existence of a wide network of contacts and companions was a crucial precondition to achieve any kind of result at all. That is the reason for which Zach worked precisely on his own network and, even though he had been in Belgrade just for a few months, during the guidance to Albert Nugent, this human capital of his proved to be a decisive factor.

Especially important was the role of Ilija Garašanin, who was Zach's main advisor during his early time in Serbian capital and therefore was almost directly responsible for the position that Zach established. Possibility to consult actions and get valuable advice from a member of the Serbian government was without a doubt an inestimable advantage. Moreover, Zach also shared a mutually trustworthy relationship with the Belgrade police chief, Raja Damjanović, who even used to come to Zach to collect information on a regular basis. Having the police chief on his side was obviously a huge advantage for Zach in his mission, which involved many not quite legitimate or legal activities. This alone is an excellent statement of the extraordinary network of people which Zach established around himself and which provided him with information, resources, and many other helps. It is not a surprise that, despite being astonished by the arrival of the unexpected guest, he still rapidly reacted and knew very well whom to visit with a demand for help (for example, the idea of hiding Nugent in Izidor Stojanović's house).

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[55] Bericht des General Majors v. Ungerhoffer an Fst. Metternich dto. 29. April 1844 zu Semlin, HHStA, IB, ZIP, 1844, 34/219, pp. 4–5.

[56] J. Skowronek, op. cit., pp. 92–93.

[57] P. Żurek, op. cit., p. 83.

The last defined mechanism which I have identified as a crucial part of unofficial diplomacy is the importance of institutional cover. Zach served in Belgrade as an agent of Hôtel Lambert and it was the support of Czartoryski's faction which allowed him to establish his position there (and even travel to Serbia and begin his mission). However, since Hôtel Lambert was not an official institution, not a diplomatically recognised representation of the late Polish government, he could not actually cover his activity by proclaiming his service to this institution. Except his own abilities, he was constrained to rely on the willingness of the French consul in Belgrade—since he possessed a French passport—to stand in his favour if unpleasant circumstances arose.

This was evident after Nugent finally left the Serbian capital. Despite Zach's effort to minimise the negative consequences, it was impossible to completely avoid them. On the 14 April, the day after Nugent's departure, the French consul, Achille Codrika, summoned Zach to his residence and presented him with the complaints he had received. The Polish agent assumed that it was Ahmed Effendi who had visited Codrika and spoke against him.[58] However, according to the report of the French consul, Hafiz Pasha was the one who informed him that, during the last few days, Count Nugent—an agitator and a suspicious man in the eyes of Porte—had stayed in Belgrade and, during that time, had been meeting Zach on a regular basis.[59]

Zach mentioned in his report that Codrika started to lecture him immediately he entered the room. The consul warned him that he had already lived in Belgrade for few months without getting a proper occupation and, on the other hand, was seen to be companying with people marked as dangerous. Also, his passport had a specific note written on it, "pour l'orient directement", meaning that he had left France for political motives. Therefore, he should be more careful and avoid meeting suspicious people.[60]

It should be pointed out that Codrika was certainly not fond of Zach's presence in the Serbian capital at all. He did not wish to cooperate with him in any way and was willing to help Zach only when the possession of a French passport did not give him any other

[58] Zach à Czajkowski, 20.04.1844, BCz 5390 IV, p. 500.
[59] Codrika à Guizot, ministre et secretaire d´État au Département des Affaires étrangères, Direction politique, Belgrade le 29 April 1844, Archives Diplomatiques [AD], Correspondance politique des consuls [CPC], Turquie—Belgrade, 1841–1844, pp. 436–437.
[60] Zach à Czajkowski, 20.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, pp. 500–501.

alternative.[61] It is hard to tell if his stand was based on his opinion on Zach's mission and activities, or whether he was just cautious, since, during the mentioned dialogue with Zach, he proclaimed his doubt about Nugent's loyalty and the possibility of him being an Austrian agent,[62] or whether he just disliked Zach as a person. According to Mathieu Jestin, who studied the history of the French consulate in Thessaloniki where Codrika had served as consul from 1832–1833, his colleagues thought of him as a violent and lunatic person, absolutely inappropriate for any important position in the diplomatic service.[63] Consequently, it is possible that it was about personal characteristics after all. This theory could be proved also by his successor, Durant de Saint-André, who was able to established a cordial friendship and, later, also an intensive cooperation with Zach.[64]

Either way, Zach came to Codrika's residence prepared, at least according to his own words, and explained his behaviour during Nugent's visit in Belgrade mainly as an attempt to avoid more compromising actions, which happened anyway.[65] Then, they engaged in a conversation about the French support for the Serbian government and the necessity to not destroy this relationship by some dubious actions. In his report to Paris, Codrika only mentioned that he presented to Zach his warnings, which were sincerely accepted and followed by a promise to be more cautious.[66] Zach provided more details, but with the same result, the consul confirmed to him that the French protection over his person was still valid, but that he should be prepared to be under surveillance, since General Ungerhoffer had reported him to the Ottoman authorities as a dangerous man.[67]

However, without the French passport, the consequences would have been far more radical. Nonetheless, Zach still expected a worsening of the situation and asked Czajkowski for his next orders. In his own opinion, leaving Belgrade was inevitable because Austrian intrigues would now focus on his person and, in this situation, he could

[61] J. Skowronek, op. cit., pp. 92–93.
[62] Zach à Czajkowski, 20.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, pp. 501–502.
[63] M. Jestin, *Salonique (1781–1913). Une histoire consulaire de la question d'Orient*, Paris 2018, pp. 67, 93.
[64] J. Skowronek, op. cit., pp. 92–93.
[65] Zach à Czajkowski, 20.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, pp. 500–501.
[66] Codrika à Guizot, ministre et secretaire d'État au Département des Affaires étrangères, Direction politique, Belgrade le 29 April 1844, AD, CPC, Turquie—Belgrade, 1841–1844, p. 437.
[67] Zach à Czajkowski, 20.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 501.

not conduct any meaningful activities, neither was he in a position to get any cover from Garašanin, because the Serbian government would not risk such action.[68] It turned out that Zach's concerns were not completely proper. The records of the Austrian Informationsbüro show that Habsburg interests in his operations were indeed highly raised after the March 1844,[69] even though his name is also present in the report from earlier dates. On the other hand, he was not forced to leave Belgrade and his position during the next months (especially after the change of French consuls) became even more solid.[70]

Conclusion

A complete suppression of the unpleasant consequences which followed Nugent's irresponsibility was almost an impossible mission. Yet, with the quick intervention and application of his operational methods, Zach was able to keep undesirable results to as much of a minimum as possible. His specific plan, though created almost in the spark of the moment, along with a wide network of trustworthy companions, with and without any official position, and his constant awareness of complication, all of which helped him to carefully lead his steps during the first two weeks of April 1844 and brought a more positive conclusion, that even he had expected. Protected by his French passport and the institutional cover of Hôtel Lambert, he maintained his position and avoided a termination of his mission despite the official protest from the Ottoman authorities, supported by the intrigues of the Austrian representatives.

Undoubtedly, it was an exhausting task and his cry "Dieu soit loué!"[71] after he found out that Kovačević had received his letters in time and did not cross the Serbian-Bosnian borders is worth a thousand words.

Regardless of the fact that Zach would probably gladly omit this whole scenario, the presented case is an extraordinary testimony which visibly exploited his operational mechanisms and, thus, provides not only an interesting story to tell, but also valuable knowledge about the

[68] Ibidem, p. 506.
[69] Indices zu den Zentralinformationsprotokollen 124–128, HHStA, IB, Indices zu den Zentralinformationsprotokollen 1834–1848 [IndZIP], 1844–1848.
[70] V. Žáček, op. cit., p. 61.
[71] Zach à Czajkowski, 20.04.1844, BCz, 5390 IV, p. 499.

real form of unofficial diplomacy. Zach was a specimen example of an agent, a member of the hidden dimension of international relationships and diplomacy, which worked even harder than official representatives to promote the interests of his party.

In this sense, the results of the present study are not only an extension to the knowledge of Zach's and Hôtel Lambert's Serbian mission, but also a new piece in the still unresearched mosaic of the functioning of unofficial diplomacy in the first half of the 19th century.

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Abstract

The article analyses the operational methods of unofficial diplomatic representatives in the first half of the 19th century. Its results are based on a case study of mechanisms applied by František Zach, an agent of Hôtel Lambert in Belgrade, during an unexpected and problematic visit of Count Albert Nugent, agitator of Illyrian movement, in the Serbian capital in April 1844.

Keywords: Hôtel Lambert, conspiracy, Austrian empire, Illyrian movement

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VILLAINS OR A FEW WORDS ABOUT AUSTRIAN SECRET POLICE

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Introduction

During the 19th century, the Austrian secret police had to face difficulties, which, although typical of the times, in the reality of a monarchy becoming multinational, became an exceptional challenge. In essence, however, this institution was not founded to fight national movements, and its history goes back to the 18th century and the reforms that the Habsburg monarchy had to undertake.

The middle of the 17th century was the last bell for Vienna to reform the internal organization of the state. The lost Silesian wars and the loss of this province to Prussia were an impulse to begin the efforts to reorganize the state. As it often happens in such cases, the model on which Austria modelled itself was its direct rival, Prussia. Trying to repeat the centralisation processes that so effectively served the Hohenzollerns, the Viennese government tried to subjugate individual local canters within the monarchy more closely, for example, by establishing an institution of District Captains as agents of the central government throughout Austria. As the efficiency of the administration increased, so did the revenue from taxes, which could be used either for the expansion of the army or for other activities aimed at strengthening the state.[1]

[1] D. E. Emerson, *Metternich and the Political Police, Security and Subversion in the Hapsburg Monarchy (1815–1830)*, Hague 1968, p. 3.

This reorganization later became the basis on which the Austrian system of centrally directed police was built at the end of the century. In using their administrative sections for the central government, Count Haugwitz, Maria Theresa's reforming minister, had the District Captains supervise police in the provinces in 1749 with the except for Lower Austria. They were to direct police affairs in their region and two years later the central government created police commissioners for Vienna and its suburbs, the capital and seat of Lower Austria. In June 1754, Maria Theresa appointed three police inspectors of her own who together with their assistants were to assure general security and good order in Vienna.[2]

Austria thus followed in the footsteps of other European rulers, who had previously recognized the need to systematize police action, especially in rapidly developing cities. Louis XIV, who can be considered a precursor in this matter, created the office of lieutenant of police as early as 1667. Soon, however, other rulers, trying to solve the problems associated with growing urbanization, especially in the capital cities, began to establish similar institutions modelled on the French model—Peter the Great established imperial police administration for St. Petersburg in 1718 and Frederick II established a royal police director for Berlin in 1742.

Previously, the term "police" itself had a relatively broad and essentially dual meaning. The first referred to functions and meant all activities relating to security and policing carried out by public institutions. In this context, the police were to be the sum of activities carried out by the authorities to improve the conditions of individual families, which in turn should translate into an improvement in conditions throughout the country. In the second, institutional sense, it was the name of the authorities responsible for carrying out police activities.[3]

Count Pergen reforms

In the Austrian context of the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, these two meanings still functioned side by side, although with time the contemporary institutional meaning of the term became predomi-

[2] Ibidem, p. 4.

[3] R. Axtman, *"Police" and the Formation of the Modern State. Legal and Ideological Assumptions on State Capacity in the Austrian Lands of the Habsburg Empire, 1500–1800*, "German History" 1992, vol. 10, no. 1, p. 57.

nant. This was largely due to the effectiveness of the Paris police, whose then superior, Antoine de Sartine, boasted to Louis XV that "when three people talk on the street, one of them is my man." Another time, de Sartine allegedly received a letter from Vienna asking for the arrest of a thief who was to flee to Paris. After a few days, the chief of the Paris police answered that the person was in fact in Vienna, and that he could be found at this and that address. Such stories, although they seem exaggerated, helped to build a legend of the effectiveness of the institution he runs, and, even if they are not true, de Sartine himself would probably consider them worthy of creation and circulation. His legend was growing and as a result, many European rulers decided to consult him on their activities related to the organization of police forces. Maria Theresa, impressed by his effectiveness, in 1768 asked de Sartine sixteen questions about police activities and the answers obtained were passed on to her officials, who were to have proper knowledge of them.[4]

Her son Joseph II believed that, despite the reform efforts he had already made, the inherited state was still lagging behind its rivals, and the improvement of the existing police system was one of the elements of the reforms he undertook. The first opportunity for this happened less than two years after he had taken over full power in the monarchy when the Vienna police were reorganized on the occasion of Pope Pius VI's visit to the city in April 1782. As part of this reorganisation, police operations in Vienna were divided into three main areas, each of which was to be supervised by a different body. From now on, the municipal authorities were to be responsible for commercial regulations, cleaning and paving of streets, and lighting. The municipal court was responsible for arresting the perpetrators of the crimes as well as expelling beggars and other unwanted people from the city. The newly appointed police director, however, was responsible for all other cleaning matters and was given under the authority of the Lower Austrian Governorate, which was a major change from the previous state of affairs.[5] The latter at that time was headed by Count Johann Anton von Pergen, whose role in the spread of this reform cannot be underestimated.[6]

Count Pergen developed a plan to reorganize police forces throughout the Habsburg monarchy and submitted it to the Emperor for ap-

[4] D. E. Emerson, op. cit., pp. 6–7.
[5] R. Axtman, op. cit., p. 58.
[6] I. Vushko, *The Politics of Cultural Retreat, Imperial Bureaucracy in Austrian Galicia, 1772–1867*, New Haven-London 2015, p. 81.

proval in July 1784.[7] His proposals were that the reform adopted in Vienna should be extended to virtually all the lands of the monarchy, creating a whole network of state police forces, directed from Vienna. In the individual lands of the monarchy in which the local administration had so far supervised police tasks, appropriate police directorates were to be set up. They would have separate secret police units, whose tasks would differ from strictly policing and police tasks.

The emperor himself considered the introduction of police institutions in particular provinces, so these proposals fell on fertile ground, but Joseph II was not fully convinced that they should simultaneously perform "public" and "secret" functions. Eventually, however, despite some problems, Pergen's proposals gained the approval of the centralist emperor.[8] The reform of 1784 divided the tasks of the new institution, which included the entire Habsburg monarchy, into two parts: public and secret—also known as the higher state police (*höhere Staatspolizei*). Pergen's instructions to future directors of the various police forces reflected this division. While the public service was not particularly different from the ordinary police service, which until then had been organized by the authorities of particular provinces, the instructions for the secret service were much more detailed.[9] These included, first of all, supervision over foreigners and their registration, gathering information through a network of secret agents, secret supervision over officials and their contacts, collecting information on how the emperor and his governments are assessed in society, military control, clergy, supervision over the exportation of money from the country, and conducting correspondence with abroad in order to obtain information. The new service was to act with caution and prudence in its activities.[10]

Based on the list of tasks that were set before the new service, it can be seen that these duties could not be performed by ordinary police force or even less uniformed officers. Therefore, a network of paid agents, who were recruited from among the residents, should be responsible for obtaining information, supervising and tracking suspicious persons, while the task of police officers was to prepare the information and pass it on to the relevant authorities. The uniformed

[7] F. Roubík, *Počátky policejního ředitelství v Praze*, Praha 1926, p. 62.

[8] D. E. Emerson, op. cit., p. 11. More about details regarding the creation of Austrian secret police see P. P. Bernard, *From the enlightenment to the police state: the public life of Johann Anton Pergen*, Ann Arbor 1991, pp. 140–169.

[9] See: F. Roubík, *Počátky*, op. cit., pp. 225–231.

[10] Ibidem, pp. 64–65.

officers performed police duty and kept the existence of secret police secret by their presence. Only the head of the political authorities was to be informed about its tasks, but they were to be kept secret from its officials.[11]

The first city, apart from Vienna, for which Joseph II appointed a police director, was Prague. It took place on 12 February 1785, and the newly appointed director, Jan Jiří Reisman of Riesenberk, received the title of Governial Councillor and the salary of 1 500 florins. A month later, on 16 March 1785, the Emperor appointed Jan Okáč to the post of Police Director in Brno.[12] The following year, the police directorates in Bratislava, Buda, and Opava were established as well as the police commissioner for Graz. By 1787, police directorates were established in all countries of the monarchy[13].

The high degree of secrecy in the activities of the secret police was problematic. For example, Jan Jiří Reisman of Riesenberk, who had to undergo a training course organised in Vienna by Count Pergen on the work of the new secret police before being appointed police director in Prague, faced the task of organizing both the new "public" and the secret police on his arrival in Prague. The problem is that the instructions signed by the emperor himself concerning the secret duties of the police, Reisman had to hand over personally to Count Kolovrat, Governor of the Czech Kingdom, and the governor's officials could not find out about their existence. For this reason, there were many misunderstandings between the new director of the Prague police, the Governorate, and the magistrate, and the police directorate itself did not start operating in the city until 1 June 1785.[14]

However, this did not change the fact that Count Pergen's main objective, which was to establish a network of police stations, centrally managed and independent of the provincial authorities, had been achieved. It was the duty of the director of the police in the province concerned to send all information that might concern se-

[11] Ibidem, pp. 72–76.

[12] Director of Prague police, Jan Jiří Reisman of Riesenberka, was as a result appointed for a second time. F. Roubík suspects that probably for formal reasons the imperial nomination from 16 March was to be the basis for the Court Chancellery to prepare the appropriate decree appointing both to positions. Ibidem, p. 75.

[13] Besides above mentioned cities police directorates were established in Linz (Upper Austria), Innsbruck (Tyrol), Lviv (Galicia), Pest (Hungary), Sibiu (Transylvania), Trieste (Austrian Littoral), Milan (Lombardy), Freiburg im Breisgau (Further Austria), and Brussels (Austrian Netherlands). D. E. Emerson, op. cit., p. 11.

[14] F. Roubík, *Počátky*, op. cit., p. 81.

cret state affairs directly to Vienna, without informing the provincial authorities.[15]

Emperor Joseph II, however, was not entirely satisfied. When in October 1786, a meeting of all police directors was convened on his orders in Vienna, the participants were surprised by the new imperial guidelines, which gave all the tasks of policing, which from 1784 had been carried out by individual police directors, to the hands of individual magistrates. The function of director of the police was retained, but now it was only to supervise the execution of the relevant tasks of the public and secret police, and this supervision was to be carried out through the local authorities, to which the police directors could turn for help. Staff in the form of one commissioner and one writer remained at the disposal of the police directors and the rest of the personnel was to be subordinated to the magistrates. Direct correspondence with the Viennese Police High Directorate (Oberste Polizeidirection) under the direction of Count Pergen could only be conducted in exceptional cases. The Count Pergen himself was deprived of some of his staff on this occasion.[16]

Such a major change meant a failure of Count Pergen's concept and made the secret police, which had to carry out its tasks through other offices, in practice no longer a secret. However, Count Pergen continued his efforts to push through regulations close to his original concept. And the circumstances seemed to confirm the need for greater control over the subjects—in February 1788 Joseph II began a war with Turkey, which, however, did not go as planned in Vienna. The mood in the Austrian Netherlands was truly revolutionary and indeed resulted in the outbreak of the Brabant Revolution in next April, which was thwarted only by the conquest of Brussels on 2 December 1790 by the imperial army commanded by Field Marshal Blasius Bender.[17] The nobility, mainly in Hungary, increasingly expressed their dissatisfaction with the emperor's policy, while the clergy opposed state interference in his affairs. Because of the unfavorable development of the situation, Joseph II increasingly followed Count Pergen's recommendations for a centrally directed police force. Finally, after one year of the Austro-Turkish War, in February 1789,

[15] Ibidem, p. 80.

[16] Ibidem, pp. 88–89.

[17] M. Paszyn, *Rewolucja brabancka w latach 1789-1790 w świetle relacji „Gazety Warszawskiej" i „Pamiętnika Politycznego i Historycznego"*, "Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia Historica" 2001, t. 70, p. 61.

Joseph II established a police system centrally managed from Vienna for all lands of his monarchy. A year later, on 5 February 1790, Pergen, who was given the task of organizing it, could proudly report to the emperor that the arrangements for police and security had been brought into operation in all the provinces of the monarchy.[18] According to new guidelines introduced by Pergen, the director of the police, who was to be directly subordinate to the province governor, had to carry out both law enforcement actions and secret activities on his own.[19]

Although Count Pergen himself warned Joseph II in January 1790 that the general mood in the monarchy might require a tactical withdrawal from some of the reforms, he did not expect that Joseph's successor in the imperial throne would consider that one of those institutions whose powers should be limited would be Pergen's Police High Directorate. Emperor Leopold II was not positively disposed towards it and preferred to listen to the arguments of Viennese opponents of the head of the Austrian police. In an attempt to withdraw from some of his brother's reforms, which were unpopular with the public, he significantly reduced the powers of the secret police, and Pergen himself resigned as a protest.[20]

By order of the emperor, the Viennese headquarters was no longer to directly supervise police operations in individual lands, and the police agenda was transferred to the various provincial authorities under the general supervision of the Court Chancellery. The Vienna Police Directorate was to be subordinated to the municipal authorities from now on. The Foreign Office was to take over secret police tasks. Besides, the emperor commissioned Joseph von Sonnenfels,[21] a well-known lawyer and professor of political science at the University of Vienna, to develop new proposals for the organisation of police forces in Vienna. Sonnenfels, one of Austria's leading Enlightenment representatives, who was instrumental in the abolition of torture, took the view that the powers of each office should be known to the public, which clearly contradicted Count Pergen's police vision. In his recommendations, he therefore rejected the need for secret police as a "terrible instrument

[18] D. E. Emerson, op. cit., p. 16.
[19] F. Roubík, *Počátky*, op. cit., p. 107.
[20] P. P. Bernard, op. cit., pp. 170–179; D. E. Emerson, op. cit., p. 16.
[21] H. Reinalter, *Sonnenfels, Joseph von (1733–1817)*, p. 422, https://www.biographien.ac.at/oebl/oebl_S/Sonnenfels_Joseph_1733_1817.xml;internal&action=hilite.action&Parameter=Joseph%20von%20Sonnenfels [Access: 18.09.2019].

of espionage and oppression," which "many police organisations have already discouraged from the real task of protecting the well-being of citizens." The new police organisation that Emperor Leopold II introduced in Vienna on 1 November 1791 focused on precisely this: The individual police districts into which Vienna was divided were to be concerned not only with maintaining public safety, but also with providing medical assistance to the urban poor. The directors in charge of the districts were not subject to single central management but had the opportunity to settle minor disputes to relieve the burden on the courts.[22]

The changes introduced by Leopold II, however, survived only until the end of his brief reign. In October 1792, his successor, Emperor Franz II, ordered Count Pergen to reorganize the secret police. As a result, centralised control over the police was restored at the beginning of 1793.[23] As part of this new reform, all police directors were subordinated to the new Viennese Court Police Office (*Polizeihofstelle*), headed by Count Pergen himself. The police directors in the individual cities were to operate under the supervision of the governors of the particular provinces, who could even request them to submit correspondence with the Vienna Court Police Office. On the other hand, however, the governors were obliged to send the Court Police Office all the information they obtained relating to national security. This was supposed to ensure that the competence misunderstandings would not be repeated.

With time, Count Pergen began to expand his office. In 1798, the Court Police Office, which initially consisted of two secretaries and a deputy to Pergen, grew to eight officials, including Pergen itself. It also directly controlled the Vienna Police Directorate, which consisted of forty eight people and more than three hundred and fifty strong military police-watch. Three years later, in September 1801, tasks related to censorship were added to the competence of *Polizeihofstelle*, which involved changing the name to Court Police and Censorship Office (*Oberste Polizei und Censurhofstelle*),[24] which made the process of growing the highest police personnel even faster. By 1814, the personnel of the Court Police and Censorship Office grew to thirteen people. In 1818, it was also enriched with the staff responsible for financial mat-

[22] D. E. Emerson, op. cit., p. 19.
[23] A. Fournier, *Die Geheimpolizei auf dem Wiener Kongress. Eine Auswahl aus ihren Papieren*, Wien-Leipzig 1913, p. 4.
[24] D. E. Emerson, op. cit., p. 27.

ters. In the 1830s, already nineteen people worked in the four departments of the office.[25]

The system introduced by Count Pergen worked so well that it basically lasted more than a half of a century—the next major organisational change in the Austrian police force was only introduced in 1848 when Emperor Ferdinand abolished the Court Police and Censorship Office and transferred its agenda to the newly established Ministry of the Interior.[26] However, as neo-absolutist tendencies became stronger, its independence was restored with the creation of the Supreme Police Office (*Oberste Polizeibehörde*) in 1852, which seven years later was transformed into Ministry of Police. In 1867, after the Austro-Hungarian settlement, it was abolished and its agenda was formally submitted to the Presidium of the Council of Ministers. This state of affairs did not last long, however, because after several changes of affiliation the agenda of the former Supreme Police Office was permanently transferred to the Interior Ministry in 1870.[27]

The number of police directorates changed over time. As a rule, they were to be located in large cities where the governor's seat was located, but this was not always the case. For example, in June 1848, in response to the events of March in Vienna and the fact that the hated director of the Lviv police, Leopold Sacher-Massoch, took a holiday and disappeared from the city, acting governor Count Gołuchowski simply dissolved the local police directorate, dividing its agenda between the governor and the city magistrate.[28] The police directorate in Lviv, which was already subordinate to the Supreme Police Office was re-established on 31 August 1852.[29] Budgetary restrictions, mainly in the years 1860–1866, were also reflected in a reduction in the number of existing police directorates.[30]

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[25] A. Hedwig-Benna, *Organisierung und Personalstand der Polizeihofstelle (1793–1848)*, "Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs" 1953, 6. Band, p. 233.

[26] Ibidem, p. 230.

[27] P. Bělina, M. Hlavačka, D. Tinková, *Velké dějiny zemí Koruny české, svazek XI a. 1792–1860: Habsburská monarchie v zápase s napoleonským hegemonismem a revolučním demokratismem a počátky utváření novodobého českého národa*, Praha-Litomyšl 2013, pp. 61–63.

[28] A. Kurka, *Dzieje i tajemnice lwowskiej policji z czasów zaboru austrjackiego 1772–1918*, Lwów 1930, pp. 23–27.

[29] Ibidem, p. 9.

[30] *Policejní ředitelství Praha 1796–1920: inventární soupis (Pomůcka č. 1011)*, ed. H. Chudobová, Praha 1964, p. 5.

Means of control

Throughout its existence, the agenda of the secret police or the higher state police, as it was then often called, remained the same as drawn by the Count Pergen—by open measures and a network of secret agents, to monitor and prevent the anti-state activities of suspicious individuals. The anti-state activity could be understood quite broadly and differed depending on the challenges that individual police directorates faced in different lands of the Habsburg monarchy. However, the means used to combat it were analogous.

The most important operational resource of the Austrian secret police was the network of paid agents. They recruited from all walks of life—from prostitutes and doormen to officials and professors.[31] The activity of police informants was very broad and was not limited only to collecting information on general social moods or reporting on young noblemen who gamble their cards. The police tried to keep their agents in environments considered potentially dangerous or to directly monitor individual suspects. A good example is the action taken against the environment of Prague's "Repeal", in which in 1859 an informer was placed, whose contacts provided unique opportunities for the Czech intelligentsia to observe. This was the journalist and writer Karel Sabina, who was released from prison two years earlier under an imperial amnesty. In exchange for financial support, Sabina promised to rebuild his previous contacts in Prague and report on matters that could „threaten the order in the Czech Kingdom, at least in those matters that could be influenced by agitation." The head of the Prague Police Directorate highly valued his usefulness as an agent, arguing that „there is no other person like Sabina who is both popular and widely familiar with both local and Slavic issues."[32] The same police directorate also kept Božena Němcová under surveillance and placed an agent in her environment—Viktoria Paulová[33] reported on Němcová until her premature death in May 1856.

Wherever the Austrian secret police appeared, a network of agents was set up to gather information about the activities of suspects for the monarchy. This process can be seen on the example of northern Italy, where the Congress of Vienna established the Kingdom of

[31] R. J. Goldstein, *Political Repression in 19th Century Europe*, New York 2010, p. 69.
[32] J. Purš, *K případu Karla Sabiny*, Praha 1959, p. 26.
[33] Národní archiv Praha (NA Praha), Presidium policejního ředitelství Praha – tajné (PPT)/9/441–447; NA Praha, PPT/9/544–550.

Lombardy-Venetia as part of the Austrian Empire in 1815. Virtually immediately after it was incorporated into the Habsburg monarchy, police directorates in Venice and Milan were established, and the next step was the creation of a network of informants in these areas. Interestingly, the envoys delegated from Vienna by Prince Metternich and the head of the *Oberste Polizei und Censurhofstelle*, Graf Josef von Sedlnitzky, had the task of not only establishing a spy network in newly incorporated Italian parts of the Austrian empire but also in the other countries on the Apennine Peninsula and even in southern France.[34]

The network of secret agents was for a long time a fairly effective means of maintaining order in the multinational monarchy. That task was becoming even more important to the authorities after the assassination of conservative writer August von Kotzebue by Karl Sand, the German liberal student and nationalist, which took place on 23 March 1819. One of the many consequences of that famous murder was the introduction of so-called Carlsbad Decrees on the meeting of the German states' representatives called by the Austrian Minister of State Prince Metternich[35]. The Carlsbad Decrees called for the dissolution of student organisations, strictening of press censorship throughout the entire German Confederation and persecution of people spreading liberal and nationalistic ideas, which consequently led to certain calming of the revolutionary moods. However, this peace was maintained by fear—people were often simply afraid to raise political issues, and parents advised their children to avoid discussing political issues even among their closest acquaintances.[36] As one can easily guess, this climate became more and more annoying for the population over time, and many people, especially those engaged in national activities, simply assumed that the secret police might be interested in them.[37] For the Viennese authorities, however, the ability to obtain information was more important than the well-being of the subjects, and only for a short time after the introduction of constitutional rule following the events of March 1848, the newly established Ministry of the Interior,

[34] M. Chvojka, *"Whose realm, his law". The Austrian Repression of Italian Nationalist Movement under the Reign of Francis I (1815–1835)*, "West Bohemian Historical Review" 2015, vol. 5, issue 2, pp. 49–50.

[35] W. Siemann, *Metternich: Strategist and Visionary*, Cambridge-London 2019, pp. 579–583.

[36] D. E. Emerson, op. cit., p. 100.

[37] J. R. Vilímek, *Ze zašlých dob – vzpomínky Jos. R. Vilímka st.*, Praha 1908, p. 7.

which at that time were responsible for supervising the police, decided to give up the services of the secret police.[38] This did not last long, however, because with the introduction of neo-absolutism and the establishment of the Supreme Police Office, the tried and tested practices were returned.

The secret police agency was used not only to gather information but also to carry out provocations. One of them ended in the arrest in 1855 of about a hundred Italian revolutionaries who were involved in the movement organized in Habsburg Lombardy by the Austrian secret police agent Giuseppe Bideschini. The Austrian secret police had the task doubly facilitated, because not only did they organise the whole conspiracy, but their agent also managed to convince the co-conspirators to immortalize their revolutionary plans in writing.[39]

The police confidents were not very popular with the general public. It happened that they received anonymous threats, even so, sophisticated that they contained a model of gallows, „on which you, spy villain, will hang until your confident body rots by itself."[40] In less peaceful times, there were even physical attacks on informants or people who were only suspected of reporting to the Austrian police. For example, such a fate happened to a Krakow employee of the telegraph office, who in 1863 was stabbed in the back with a knife when he bent down in front of the house to draw water from the stream with a watering can.[41]

Another of the operational techniques used by the Austrian secret police was the secret interception of correspondence. In all the major post offices of the monarchy, there was a special unit called *Logen*, which the only task was to secretly intercept and copy the correspondence of people considered suspicious. The recipients of the information collected in this way were, of course, the Austrian authorities. As part of the morning routine, the Duke of Metternich liked to go through secret police reports for hours, and from time to time he liked to throw in a conversation with foreign diplomats crumbs of information, which he could only obtain by intercepting correspondence, to maintain the aura of his omniscience. In 1817, same Metternich even

[38] A. Kurka, op. cit., pp. 21–22.
[39] R. J. Goldstein, op. cit., p. 72.
[40] Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (ANK), C.K. Dyrekcja Policji w Krakowie (DPKr), 29/247/6 (no page number).
[41] ANK, DPKr, 29/247/7/1415–1423.

claimed that Austria had created a police force „whose scale was higher than anything else before."[42]

Police did not have to be included in the *Logen* organisation. Interception of correspondence was a prerogative of the Emperor, and the Secret Cipher Office (*Geheime Ziffernkanzlei*), which supervised this practice, as a very important, separate organizational unit, subordinated to it personally.[43] However, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the police were admitted to the effects of the office's work and could identify persons whose correspondence was to be intercepted. In individual provinces, the *Logen* network could be organised directly by the Secret Cipher Chancellery, the relevant police directorates or local authorities. But even if they were organised by local authorities, this did not mean that they would automatically have access to all the correspondence intercepted in the province they manage. For example, although both Metternich and Sedlnitzky praised the efforts made by the local Prague authorities to intercept correspondence, Count Kolovrat had to seek permission from Court Police and Censorship Office to grant him access to the correspondence intercepted in *Logen* in Karlsbad.[44]

The Austrian interception of correspondence was not limited to the monarchy. After 1815, for example, a postman named Heller was recruited in Frankfurt am Main, who passed on the intercepted correspondence to Vienna via *Logen* in Karlsbad[45].

Although the subjects of the monarchy were aware that their correspondence could be intercepted, this was a very effective operational measure. It was thanks to him that, during the most intense diplomatic efforts in connection with the ongoing Vienna Congress, it was discovered, for example, that one of the Commissioners working in the Prague police directorate was a Russian agent.[46]

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[42] R. J. Goldstein, op. cit., p. 70.

[43] More about Geheime Ziffernkanzlei see: S. Franz, *Zur Geschichte und Organisation der Weiner Geheimen Ziffern-kanzlei (von ihnen Anfangen bis zum Jahre 1848)*, „Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung" 1937, vol. 51, pp. 131–160. Intercepted ciphered correspondence was also sent to the Viennese Geheime Ziffernkanzlei.

[44] D. E. Emerson, op. cit., p. 44.

[45] Ibidem, p. 45.

[46] Ibidem, p. 43.

There was also suspicion of journalistic activity, which, under separate regulations,[47] was placed on the censored list—literally, because it was the police who were supposed to control the publication of periodicals, although they did not always manage to do so. A good example of this was the case of the publisher of the periodical "Posel z Prahy", František Šimáček, who publishes his journal every five weeks, thus avoiding many of the censorship restrictions resulting from the fact that the press law of 1852 defined a periodical as a publication that comes out, regularly or not, every day or at least once a month. The Prague police realized that by publishing their magazine every five weeks it did not meet this definition and thus circumvented the provisions of the act, so they tried to combat this publication on the basis of criminal law, while at the same time suggesting to their superiors that the definition of a periodical should be extended so that the regulations of the press law would also cover such cases. The Supreme Police Office, in consultation with other ministries, took the view that the definition of the periodical should not be extended for the time being and that officials responsible for observing the press law should apply other legal measures.[48]

Despite the existence of a separate office to censor books and theatre plays,[49] the Austrian police officers, especially before neo-absolutism insisted on a strictly legal basis, were able to make the lives of the writers of the time more difficult in ways that went beyond the scope of their duties as determined by Count Pergen. For example, in Lviv, the police, not content with the control they exercised, constantly interfered in censorship matters. In this respect, the Deputy Director of the Police, Counsellor Antoni baron Pauman, aimed with extraordinary

[47] From 1801, onward *Oberste Polizei und Censurhofstelle* served as the supreme censorship office, and in 1810, a new uniform instruction for the censorship apparatus, based on the penal code of 1803, was introduced. Further regulations regarding censorship were issued in 1819 and 1830. Censorship was abolished in March 1848, but freedom did not last long as the censorship was re-established on 2 January 1849. In 1852, a press law was issued, and another regulations regarding that matter was introduced in 1860. "Reichsgesetzblatt" (RGBl) 2 VI 1852, no. 36, pos. 122, pp. 603–615; RGBl 23 I 1863, no. 4, pos. 6, pp. 145–156; M. Bogus, *Cenzura czy troska, czyli „spis książek poleconych i zakazanych" Jana Śliwki z 1899 roku*, "Slezský sborník" 2013, t. 111, č. 1, p. 41.

[48] J. T. Leigh, *Austrian Imperial Censorship and the Bohemian Periodical Press, 1848–71*, London 2017, pp. 174–177.

[49] T. Gutkowski, *Cenzura w Wolnym Mieście Krakowie 1832–1846*, Kraków 1914, pp. 16–17; M. Chvojka, *Príspevok k dejinám knižnej cenzúry a jej manipulácii habsburskou štátnou políciou v predmarcovom období*, "Časopis Matice moravské" 2008, t. 127, č. 2, pp. 335–353.

zeal at this, by providing uninvited care for the Polish theatre, about which he imposed articles by the editorial staff of "Gazeta Lwowska." The baron wrote down his artistic impressions in German, while poor Kaminski had to translate them into Polish and put them in the "News" column. Pauman was particularly fond of using the formula: *Typum non meretur* and was later appointed to the Central Committee of Censorship in Vienna.[50]

Baron Antoni Pauman (actually Anton Freiherr von Päumann, as he signed himself) did not appear in the above paragraph by chance. After moving from Lviv to Vienna, he was taken into account by Graf von Sedlnitzky as a candidate for the position of Head of the General Directorate of Censorship (*Zensuroberdirektion*),[51] but eventually, his career turned out differently, and he himself initiated a special operation of the Austrian secret police, the outline of which would be worth quoting here, given that today's theoreticians of information warfare would not hesitate to classify it as a perception management.[52]

Anton Päumann was appointed director of the Prague police force in Autumn 1854. Three years later, he became interested in the celebrations that Czech national activists organised in Dvůr Králové nad Labem on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the discovery of the Queen's Court Manuscript by Václav Hanka. This manuscript, together with the Green Mountain Manuscript, was generally considered to be a monument of the Czech language, dating back to the 13th and 10th centuries, respectively. Although the ceremony itself was rather local and did not attract too many Prague national activists, Päumann feared that a similar celebration, this time on a larger scale, would be held on the 50th anniversary of the discovery of the manuscripts, or even earlier. Referring to his Viennese superior, Johan von Kempen, the Prague police director emphasized the danger that these manuscripts pose to the Empire, in his opinion. According to Päumann, these poems, which were promoted as valuable monuments of the Czech literature, were in fact used to spread national

[50] S. Schnür-Pepłowski, *Cenzura (Obrazek z przeszłości Lwowa)*, "Dziennik Polski" 1895, nr 27.

[51] M. Chvojka, *Zwischen reform und Beharrung. Die Rolle des Grafen Sedlnitzky in der Zensurentwicklung der 1840er Jahre*, "Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské university" 2008, č. 2, pp. 71–72.

[52] *Wojna informacyjna jako skuteczne narzędzie destabilizacji państw i rządów [RAPORT]*, https://www.defence24.pl/wojna-informacyjna-jako-skuteczne-narzedzie-destabilizacji-panstw-i-rzadow-raport [Access: 23.08.2018].

tensions against Germans and were treated as national artefacts by the Czech national activists.[53]

Because, like antiques, manuscripts were not subject to censorship regulations, Päumann could not forbid the printing of their subsequent editions. He also could not remove them from schools. However, in order to neutralize them in some way, he came to the conclusion that the question of their authenticity was extremely important. As he explained in his later correspondence with the Prague Governorate, it would be advisable to prove that they were falsified and thus neutralize their influence. The falsification for which Päumann believed Hanka stood behind would have to be proved by scientists, but the police could help them to do so.[54]

Päumann managed to get von Kempen interested in the case, so he began to methodically collect all the doubts that had been raised in the past by scientists at that time in connection with the dating or authenticity of manuscripts. He sent his findings to von Kempen on 8 March 1858, also pointing out that Hanka is known for his ability to imitate various types of writing, and in his workshop, at the Czech Museum in Prague, he has access to various types of inks. In response, the ministry considered that the facts cited by Päumann were sufficient to undermine the authenticity of the manuscripts.[55]

However, the director of the Prague police did not intend to take any shortcuts. Afraid that the suspicions of police involvement in the case might harm the operation, he planned to put an article written by one of his subordinates, containing all the scientific doubts about the manuscripts, in a readable foreign newspaper. Päumann hoped that this would provoke the attacked individuals to defend themselves and, at the same time, that the public would learn about the falsification, which in its eyes would undermine both the credibility of the manuscripts and other oldest monuments of Czech literature and reduce their influence on the formation of Czech national consciousness.[56]

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[53] F. Roubík, *Účast policie v útoku na Rukopisy roku 1858*, [in:] *Od pravěku k dnešku – Sborník prací z dějin československých*, t. 2, Praha 1930, p. 436; J. Kočí, *Spory o Rukopisy v české společnosti*, [in:] *Rukopis královédvorský a zelenohorský, Dnešní stav poznání*, ed. M. Otruba, Praha 1969, pp. 27–28.

[54] F. Roubík, *Účast*, op. cit., p. 441.

[55] Ibidem, p. 437.

[56] Ibidem, p. 438.

The text commissioned by Päumann mentioned all doubts about the authenticity of the Queen's Court Manuscript, which had already been raised by historians and philologists. He also pointed to the similarities between it and the Serbian heroic songs published by Herder in the 18th century and *The Tale of Igor's Campaign*, the translation of which was published by Hanka in 1821. An unknown author suggested that it would be better if Hanka did not "find" any new manuscripts and called for a commission investigation of the authenticity of the Queen's Court Manuscript. However, Päumann did not manage to reach foreign editors who would be ready to print the prepared text, so at the end of March he sent a request to Kempen to try to publish it abroad through his channels.[57]

However, this plan was halted after one of *Oberste Polizeibehörde's* officials advised Kempen not to carry out this provocation, arguing that manuscripts were no more political than staging Schiller's play about Wallenstein and that the dispute over their authenticity should be left to the narrow circle of Slavic philologists and historians. Päumann did not seem to give up, however, because on 24 October 1858, he sent a report to Vienna on the whole series of articles published in the Prague daily "Tagesbote aus Böhmen" under the title *Handschriftliche Lügen oder palaeographische Wahrheiten*. In anti-Czech intended texts, the anonymous author reminded of known historical falsifications and quoted doubts as to the authenticity of the manuscripts found by Hanka. Ironically recalling that the "old Bohemian" writing school probably existed as early as the 19th century, the author suspected Hanka of having perfect contact with it as early as 1848. The series of five articles end with a call for the authenticity of the Queen's Court Manuscript to be finally confirmed by independent specialists, which has not been done so far.[58]

In his report, Päumann did not hesitate to boast to his superior that he had arranged the whole situation. The director of the Prague police also informed von Kempen that the materials used in the preparation of these articles had been handed over to the editorial staff of "Tagesbote aus Böhmen" in an extremely cautious manner and that the newspaper itself had been chosen by him since among all German newspapers published in Prague, it would be the least suspected of

[57] Ibidem, p. 438.

[58] *Handschriftliche Lügen oder palaeographische Wahrheiten,* „Tagesbote aus Böhmen" 1858, no. 276, 285, 289, 292, 299.

having any connection with the police.[59] It can be suspected that this assessment was due to the fact that a few years earlier, this newspaper had almost been closed by Päumann.[60]

The publication, understandably, aroused a great deal of emotion in Prague. František Palacký himself, who defended the authenticity of the manuscripts in a series of articles published in "Bohemia", decided to answer the anonymous author. According to the leading representative of the Czech national revival, the attack on these "ancient flowers of Czech literature" was carried out only due to the fact, that they are not German.[61]

However, Päumann's operation had only a limited effect. Although the "Czech side" was forced to defend its position, the subject of alleged falsification was not widely discussed in the press, and the anonymous author of the texts in "Tagesbote aus Böhmen" remained alone in his accusations. As a result of these publications, however, Hanka brought a lawsuit for "insulting honour" against the editor of "Tagesbote aus Böhmen," David Kuh, who did not reveal the identity of an anonymous author suggesting that Hanka was the author of the manuscripts in question. This trial was won by Hanka[62] in the first two instances, which is interesting because a dozen or so years later, both texts, during the so-called "dispute over manuscripts" were found to be a skillful falsification,[63] and to this day the view that Václav Hanka and Josef Linda are responsible for this forgery is definitely prevailing.[64]

[59] NA Praha, PPT/9/280–286.

[60] J. T. Leigh, op. cit., p. 171.

[61] F. Palacký, *Handschriftliche Lügen und palaeographische Warheiten. Eine Entgegnung*, "Bohemia" November 1858, č. 5, 6, 10.

[62] *Proceß gegen den Redakteur des Tagesboten aus Bohmen, David Kuh*, "Gerichtshale" 7 May 1860, p. 148–151.

[63] More on that topic see also J. Kočí, op. cit.

[64] Although not everyone agrees to that. In 1993, a association, dissolved after the World War II by the communist authorities, dedicated to defence of the authenticity of both manuscripts, abbreviated shortly as RKZ, was re-established. Its members continue to raise arguments which, in their opinion, point to the authenticity of the Manuscripts. On the 200th anniversary of Hanka's "finding" of the Queen's Court manuscript, the association issued a monograph devoted to RKZ. K. Nesměrák, D. Mentzlová, J. Urban, J. Žytek, *RKZ dodnes nepoznané*, Praha 2017.

Conclusion

Of course, the above-mentioned episodes of necessity are only examples of the activity of the Austrian imperial secret police, which had to face many challenges and opponents of the imperial court during its more than a century of activity. Under no circumstances should this work be an attempt at a holistic approach to the subject, but only a sketch of the organization and working methods of the Austrian secret imperial police, which seems to be poorly represented in Polish historiography.

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Abstract

The article aims to briefly outline the history, organization, and operational methods of the Austrian secret police at the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. The author outlines the context in which it was brought to life and recalls events most important for its creation. He then discusses the instruments which in the next couple of decades were in the arsenal of the Austrian *höhere Staatspolizei*.

Keywords: Austria, police, Johann Anton von Pergen, Habsburg monarchy

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"TO GET RID OF TURKS".
THE SOUTH-SLAVIC STATES AND MUSLIM REMIGRATION IN THE TURN OF 1870S AND 1880S[1]

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Introduction

The Great Eastern Crisis (1875–1878) led to migrations on an incomparable scale in the Balkan Peninsula. The Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878 forced about 350,000 Muslims to leave the Bulgarian lands, which we will understand as the area covering the Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia. Sanjak of Niš's occupation by the Serbian Army resulted in the exodus of 71,000 Muslims. After the situation in the region had stabilized, the refugees (so-called Muhajirs) wanted to get back to their homes in the newly created Principality of Bulgaria, autonomous Eastern Rumelia (first controlled by Russians and later by Bulgarians), and the lands annexed by Serbia.

The return of war refugees was one of the central problems the South-Slavic states faced in the first years after the Great Eastern Crisis. It led to serious complications, which had various reasons. Among the most significant ones was the logistic deployment of the remigrants in the areas often settled by Bulgarians of Macedonia and Thrace, and by Serbians of Kosovo and Montenegro. Another one was diplomatic disputes between the Sublime Porte and the Great Powers, the latter

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exerting pressure on the authorities in Sofia, Plovdiv, and Belgrade for the humanitarian treatment of Muhajirs.

The article presents the problem of Muslim remigration to the South-Slavic states after the Great Eastern Crisis, with particular attention to the states' policies towards that problem. The Bulgarian lands were occupied by Russians from 1877 until June 1879, and the Tsar's representatives led the separate policy in that field. The Treaty of Berlin divided the territory into two parts: the Principality of Bulgaria, as the Turkish vassal; and Eastern Rumelia, the autonomic province of the Ottoman Empire. We will assume that Eastern Rumelia, dominated by Bulgarians, can be treated as one of the South-Slavic states. The formal position of Turks and Greeks quickly turned out to be symbolic. In the case of Serbia, the article only deals with the lands annexed in 1878, that is, Sanjak of Niš.

Back then, there was a fourth South-Slavic state: Montenegro. We will not analyze its situation, however, because in the lands taken over by Petrović Njegoš's Monarchy, the remigration of Muslims caused a marginal problem. Montenegro's open anti-Muslim policy, its critical need for land, and the warfare it led until the beginning of the 1880s did not create favorable conditions for the Muhajirs to return to their homes after the War of 1876–1878.[2]

In the Balkan Peninsula, Muslims did not form a homogenous group: there were Turks, Albanians, Slavophonic people (Bosniaks, Pomaks, Torbeshes, and Gorans), Roma, Tatars, Circassians, among others. In the 19th century, national identity based on language and ethnic origin was not a widespread concept in the Balkan Peninsula, especially among Muslims. Thus, most Muslims identified themselves through the prism of religion (as ummah) and membership in local communities (except for the Albanians). Most sources used the term "Turk" to mean "Muslim."[3]

[2] S. Bandžović, *Deosmanizacija Balkana i Bošnjaci: ratovi i muhadžirska pribježišta (1876.–1923.)*, Sarajevo 2013, pp. 172–173.

[3] K. Popek, *Muslim Emigration from the Balkan Peninsula in the 19th Century: A Historical Outline*, "Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace Historyczne" 2019, vol. 146, no. 3: *Migrations, Migrants and Refugees in 19th–21st Centuries in the Interdisciplinary Approach. Selected Topics*, ed. P. Sękowski, O. Forcade, R. Hudemann, p. 518.

Fate of the Muhajirs

Many of Muslim war refugees never wanted to permanently leave their homes. They escaped because their lives were in danger, but they planned to return once the danger disappeared—especially because many of them felt disappointed by living conditions in the areas where they were sent by the Ottoman authorities. The most difficult situation faced those sent to Asia Minor. They quickly began to miss homes, family lands, and former communities. Speaking other dialects of Turkish (Pomaks and Albanians actually did not know the language at all) and being attached to other customs and social norms, Balkan Muslims were often treated as foreign in Anatolia. The newcomers—most of whom came from rural areas—did not understand life in the cities of Asia Minor. A different climate and other agricultural traditions made land cultivation different. Even worse, the Muhajirs often suffered discrimination from the local community; for example, they earned less money for the same work than did the locals.[4] Hence, not only those Muhajirs who had wanted to return from the very beginning of their exodus, but also many of those who had initially planned their futures in the new lands eventually wanted to return to their homelands.

A return, however, could be as traumatic an experience as the escape itself. When in July 1878 the first groups of refugees returned to their homes, they met with retaliations and protests from their Christian neighbors. Many formerly Muslim estates were either destroyed or taken over by Bulgarians or Serbians. The legal guarantees in terms of land ownership included in the Treaty of Berlin proved to be a dead letter.[5] Muslims were forced again to leave the lands, sometimes without even being able to sell their estates. Thus, many of them had nothing more than what they had on their backs: Up to 90% of the refugees returning to the Bulgarian lands had no movable property. Many of them were robbed and beaten, some even murdered, often with the consent of local authorities.[6] Christians who tried to provide help and shelter their

[4] В. Арденски, *Загаснали огнища. Изселническите процеси сред българите мохамедани в периода 1878–1944 г.*, София 2005, pp. 12–13, 50–51; D. Vasileva, *Bulgarian Turkish Emigration and Return*, "International Migration Review" 1992, vol. 26, no. 2, p. 349.
[5] *Palgrave to Marquis of Salisbury, Sophia 20.06.1879*, FO 881/3574/87–89; *Draft by Lascelles*, 6.10.1883, FO 78/3527/54; M. Dymarski, *Konflikty na Bałkanach w okresie kształtowania się państw narodowych w XIX i na początku XX wieku*, Wrocław 2010, p. 129; Ö. Turan, *The Turkish Minority in Bulgaria (1878–1908)*, Ankara 1998, pp. 145–147.
[6] *Ashburgham to the Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 22.12.1879*, FO 195/1246/275–279; Ö. Turan, *The Turkish Minority*, op. cit., p. 149;

Muslim neighbors met with critics and harassment from compatriots.[7] Long after the war, until the second half of the 1880s, the Sublime Porte was flooded with thousands of petitions regarding the difficult situation of Muslim repatriates.[8] The Balkan governments considered many such petitions untrue and rejected them, even though it required the local authorities to individually verify each case.[9]

Bulgarian Lands under the Russian occupation

Contrary to the opinion widely expressed in the literature, the Treaty of Berlin did not regulate the return of war refugees to the Bulgarian lands. Unlike what many researchers have claimed,[10] the treaty also included no provisions prohibiting the possibility of returning of the Circassian population to the Balkan countries. The only aspect of the return issue the agreement guaranteed was the property rights of the Muslim population in the Balkan countries. During the first months of the occupation of the Bulgarian lands, the Russian authorities received a free hand to act against the remigration of the Muhajirs.

Despite the lack of specific regulations, the war refugees interpreted the Treaty of Berlin as a proof of the stabilization in the region, which gave them a signal to return.[11] Before the treaty but after the ceasefire, the first instructions on dealing with war refugees were issued by the Russian Ministry of War on 21st (9th O.S.) March 1878, in reaction to

[7] *[Reade] to Layard, Varna 30.07.1878*, FO 913/4/190–195; *Dalziel to Reade, Varna 30.07.1878*, FO 913/4/329–330; P. Üre, *Immediate Effects of the 1877–1878 Russo-Ottoman War on the Muslims of Bulgaria*, "History Studies" 2013, vol. 13, pp. 166–167; O. Turan, *Turkish Migrations from Bulgaria*, [in:] *Forced Ethnic Migrations in the Balkans: Consequences and Rebuilding of Societies*, ed. E. Popova, M. Hajdinjak, Sofia-Tokio 2006, p. 81.

[8] *Draft by Lascelles, 16.06.1882*, FO 78/3412/6; *O'Conor to Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 14.02.1887*, FO 78/4030/139; *Списък на нотите на агенството адресувани до разните турски министерва от начало на 1888 год. до днес и останали без одговор, Цариград, 9.11.1889*, БИА-НБКМ ф. 290 а.е. 164 л. 11–21.

[9] For example: *От Министерство на външните работи и изповеданията до Дипломатическо агентство в Цариград, София 28.11.1879*, ЦДА ф. 321к оп. 1 а.е. 8. л. 38.

[10] Cf. Б. Лори, *Съдбата на османското наследство. Българската градска култура 1878–1900*, прев. Л. Янакиева, София 2002, p. 54; O. Turan, *Turkish Migrations*, op. cit., p. 81; *История на българите 1878–1944 в документи*, т. 1: 1878–1912, ч. 1: *Възстановяване и развитие на българската държава*, ред. В. Георгиев, С. Трифонов, София 1996, pp. 23–25.

[11] R. Crampton, *Bulgaria*, Oxford 2007, p. 426.

the first returns of Turks and Tartars returning to the former Sanjak of Tulcea. Circassians were forbidden to return to Bulgaria. The very first thing other remigrants had to do after returning to their homelands was to report to the district authorities. Theoretically, those who had an ownership act were guaranteed to recover their property. Life, however, was not so simple for all remigrants. Many had to face a tragedy that their estates had new inhabitants, of course Bulgarians, and no law would make them leave their new homes. In such instances, the remigrants were located somewhere else, where they would be recompensed with a new house and land. In the case of disputes between Christians and Muslims over property rights, priority was given to the former. When many refugees appeared in a district, the administration would set up a special commission composed of district councilors, who would regulate returns.[12] All in all, these regulations were, relatively speaking, milder than the Russian ones that were soon to come.

For the Russian occupation authorities, refugees quickly became "scapegoats," which resulted from the deterioration of relations with the Sublime Porte and the Western Powers. Many authors link these tensions to the Pomak Anti-Russian Rhodope Uprising and the Muslim resistance in the Eastern-Bulgarian lands supported semi-officially by the Turkish state. Russians did not like a common opinion formulated in the West that the Rhodope Rebellion resulted from blocking the Muhajirs' returns; in fact, Russians considered such views attempts to interfere with their interests in the Bulgarian lands.[13] The reluctant attitude towards refugees was also driven by practical issues: For a country so heavily affected by the war, transportation, food, and accommodations for thousands of remigrants were both a great logistical challenge and a significant cost.[14]

After the Congress of Berlin, the Ottoman Empire decided to send back 30,000 war refugees to the Bulgarian lands. At the same time, the Sublime Porte announced the end of the "open door" policy for new Muhajirs from the Balkans.[15] The Russian Commissioner prince Alexander Dondukov-Korsakov called the Ottoman authorities to re-

[12] *Циркулярно Министерства Военного, 9.03.1878*, ДА-Варна ф. 717к оп. 1 а.е. 2 л. 2–4.
[13] *Report of the International Committee on Rhodopes*, 27.08.1878, FO 78/2924 (no pages); И. Ялъмов, *История на турската общност в България*, София 2002, p. 69.
[14] M. Dymarski, op. cit., p. 129; Ж. Назърска, *Малцинствено-религиозната политика в Източна Румелия (1879–1885)*, [in:] *Мюсюлманските общности на Балканите и в България*, т. 1, ред. А . Желязкова, София 1997, p. 122.
[15] "Витоша" 1879, год. I, бр. 6 (16 юни), p. 3.

frain from mass remigration of Muslims to Bulgaria until the end of the Russian occupation in June 1879. The authorities in Constantinople rejected these demands, however.[16] In response, the Council of the Russian Imperial Commissioner in Bulgaria issued the Edict on Turkish Refugees of 14th (2nd) August 1878. It announced that all Muslim emigrants had the right to return to their place of residence on specific terms. First, they were to fully submit to the new power and law. People who committed the following crimes during the Great Eastern Crisis were forbidden to enter the country: murder, plunder, participation in a robbery group, arson, slaughter, and rape. The edict prohibited carrying weapons, which had to be transferred to representatives of the security forces during the border crossing. The repatriates who fulfilled the above-mentioned conditions were guaranteed the recovery of their real estate and lands lost during the war or. If it was impossible (as discussed above), they were to receive an equivalent in the form of money or other property. Initially, the remigrants were to be located in tents and dugouts near their home villages, with a guarantee of food and money assistance. They were also provided with materials to build a temporary shelter until a court would deal with the return of the property.

The Circassian population, however, was forbidden—without exception—to return to the Bulgarian lands.[17] The Ottoman government protested against the edict, accusing the Russians of wording the edict in a way that enabled them to consider *any* Muslim a criminal. According to the government, the Russians did that in order to discourage Circassians from returning. The Sublime Porte also criticized the ban on carrying weapons, which made Muslims defenseless against Bulgarians.[18]

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[16] Ж. Назърска, *Малцинствено-религиозната политика*, op. cit., pp. 120–121.

[17] *Журналь императоского Российского Коммисара в Българии, София 2.08.1878*, ДА-Варна ф. 78к оп. 2 а.е. 1 л. 1–6; Ж. Назърска, *Малцинствено-религиозната политика,* op. cit., pp. 121–122; A. M. Mirkova, *"Population Politics" at the End of Empire: Migration and Sovereignty in Ottoman Eastern Rumelia, 1877–1886*, "Comparative Studies in Society and History" 2013, 55(4), pp. 965–966.

[18] *Писмо от Щум до Бисмарк (Санкт Петерсбург, 7 ноември 1879 г.)*, [in:] *България в политиката на трима императори 1879–1885. Германски дипломатически документи*, т. 1, ред. Ц. Тодорова, София 2004, pp. 102–103; O. Köse, *The Policies of the Bulgarian State towards the Minorities (1878–1914)*, "Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi" 2012, 3(6), pp. 229–230.

The Edict of August 1878 prevented the repatriation of people who participated in acts of violence against Christians during the April Uprising in 1876. Up to 80,000 Bashi-Bazouks (recruited mostly from the local population) and Circassians took part in this suppressing, also 10,000 regular soldiers. This had a significant impact on the religious map of Bulgaria. To this day, we can notice analogies between the regions largely inhabited by Muslims and the extent of the April Uprising: The areas where the rebellion took place back then coincide with those where the decline in Muslim population was the greatest. This phenomenon was likely closely related to the fear of retaliation for the crimes committed by the Bashi-Bazouks in 1876. The fear of collective responsibility refrained many Muslims who did not commit any crimes from coming back.[19] They were afraid to return, knowing that in Bulgaria a lawsuit was awaiting remigrants.[20] An amnesty declared in December (November O.S.) 1880 did not significantly affect the returns of this group. The participants of the pogroms in 1876 and during the War of 1877–1878 were aware that local communities still remembered their guilt and were only looking for revenge, which even included lynchings.[21]

In a consequence, a significant group of remigrants refused to hand over their weapons. Arms had an important cultural background for Muslims: They had the exclusive right to bear arms in the Ottoman Empire, a symbol of their social position and superiority over Giaours. To bear arms meant to be better. Weapons and pistols often carried sentimental values. No wonder that many Muslims, especially former soldiers from the demobilized Ottoman army, preferred to give up their return rather than surrender.[22]

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[19] *Бележката от заседание на Министерския съвет, 22.11.1883*, ЦДА ф. 20 оп. 1 а.е. 186 л. 204; A. Toumarkine, *Les Migrations des Populations Musulmanes Balkaniques en Anatolie (1876–1913)*, Istanbul 1995, p. 41; W. Höpken, *Der Exodus: Muslimische Emigration aus Bulgarien im 19. Und 20. Jahrundert*, [in:] *Osmanen und Islam in Südosteuropa*, hrsg. R. Lauer, H. G. Majer, Berlin-Boston 2014, p. 315.

[20] For example: "Витоша" 1880, год. I, бр. 67 (6 февуари), p. 4; "Витоша" 1880, год. I, бр. 68 (9 февуари), p. 4; "Витоша" 1880, год. I, бр. 81 (2 април), p. 4.

[21] *Министерство на външните работи и изповеданията до Дипломатически агент в Цариград, София 8.08.1880*, ЦДА ф. 321к оп. 1 а.е. 32 л. 26; *Видински окръжен съд до Министерство на правосъдието, Видин 24.07.1880*, ЦДА ф. 321к оп. 1 а.е. 32 л. 27–28; R. Crampton, *The Turks in Bulgaria, 1878–1944*, [in:] *The Turks of Bulgaria: The History, Culture and Political Fate of a Minority*, ed. K. Karpat, Istanbul 1990, p. 48.

[22] *Рапорт от варненски губернатор до Министерство на финансите, 3.10.1879*, ЦДА ф. 159к оп. 1 а.е. 33 л. 1–2; *Brophy to Palgrave, Varna 2.07.1879*, FO 195/1246/411–413; R. Crampton, *The Turks*, op. cit., pp. 47–48.

Principality of Bulgaria

When the Russian occupation of the Bulgaria lands ended in June 1879, the new authorities of the Principality continued the earlier policy line, supported by various milieus in the country. Conservative press organ "Vitosha" was very critical of the remigrants. In an article published in June 1879 about a group of 40,000 "Turkish" repatriates heading from Adrianople to Eastern Rumelia, one could read that "no one can guarantee that there are no Turks from Asia and Africa among them"; the "Turkish settlers" were claimed to violate the peace of the Bulgarian lands. The author considered the mass returns of war refugees an action of the Turkish government in order to take control over the Bulgarian lands by a settlement. He wrote that repatriates should be let in under two conditions: that they would return everything that had been stolen during the war, and that they would rebuild all the houses and villages burned "without a cause, but only with ill will." The author had his own—rather hostile—idea for the remigrants' future: Instead of returning to their homelands, they should move to Constantinople, Africa, and Asia.[23]

In November 1879, the authorities in Sofia refused crossing the border by 18,000–30,000 refugees returning to their homes from Constantinople. The border was officially closed, and the Muhajirs were forced to stay in the ports, in Eastern Rumelia, or at the Western border.[24] The Bulgarian government announced that it was unable to control such mass influx of Muslims, who entered the territory of the Principality without any announcement and settled there without any coordination. The administration was completely unprepared for such a process. The government feared that the situation would deteriorate in the forthcoming winter, dangerous for the Muhajirs because of cold, hunger, and lack of shelter. In response, the Sublime Porte demanded the immediate opening of the border for exactly 70,860 refugees heading to the districts of Sofia and Tarnovo.[25] It accused Bulgarians of not answering many complaints from the remigrants and ignoring the proposals the Ottoman Empire and the Great Powers presented to solve that problems.[26]

[23] "Витоша" 1879, год. I, бр. 5 (13 юни), p. 4.

[24] *Копие на Цирклуларно от Варненски губернатор до окръжните началници и Варненски полицмайстер, 21.11.1879*, ЦДА ф. 321к оп. 1 а.е. 31 л. 103; *Ashburgham to the Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 30.11.1879*, FO 195/1246/235–236; *Ashburgham to the Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 29.12.1879*, FO 195/1246/282; И. Ялъмов, op. cit., p. 70.

[25] *Palgrave to Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 1.11.1879*, FO 195/1246/160.

[26] *Draft of W. Eshburuham, 31.12.1879*, FO 78/3116/2–3.

The authorities in Sofia firmly rejected the demands of the Sublime Porte and stated that the borders would remain closed until the spring of 1880.[27] The Bulgarians explained that the borders had to be closed for security reasons, and so this action was not directed against the refugees but the Turkish bandits active in the eastern areas of the Principality and Eastern Rumelia. According to the Bulgarian government's position, the bandits were largely recruited from demobilized Ottoman soldiers returning to their homes in Bulgaria.[28] It is difficult to verify the credibility of this allegation because contradictory claims about this problem were reported. British reports informed that from the beginning of the Russian occupation of the Bulgarian lands until July 1879, approximately 8,000–9,000 Muslim refugees landed in Varna. According to the documents, these were mainly demobilized soldiers, armed and ready to stand up against the Bulgarians. Just after their return to the Bulgarian lands, they joined partisan groups hiding in the forests of Deli Orman.[29] Other British reports, however, claimed that women and children predominated on the ships sailing to Varna in June 1879.[30] The Ottoman Empire also emphasized the dominant presence of women and children.[31] Most likely, the truth lay somewhere in between: Among the refugees were both men of arms and women with children. The Bulgarian authorities used the return of demobilized soldiers as an argument against *all* Muhajirs.

However, the Muslim community in Sofia and some Western observers, mostly reluctant to the Bulgarian government, admitted that the local authorities were not ready to welcome and accommodate such a large group of refugees during the winter of 1879–1880. The Sofia District offers an example of such a situation. Most of the houses abandoned during the war were destroyed or occupied by new tenants. There were even no rooms in which the repatriates could stay overnight. In September 1879, this situation along with low temperatures

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[27] *Palgrave to the Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 22.11.1879*, FO 195/1246/223–224; *Ashburgham to the Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 30.11.1879*, FO 195/1246/235–236.

[28] *Министерство на външните работи и изповеданията до Дипломатически агент в Цариград, София 13.09.1880*, ЦДА ф. 321к оп. 1 а.е. 44 л. 102; *Palgrave to Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 27.09.1879*, FO 195/1246/99–101.

[29] *Brophy to Palgrave, Varna 2.07.1879*, FO 195/1246/411–413; *Palgrave to Marquis of Salisbury, Sophia 14.06.1879*, FO 881/3574/76.

[30] *Palgrave to Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 11.06.1879*, FO 881/3574/65–66.

[31] *Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury, Constantinople 13.12.1879*, [in:] *Ethnic Minorities in the Balkan States 1860–1971*, vol. 1: 1860–1885, ed. B. Destani, Cambridge 2003, pp. 423–424.

made 200 Muslim families turn back after returning to Sofia.[32] The British emphasized that the dramatic situation of Muslim repatriates was not only due to the ill will of the Bulgarians but also due to insufficient local resources. The authorities in Sofia indeed faced many significant problems related to creating state institutions, dealing with social issues, and repairing war damage. In this context, returnees and their concerns—perhaps apart from the diplomatic aspect of the issue—constituted secondary matters.[33] Although the Western states criticized Bulgarians' attitudes towards war remigrants, some voices coming from the West accused the Ottoman government of cynically using refugees to destabilize the Principality.[34]

In January 1880, the Bulgarian government informed the Sublime Porte and the Great Powers that it was preparing to open the borders for Muslim repatriates. A Bulgarian-Ottoman committee was appointed to oversee the return.[35] In April, the authorities in Sofia decided that only refugees with a month's supply of food would be let into the Principality, a decision explained by its poor economy. Ottoman diplomats responded with pressures that Sofia withdraw from this regulation and allow all Muhajirs to return without additional requirements.[36] Meanwhile, refugees were still gathering at the southern Bulgarian border, their situation difficult due to a lack of food and shelter.[37] Bulgarian Prime Minister Dragan Tsankov and Ottoman Commissioner in Sofia Nidhat Pasha negotiated the issue. During the negotiations, Sublime Porte's representative introduced a list of 5,827 refugee families preparing to return to the Bulgarian lands, specifying the 2,372 families who were already camping on the border. Tsankov's conditions were as follows: Each repatriate had to (i) specify exactly where he or she was heading, (ii) have some food supplies (30 okkas, i.e., about 39 kg of corn),[38] and (iii) express a willingness to reach a compromise with

[32] *Ashburgham to the Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 29.12.1879*, FO 195/1246/282–293; Ö. Turan, *The Turkish Minority*, op. cit., p. 147.
[33] *Draft of W. Eshburuham, 22.04.1880*, FO 78/3116/36–37.
[34] *Lascalles to Layard, Sofia 13.04.1880*, no. 14, FO 195/1311 (no pages); Е. Стателова, *Източна Румелия. Икономика, политика, култура 1879/1885*, София 1983, p. 46.
[35] *Ashburgham to the Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 11.01.1880*, copy no. 7, FO 195/1311 (no pages).
[36] *Lascalles to the Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 8.04.1880*, no. 55, FO 195/1311 (no pages); *Копие на Цирклуларно от Варненски губернатор до окръжните началници и Варненски полицмайстер, 05.1880*, ЦДА ф. 321к оп. 1 а.е. 31 л. 103а.
[37] *Lascalles to the Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 14.04.1880*, no. 61, FO 195/1311 (no pages).
[38] *Lascalles to Earl Granville, Sofia 9.07.1880*, no. 107, FO 195/1312 (no pages).

the Bulgarian settlers inhabiting their houses in case such a situation occurred. The Bulgarian side criticized the list of Muhajirs prepared by Nidhat Pasha, the former claiming that many of the names belonged to Adrianople residents, not to war refugees from the former Danube Vilayet.[39]

Ultimately, in April 1880, the negotiations ended with an agreement. Tsankov accepted Nidhat Pasha's list of Muhajirs and declared that the refugees would be let into the country. In return, the Bulgarian government expected that the Sublime Porte would stop diplomatic attacks against the Principality.[40] According to Adrianople Vali, in the middle of May 1880, around 3,000 refugees were concentrated on the border between Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia border. Under the April agreements, the authorities in Sofia began to gradually let in the Muhajirs, including large groups that returned to the Kyustendil District.[41]

Thus, the conflict between Sofia and Constantinople about the return of war refugees ended in April 1880. At the beginning, the number of remigrants was not as great as that in 1878–1879, since a lot of them had already come back or decided to withdraw and stay in the Ottoman Empire. Later, however, the government in Sofia emphasized that it treated Muhajirs the same was—in terms of material support and help in finding them homes—as they treated Bulgarian immigrants from Macedonia and Thrace. More often than not, these slogans were only on paper: The first to receive compensation were Bulgarian refugees who were banished and lost their lands in the Ottoman Empire.[42] In 1881, however, there were cases in which the Bulgarian customs service refused entry to Muslims from the Ottoman Empire, referring to the Bulgarian regulations of November 1879 and April 1880. These isolated cases, however, ended in favor of the Muhajirs, who eventually managed to cross the border.[43]

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[39] *Lascalles to Layard, Sofia 13.04.1880*, no. 14, FO 195/1311 (no pages); *Lascalles to Layard, Sofia 19.04.1880*, no. 16, FO 195/1311 (no pages); *Mr. Lascelles to Sir A. H. Layard, Sophia 10.04.1880*, [in:] *Ethnic Minorities*, vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 552–553.

[40] *Unfinished letter to the Marquis of Salisbury, Sofia 29.04.1880*, no. 69, FO 195/1311 (no pages).

[41] *Lascalles to Earl Granville, Sofia 17.05.1880*, no. 80, FO 195/1311 (no pages).

[42] "Независимост" 1881, год. V, бр. 38 (31 януари), pp. 4–5.

[43] *От Варненско окръжно управление до Дипломатически агент в Цариград, Цариград 7.10.1881*, ЦДА ф. 321к оп. 1 а.е. 31 л. 101; *От Дипломатически агент в Цариград до Варненски префект, Цариград 29.09.1881*, ЦДА ф. 321к оп. 1 а.е. 31 л. 104.

Eastern Rumelia

Eastern Rumelia's attitude to Muslim refugees was much milder than that of the Principality of Bulgaria. Not only General Governor Aleko Bogoridi was afraid of the perspectives of the occupation of the province by Turkish troops, but also Eastern Rumelia was still under the Ottoman Code on Refugees of 1857. He did not want to provoke the Sublime Porte. There were also the Great Powers' commissioners residing in Plovdiv, who controlled Eastern Rumelia's policy towards Muhajirs. Thus, its government ordered new Bulgarian tenants to return houses to their rightful owners if only the latter have proven their property rights. Until the property was recovered, the repatriates were placed in makeshift shelters and field hospitals. Evicted Bulgarians received monetary compensation.[44] Similarly, after submitting relevant documents, they could get back their movable property. The action was coordinated by a special commission composed of Bulgarians, Muslims, and representatives of refugees (in a ratio of 2:2:1). The body's responsibilities included also legal support for Muslims as well as the distribution of benefits, food, and agricultural tools among those in need.[45] At that time, the police were ordered to pay particular attention to the protection of life and property of the returning Muhajirs. Importantly, the Orthodox Church in the province—the Metropolitan of Plovdiv Panaret—along with the Exarchate called for assistance to Muslim remigrants and mercy towards war victims regardless of their religion.[46]

Not everyone agreed with the official line of then Eastern-Rumelian government towards Muslim refugees. Inclined to treat the Muslim population peacefully, Mihail Mudzharov, then a member of the Provincial Assembly and an activist of the National Party, wrote that the ejection of the remigrants would be "natural and fair" and would lead to the expected Bulgarianization of Eastern Rumelia. Treating refugees as a threat to the province's security, he considered it immoral to allow people who had been guilty of crimes in 1876 to return to homes in which their Christian victims lived.[47]

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[44] Ж. Назърска, *Малцинствено-религиозната политика*, op. cit., pp. 127–128.

[45] *Mr. Michell to the Marquis of Salisbury, Philippopolis 7.04.1880*, [in:] *Ethnic Minorities*, vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 544-545.

[46] Е. Стателова, *Източна Румелия*, op. cit., p. 129.

[47] М. Маджаров, *Източна Румелия (исторически преглед)*, Пловдив 2015, pp. 34, 45, 211–213.

Plovdiv's policy towards remigrants was wrongly put on a par with Sofia's attitude to this problem. British and Austrian diplomats were able to write in one breath about the tragedy of refugees in the Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia.[48] In April 1879, Western press—including "Daily News," "Nord," and "Le XIXe Siècle"—published reports about forced displacement of Turks in the Karnobat, Stara Zagora, and Yambol counties. One of the prominent Bulgarian politicians in Eastern Rumelia, Ivan E. Geshow prepared a series of protest letters stressing that such reports only fit into the Sublime Porte's propaganda.[49] In 1880, Konstantin Jireček, a Czech specialist on the Bulgarian topics, criticized Viennese "Neue Freie Presse" for overstating the number of returning Muslim refugees who had been allegedly deprived of their property.[50]

When in June 1879 the Principality of Bulgaria restricted the admission of repatriates, Eastern Rumelia was preparing to receive 40,000 Muslim refugees who were waiting in the Vilayet of Adrianople for permission to return to their homes.[51] The Muhajirs who came to the province were first directed to the Burgas Department, where they were settled in deserted chiftliks and the Circassian lands; others returned to their old villages. New villages were also created, such as Eni Kioy ("New Village" in Turkish) near Plovdiv, in which 389 people lived in 62 houses. New settlements received help in the form of building materials, debt cancelation, and cheap loans. In the Eastern-Rumelian budget, 600,000 liras—90,000–110,000 per county—were secured for these loans. However, most of the above-mentioned projects were quickly withdrawn, when it turned out that Eastern Rumelia could not afford this type of support for Muhajirs.[52]

Despite the efforts of the authorities in Plovdiv, returning refugees often encountered many problems and adversities. There have been

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[48] *Consul-General Michell to the Marquis of Salisbury, Philippopolis 27.07.1879*, [in:] *Ethnic Minorities*, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 470; Ж. Назърска, *Малцинствено-религиозната политика*, op. cit., pp. 123–124.

[49] *До архимандрит Методий Кусевич, Париж 26 март / 7 април 1879 г.*, [in:] И. Е. Гешов, *Лична кореспонденция*, ред. Р. Попов, В. Танккова, София 1994, pp. 43–45; *До Евлогий Георгиев, Париж, 4/16 април 1879 г.*, [in:] *И. Е. Гешов*, op. cit. pp. 49–52; More about the Ivan E. Geshov's mission in the West: Е. Стателова, *Иван Евстратиев Гешов или трънливият път на съзиданието*, София 1994, pp. 32–36.

[50] К. Иречек, *Български дневник*, т. 1: 1879–1881, съст. И. Димитров, Е. Стателова, София 1995, p. 243.

[51] "Витоша" 1879, год. I, бр. 5 (13 юни), p. 4.

[52] Ж. Назърска, *Малцинствено-религиозната политика*, op. cit., p. 125–128; Е. Стателова, *Източна Румелия*, op. cit., p. 129.

cases of violation of the official political line, resulting from either mistakes or the ill will of the local administration and Bulgarian society. Procedures related to the recovery of property and the eviction of Bulgarian illegal tenants often turned out to be ineffective. In the Karlovo county, some refugees suffered from intimidation, abuse, humiliation of women (undressing in a public place), beatings, assaults, and robberies (of cattle, grains, and agricultural equipment). In Plovdiv, some Muhajirs' houses were set on fire; there were also acts of vandalism and plunder. Refugees even complained about instances of kidnapping Muslim children by Bulgarians.[53] Such ill-treatment of refugees resulted in sanctions: Governor of Plovdiv Aleksandar Ekzarh, Governor of Burgas Ivan Hadji Petrov, and Governor of Tatar Pazardzhik Georgi Benev, among others, were dismissed from the office.[54] These dismissals were likely justified, as illustrated by the situation in Tatar Pazardzhik after the war. A petition prepared in April 1882 by the local Muslim population reads that after the mass exodus from the city, practically half of the refugees decided to return to their homes later. After repatriation, however, they were constantly repressed, by burglary, arson, and the prevention from using forests and pastures. Some complaints were due to persecution by part of the gendarmerie, ignoring discrimination by local authorities, and attacks by armed groups. The Muslims of Tatar Pazardzhik were convinced that the authorities of Eastern Rumelia only represented the Bulgarians. They often heard from their neighbors that "soon all Turks would disappear from these lands." Leaving again seemed to be the only solution to their problems. They stood before two choices: either selling their property at a reduced price or simply abandoning their home and leaving.[55]

The authorities in Plovdiv failed to manage the influx of large groups of remigrants, for both logistical and financial reasons. Initially, the Turkish Governor of Adrianople decided to let only those Muhajirs who had their own food supplies for a minimum of six months. The Sublime Porte would send refugees from Constantinople on condition that their houses in Eastern Rumelia be rebuilt, but only those who

[53] *Consul-General Michell to the Marquis of Salisbury, Philippopolis 27.07.1879*, [in:] *Ethnic Minorities*, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 470; *Mr. Michell to the Marquis of Salisbury, Philippopolis 11.10.1879*, [in:] *Ethnic Minorities*, vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 498–502; *Mr. Michell to the Marquis of Salisbury, Philippopolis 4.04.1880*, [in:] *Ethnic Minorities*, vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 539–540.
[54] Ж. Назърска, *Малцинствено-религиозната политика*, op. cit., p. 126.
[55] *Translation of Substance of Petition presented to the Consuls of the Powers at Philippopollis by certain Turks from Tatar-Bazardjik, 24.04.1882*, FO 195/1411 (no pages).

had sufficient food supplies and at least 100 kurushes. The Ottoman authorities agreed to hold people back responsible for crimes committed during the Great Eastern Crisis. Many of these arrangements were not respected, however. In November 1879, British ships transported 8,000 Muhajirs to Burgas without previous permission from Plovdiv's authorities. The remigrants had no food and money, and their homes were not verified before. The Governor of Burgas prevented some passengers from leaving the ships and refused to provide medical assistance. The Sublime Porte decided to give up at the moment, and so during the winter of 1879–1880 only 700 refugees reached Eastern Rumelia. In December 1879, a committee was formed in Plovdiv to help Muslim refugees in the province. The initiative gained the patronage of the Exarch Yosif I as well as of leading Eastern-Rumelian politicians Ivan E. Geshov, Georgi Stranski, Yoakim Gruev, and Todor Kesyakov.[56]

At the beginning of 1880, however, the situation from November 1879 repeated: In the dock of Burgas, 30,000 Muhajirs have landed without previous consultations. Plovdiv's authorities, supported by Russians, protested to the Sublime Porte. Petersburg threatened that they would likely consider such activities as a *casus belli*. In March 1880, Eastern Rumelia closed its borders, admitting that it was unable to accept new remigrants and that the conditions for the return should be re-established. However, overwhelmed by complaints from refugees transferred through Western Consulates in Burgas and Plovdiv and under the Sublime Porte's pressure, it decided to withdraw the decision. At the same time, the local administration was obliged to accelerate the procedures for recovering property by war refugees: All such matters were to be settled by July 1880.[57]

Serbia

Among the Muhajirs escaping from the lands annexed by Serbian in 1878, we could distinguish two main groups: participants of the resistance movement who fled in the face of lost battles, afraid of repressions and Serbian revenge; and civilians who did not participate in the fight but retreated with the Turkish army after ceasefire or the

[56] Е. Стателова, *Източна Румелия*, op. cit., pp. 129–130.

[57] Ibidem, pp. 125–126, 130–131; Ж. Назърска, *Малцинствено-религиозната политика*, p. 127; O. Köse, op. cit., p. 230.

capture of their cities. Albanians and rural population dominated the first group; Turkish-speaking Muslims and townspeople dominated the second.[58]

As in the case of the Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, one of the main challenges Belgrade's authorities faced after the war was returns of Muslim refugees. The government did not hide that they were not welcome in Serbia. Prime Minister Jovan Ristić explained that he could not allow to freely return to the Principality those Albanians who were involved in the resistance against Serbs during the wars of 1876–1878 and who were guilty of pogroms and burning of villages.[59] A similar position was expressed by Prince Milan Obrenović IV, who believed that Albanians lost their right to live in Serbian territories because of assaults organized during and after the war.[60] All Muslims had to obtain special permission to cross the Serbian border, also those who had not lived in these territories before the war, including merchants.[61] The borders were closed and a military cordon was placed under the pretext of fighting against Albanian bandits. In July 1879, General Kosta Protić said that no Albanian refugee would set foot on the Serbian soil. He expressed his concern that if Muslims were not removed from these areas, the "new lands" could turn out to be as problematic for Serbia as the Caucasus were for Russia. The Sublime Porte and the Western Powers fiercely criticized the actions of the Serbian authorities.[62] However, we should remember that in Spring 1881, Albanians were still regularly attacking the new Serbian-Turkish border. Serbians

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[58] *Српска војска и добровољци ослобођају Пирот*, [in:] *Други српско-турски рат 1877/78 и ослобођење крајева Југоисточне Србије. Историјска грађа поводом 120. годишњице 1877/1997*, ур. Б. Лилић, Пирот 1998, pp. 188–193; *Опис предаје Ниша српској војсци, 29.12.1877*, [in:] *Други српско-турски рат 1877/78*, op. cit., pp. 206–209; Б. Лилић, *Југоисточна Србија (1878–1918)*, Београд 2006, p. 37.

[59] *Писмо Началника округа врањског Министару председнику Јовану Ристићу, Врања 30.08.1879*, АС МИД-ПО ролна 52 II/64–67; *Писмо 231., Јени-кеј 19.06.1879*, [in:] *Писма Филипа Христића Јовану Ристићу (1868–1880)*, ур. Г. Јакшић, Београд 1953, pp. 251–252; *Б. Лилић*, op. cit., p. 31.

[60] М. Јагодић, *Упади албанаца у Србију 1879. године*, "Историјски часопис" 2004, књ. LI, p. 95.

[61] For example: *Објава, Београд 19.09.1878*, АС МУД-П 1878 ф. XIX p. 253 бр. 6382.

[62] *Писмо 234., Јени-кеј 3.07.1879*, [in:] *Писма Филипа Христића*, op. cit., pp. 253–254; *Мемоар Ј. Ристића Конгресу у Берлину, 12/24.06.1878*, [in:] *Србија 1878. Документи*, прир. М. Бојводић, Д. Р. Живојиновић, А. Митровић, Р. Самарџић, Београд 1978, pp. 445–450; М. Јагодић, *Насељавање Кнежевине Србије: 1861–1880*, Београд 2006, pp. 134–136; M. Jagodić, The Emigration of Muslims from the New Serbian Regions 1877/1878, "Balkanologie" 1998, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 19, http://journals.openedition.org/balkanologie/265 [Access: 15.03.2018]. op. cit., p. 19.

could not imagine letting in Muslims when there was still warfare with the Albanian groups, in a large part consisting of Muhajirs.[63]

The Ottoman Empire and Great Britain pressed the Serbian authorities to open the border and let in all refugees under the Treaty of Berlin.[64] In August 1879, under their influence but against the positions of Prince Milan and the Serbian generals, the government announced that it would allow Albanian refugees to return, but the repatriates would have to meet "specific conditions." The borders were open in September, but the Muslims fighting on the Ottoman side during the war (both in regular and partisan formations) were forbidden to return. Muhajirs had to comply with the Serbian law, with no exceptions. Since some Serbs were settled in several Albanian villages in the area of Pusta Reka and Golak, returning Muslims had to accept that they would be removed to other territories, for which they would be compensated. Details of the return process were to be established between the delegation chosen by the Albanian refugees and the commander of the Moravian Corps, Đura Horvatović. In the end, such an agreement did not take place: The Serbian army was supposed to coordinate repatriation, but it actually sought to sabotage it in all possible ways.[65]

As a result, the Turkish-Serbian border was practically closed in 1880. In April, 80,000 Albanians refugees in Prizren wanted to return to their homes in the former Sanjak of Niš. Despite the position of Prizren's municipal authorities, who persuaded to relocate the Muhajirs to other provinces of the empire, groups of them made a desperate attempt to cross the border without the consent of the Serbian authorities. It ended up with a regular battle with Serbian soldiers, in which about 200 Muhajirs died and 2,000 succeeded in getting to the Principality.[66]

The borders were closed until 1882, but then only a few refugees wanted to return to Serbia. Many of the Muhajirs who managed to cross the border did not get back to their homes: They were forbidden to return to places they inhabited before the conflict, and only Serbians were allowed to live there after it. In such cases, they were directed to a few Muslim villages in

[63] АС МУД-П 1879 ф. XVI p. 168, passim.
[64] *Sir A. H. Layard to the Marquis of Salisbury, Therapia 6.07.1879*, FO 260/12/79.
[65] М. Јагодић, *Упади албанаца*, op. cit., pp. 100–104.
[66] *Consul St. John to the Marquis of the Marquis of Salisbury, Prisrend 13.04.1880*, FO 260/16/182.

Serbia, such as Gorna Jablanica or Masurica.[67] In October 1879, 30 Muslim families lived in the latter village; before the war, 300.[68]

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The scale of the remigration of Muslim refugees after the Great Eastern Crisis is difficult to estimate. In the middle of September 1878, 170,000 Muslim refugees were in Macedonia and Kosovo, and 70,000 in Constantinople. In November, the number of Muhajirs gathered in the Empire capital increased to 120,000, despite the constant and organized movement of this population to Asian provinces.[69] Bulgarian historian Valeri Stoyanov assumed that by February 1879, about 100,000 Muhajirs had returned to the Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia.[70] Between Autumn 1879 and Spring 1880, the population of the Bulgarian lands sharply increased: In the Principality of Bulgaria, it increased by 363,721 people, and in Eastern Rumelia by 120,378.[71] Of course, the changes were due to the inflow of the Bulgarian population of Macedonia, Thrace, and Russia to these territories rather than due to the repatriation of Muslim war refugees. We should not forget that a large group of returning Muhajirs did not stay in the Bulgarian lands for a long time, quickly joining the emigrants returning en masse to the Ottoman Empire instead. The situation in Serbia was clearer: In 1873, 95,619 Muslims lived in Sanjak of Niš, in 1879 only 6,567 in the whole Slavic state (2.13% of the population), and in 1884 2,250 (0.63%).[72] These data show that only a small fraction of the Muhajirs returned to Serbia. Bulgarian demographer Kiril Popow and Polish ethnologist Jan Grzegorzewski rightly noticed that when in other Balkan countries Muslims completely emigrated, the significant

[67] *Извод из писмо књажевског спрског заспника у Софији, 1.07.1880*, АС МИД-ПО ролна 55 I/13; I. Blumi, *Ottoman Refugees, 1878–1939: Migration in a Post-Imperial World*, London-New Delhi-New York-Sydney 2013, pp. 53–54.

[68] *Министар председник Јован Ристић Началнику округа врањског, Београд 1.10.1879*, АС МИД-ПО ролна 52 II/70.

[69] Ö. Turan, *The Turkish Minority*, op. cit., pp. 147–148.

[70] В. Стоянов, *Турското население на България и официалната малцинствена политика (1878–1944)*, [in:] *Страници от българската история. Събития – размисли – личности*, т . 2, ред. М. Босева, София 1993, p. 195.

[71] Ж. Назърска, *Малцинствено-религиозната политика*, op. cit., p. 119.

[72] *Tableau statistique, [1873]*, АС МИД-ПО ролна 46 I/247; М. Ђ. Милићевић, *Краљевина Србија. Нови крајеви, географија, орографија, хидрографија, топографија, аркеологија, историја, етнографија, статистика, просвета, култура, управа*, Београд 1884, pp. XVII–XVIII; M. Jagodić, op. cit., p. 54.

community remained in Bulgaria, an evidence of a much milder policy in Bulgaria than in Serbia.[73]

At the turn of the 1870s and 1880s, the return of refugees was one of the greatest challenges facing the South-Slavic countries: Bulgaria, Serbia, and Eastern Rumelia. The scale of this problem may be illustrated by the statement of French traveler and economist Eumène Queillé that in this period there was no foreign ministry in Europe that had not received complaints from a Muslim refugee from the Balkans.[74] Diplomatic disputes over Muslim remigration, however, expired quite spontaneously. First of all, since 1881, fewer and fewer Muhajirs tried to get back to the Bulgarian and Serbian lands; at the same time, the public opinion was less and less interested in this problem.[75] Conflicts concerning post-war repatriation between Sofia, Plovdiv, and Belgrade on the one side and Constantinople on the other were often provoked by the Western Powers. Under the pretext of protecting Muhajirs' rights, they interfered in the internal affairs of Bulgarian and Serbian states—to the very irritation of Russians. Important enough, this issue contributed to the severance of diplomatic relations between Sofia and Constantinople in 1881–1882.[76]

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[73] К. Попов, *Стопанска България (София 1916)*, [in:] *История на българите 1878–1944*, т. 1, ч. 1, op. cit., p. 144; J. Grzegorzewski, *Za Dunajem. Bułgarya, Serbia, Czarnogóra*, Lwów 1904, p. 178.

[74] Е. Кейе, *В България и Румелия*, ред. Г. Пеев, София 2006, pp. 125–126; A. M. Mirkova, op. cit., p. 960.

[75] Ж. Назърска, *Малцинствено-религиозната политика*, op. cit., p. 127.

[76] Ibidem, p. 123.

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Abstract

The Great Eastern Crisis (1875–1878) led to migrations on an incomparable scale in the Balkan Peninsula. The Russian-Turkish War of 1877–1878 forced about 350,000 Muslims to leave the Bulgarian lands. Sanjak of Niš's occupation by the Serbian Army resulted in the exodus of 71,000 Muslims. After the situation in the region had stabilized, the refugees (so-called Muhajirs) wanted to get back to their homes in the newly created Principality of Bulgaria, autonomous Eastern Rumelia (first controlled by Russians and later by Bulgarians), and the lands annexed by Serbia.

Keywords: Balkan history, Serbia, Bulgaria, Eastern Rumelia, Muslim Minority in Balkans, 19th century

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HOME RULE FOR THE BALKANS?
THE IDEA OF INTERNATIONAL CONTROL IN OTTOMAN MACEDONIA IN THE WRITINGS OF THE BALKAN COMMITTEE (1903–1908)[1]

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Introduction

Throughout the 19th century the Balkans had a distinguished place in power politics due to its strategically and politically crucial geographical position. The gradual shrinking of the Ottoman Empire and the unfolding local national movements put the region in the forefront of Great Power politics. The aim of this paper is to investigate a certain aspect of diplomatic cooperation in the last decades of the "long 19th century," namely, the European Great Powers involvement in the Macedonian crisis in the first decade of the 20th century. It is not my intention to contribute directly to the continuously evolving scholarly inquiry on balkanism (or orientalism), the discourse that surmise a way of thinking and approach to the Balkans and generally to the "East" by Western societies. However, the contents of these discourses had a considerable effect on the nineteenth-century Great Power management of the region. As the political expansion of Europe heightened over the globe in the modern era, Europeans began to reassess their various dispositions towards the rest of the world. Thus, as Jennifer Pitts noted, they were reading their extending military supremacy as a clear

[1] The research for this paper was financed by the Hungarian Eötvös State Scholarship program of the Tempus Public Foundation.

evidence of their moral or cultural superiority too.[2] Contemporary observers placed the Balkans on the borderlands between Western and Eastern civilizations accordingly to this imaginative geography. In the last couple of decades, investigating the nature of the "Other" in the Balkans has been a fruitful research area, and it has provided new and insightful ways to rethink the political, cultural, and economic relations between (Western) European countries and their Southeast European counterparts.[3] The present paper attempts to put the international management of the Macedonian Reforms of 1903–1908 under investigation in a similar approach. I argue that contemporary European political, international law and cultural thinking posited this area in the "East," and therefore answered the challenges coming from it accordingly.

Recent studies have investigated the 1903–1908 period of the Macedonian Question from a rather practical perspective: mainly they focused on the international management of reforms in Macedonia. Nadine Akhund analyzed this period in the context of international cooperation. In the actions of the European Concert she identifies the evolution of multilateral cooperation which would be institutionalized after World War I.[4] Julian Brooks demonstrated the work of British gendarmerie officers in the Sanjak of Drama during the Macedonian Reforms. His evaluation suggests that the work of the international gendarmerie officer corps serviced in the vilayets can be seen as the embodiment of nowadays peace-keeping efforts.[5] In his remarkable book, Davide Rodogno investigates the history of the humanitarian interventions to the Ottoman Empire in the long nineteenth century. In his opinion, the Macedonian case cannot be seen as a humanitarian intervention in the classical sense of the term, however, there are several

[2] J. Pitts, *Boundaries of the International. Law and Empire*. Cambridge 2018, p. 1.
[3] See: M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford 1997; K. E. Flemming, *Orientalism, the Balkans and Balkan Historiography*, "American Historical Review" 2000, vol. 105, no. 4, p. 1218–1233; A. Hammond, *Typologies of the East: On Distinguishing Balkanism and Orientalism*, "Nineteenth-Century Contexts" 2007, vol. 29, no. 2–3, pp. 201–218; D. Gürpinar, *The Rise and Fall of Turcophilism in Nineteenth-century British discourses: Visions of the Turk, 'Young' and 'Old'*, "British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies" 2012, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 347–372.
[4] N. Akhund, *Stabilizing a Crisis and the Mürzsteg Agreement of 1903: International Efforts to Bring Peace Macedonia*, "Hungarian Historical Review" 2014, vol. 3, no. 3, p. 587.
[5] J. Brooks, *A 'Tranquilizing Influence'? British 'proto-peacekeeping' in Ottoman Macedonia 1904–1905*, "Peace & Change" 2011, vol. 36, no. 2, pp. 172–174.

characteristics which resembles other similar cases.[6] In their illuminating book about the emergence of the practice of humanitarian intervention, Alexis Heraclides and Ada Dialla do not even count the reforms in Macedonia among the long nineteenth-century cases of humanitarian action.[7] However, the goal of this paper is to explore the intellectual and ideological aspect of the Great Power intervention in Macedonia through the spectacles of a liberal pressure-group, the London-based Balkan Committee. Having analyzed the various publications of the Committee, and the personal papers of Noel Buxton, I believe that the proposals and ideas set forth by the members of the Committee were framed in the contemporary liberal internationalist mind which was closely associated with the concept of humanitarianism.

Humanitarian Interventions

The concept of humanitarian intervention is still a much debated issue, regardless of political affiliation it has numerous supporters and critics alike.[8] In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, British historian Duncan Bell defines it as follows:

> Humanitarian intervention, actions undertaken by an organization or organizations (usually a state or a coalition of states) that are intended to alleviate extensive human suffering within the borders of a sovereign state. Such suffering tends to be the result of a government instigating, facilitating, or ignoring the abuse of groups falling within its jurisdiction. This abuse often takes the form of deliberate and systematic violations of human rights, including forces expulsions, ethnic cleansing, and, in the most extreme cases, genocide. Humanitarian intervention can apply also in situations where there is no effective government and civil order consequently has collapsed.[9]

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[6] D. Rodogno, *Against Massacre. Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire 1815–1914. The Emergence of a European Concept and International Practice*, Princeton–Oxford 2012.

[7] A. Heraclides, A. Dialla, *Humanitarian Intervention in the Long Nineteenth Century. Setting the Precedent*, Manchester 2015.

[8] Ibidem, pp. 1–3.

[9] *Duncan Bell: Humanitarian Intervention*, [in:] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/topic/humanitarian-intervention [Access: 30.10.2019].

In light of the history of the 20th century, it is no wonder that Bell had no trouble to use an extensive vocabulary to describe the violation of basic human rights what calls for a humanitarian intervention. The concept of such multilateral action was gradually formulated in the course of the 19th century which, however, could not use modern taxonomy to describe massive violent acts against human life. Nowadays, there is a constantly growing body of literature on the emergence of humanitarian intervention, and as it seems, it provides a very fruitful framework to rethink some aspect of the history of the Eastern Question too. In the past decades numerous publication appeared in order to investigate the intellectual and political traits of this modern concept from either from a historical or from a political science and jurist perspective.[10]

As recent research has demonstrated, the origins of "intervention on the grounds of humanity," to use a very nineteenth-century phrase for humanitarian intervention, can be traced back well in history. From ancient authors to the political thinkers, for instance Hugo Grotius, of the early modern period, the main concern of the debate was the nature of "just war" which involved cases of interventions too. Historical scholarship generally attributes the implementation of the principle of state sovereignty to the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648.[11] Certainly the principle did not eliminate conflicts or wars from the international relations of European states but, by admitting a state's exclusive jurisdiction over its territory, it laid down the principle of non-intervention in to the domestic affairs of another state. In the course of the 18th century, European jurists further elaborated this concept in details. According to Heraclides and Dialla, the concept of non-intervention was rather the invention of these 18th-century jurists, namely the German Christian Wolff and the Swiss Emer de Vattel.[12] The latter emphasized in his influential book, *Le droit des gens oú principes de la lois naturelle* (1758), that "states are free and independent and no foreign power has the right to intervene or judge their conduct."[13]

[10] See: D. Rodogno, *Against Massacre,* op. cit.; For a political science point of view see: A. Heraclides, A. Dialla, op. cit.; G. J. Bass, *Freedom's Battle. The Origins of Humanitarian Intervention*, New York–Toronto 2008; J. Pitts, op. cit.

[11] D. Croxton, *The Peace of Westphalia and the Origins of Sovereignty*, "The International History Review" 1999, vol. 21, no. 3. pp. 569–591.

[12] A. Heraclides, A. Dialla, op. cit., p. 23.

[13] Ibidem.

Consequently, an international community emerged whose members, in theory, considered themselves as equals in terms of sovereignty and they voluntarily applied the outlined principles in their conduct of foreign policy. This particular development occurred parallel with the beginnings of Western European global hegemony which was indirectly supported by the Enlightenment's endeavor of mental mapping the world based on imagined racial (and not necessarily racist) hierarchies.[14] By the time of the 19th century, the international system and the born-to-be-discipline of international law had established a discriminatory hierarchy between European and non-European states based on the principle of the alleged superiority of European civilization.[15] Therefore, in the conduct of international relations, European and non-European states, for instance the Ottoman Empire, were regarded as unequal members of the international community, even though for a short period of time the Ottoman Empire was admitted to the Concert of Europe too.[16] Consequently, the principles laid down by European jurists were not to be applied in respect to these extra-European states. The idea of progress, a concept profoundly praised since the Enlightenment, and the ambiguous term of "standard of civilization" endowed the Great Powers of Europe a handy justification for their imperial expansion and to interfere to a non-European state domestic affairs, particularly to the Ottoman Empire.[17] What was peculiarly new was the justification of the intervention on humanitarian grounds.

In the course of the 19th century, we can witness several precedents which involved the Great Powers in military conflicts where humanitarian concerns were at stake. Nineteenth-century international law jurists regarded an intervention legitimate if a set of criteria would meet. According to this, intervention was needed to counteract gross mistreatment and/or massacre of a certain groups of population which was "shocking to the conscious of mankind". In the nineteenth-century context, this meant the prevention of massive persecution of Christians or European citizens in non-European territory. However, in the jurists'

[14] See Larry Wolff classic study on the subject: L. Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford 1994.

[15] D. Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, op. cit., p. 22.

[16] F. Adanır, *Turkey's Entry to the Concert of Europe*, "European Review" 2005, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 395–417.

[17] A. Heraclides, A. Dialla, op. cit., pp. 32–33; H. Case, *The Quiet Revolution. Consuls and the International System in the Nineteenth Century*, [in:] *The Balkans as Europe, 1821–1914*, eds. T. Snyder, K. Younger, Rochester (NY) 2018, pp. 110–138.

view, collective action of the Great Powers was required to guarantee the intervention's international legitimacy and to limit possible abuses. Last but not least, the motivation behind the international action should come from humanitarian concern, the feel of compassion to the sufferers without seeking any gains from the existing situation (disinterestedness).[18]

Scientific literature regards the Great Powers' involvement in the Greek War of Independence (1821–1830) as the first instance of humanitarian intervention, despite the fact that the very concept did not exist yet.[19] However, in the Balkan Committee's argumentation, the best examples of such actions were the intervention to the Lebanon in 1860–1861, and to Crete in the late 1860s and in 1897. They argued that these precedents provided all the necessary patterns to bring relief to Macedonia.[20] However, they misleadingly concluded from these events that if once the Ottoman administration was removed all complications would be ceased. They connived at the complexity of the Macedonian lands, and neglected the various, opposing interests either of the neighboring Balkan states or that of the Great Powers in the region.

The Apple of Discord: Macedonia at the turn of the 20th century

By the last quarter of the century, the Ottomans' possessions in Europe were merely confined to Albania, Thrace, and to the areas which contemporaries usually referred to as Macedonia, a shifting and evolving term in both space and time.[21] Contemporaries usually meant by Macedonia an area in Turkey-in-Europe which constituted by the vilayet of Salonica and substantial parts of the Monastir (Bitola) and Kosovo vilayets.[22] At the turn of the 20th century, Ottoman Macedonia

[18] A. Heraclides, A. Dialla, op. cit., p. 58.

[19] Ibidem, p. 103.

[20] *The Macedonian Crisis. The Balkan Committee presents the following summary of the situation in the Near East, 1903*, Arthur Evans Collection, EVA 1/1.

[21] N. Akhund, op. cit., p. 588; For further literature on the delimitation of historical Macedonia see H. R. Wilkinson's still not exceeded work: H. R. Wilkinson, *Maps and Politics: a Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia*, Liverpool 1951.

[22] Macedonia was also not a definite geographical term, however, as British historian Douglas Dakin noted, arbitrary frontiers can be assigned to denote the area in question: "Lake Ohrida and Prespa in the west, the Shar Mountains and Crna Gora to the north, the Rila and Rhodope Mountains to the north east, the river Mesta (Nestos) to the east,

was inhabited by various ethnic and religious communities which did not share a common national identity in a modern sense; they rather identified themselves in pre-modern terms such as religion, and other non-national loyalties.[23] However, this population had become the main target of each of the neighboring Balkan states' national propaganda, as they all claimed some parts of this territory according to their national unification programs. To this end, since the last third of the 19th century, a vast body of literature has been published by various Balkan intellectuals and scholars in order to justify their rightful national claims for the territory both in their respective countries and in Western Europe too.[24]

By the turn of the century, the attention of European public opinion turned to the Balkan Peninsula once again, particularly to Macedonia. Increasing unrest and revolutionary activity, especially after the failed Uprising of Gorna Djumaya (today Blagoevgrad) in 1902, mobilized the Great Powers to demand reforms again for the European part of the Ottoman Empire. Having read well European politics, Abdulhamid II (1876–1909) obviated this step and promised reforms in December 1902. The program was not directed only at the "Macedonian" vilayets of Salonica, Monastir, and Kosovo; all provinces of the empire in Europe were made subject to the new measures, which added Janina, Shkodra, and Edirne to the new administrative unit, called the *Rumeli Umum Müfettisliği* (General Inspectorate of Rumeli). Hüseyin Hilmi Pasha, a veteran of Ottoman administration who had held, among other posts, the governorships of Adana and Yemen, was appointed as head the inspectorate with the title *Rumeli Vilayetleri Müfettis-i Umumusi* (General Inspector of Rumeli Provinces).[25] However, the Great Powers did not want to let the promise of the Sultan to be turned into a dead letter, so in order to assure the implementation of actual reforms several individual diplomatic attempt had done.

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the Aegan Sea, Mount Olympus and the Pindus Mountains to the south […]." D. Dakin, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia, 1897–1913*, Thessaloniki 1993, p. 3.

[23] K. Brown, *Loyal unto Death. Trust and Terror in Revolutionary Macedonia*, Bloomington–Indianapolis 2013, pp. 14–21; There is an enormous body of literature on the question of identities in the modern Balkans. For examples see: A. Karakasidou: *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood. Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870–1990*, Chicago–London 1997.

[24] I. Ilchev, *My Country—Right or Wrong! The International Propaganda of the Balkan States in Europe and in the United States 1821–1923*, "Bulgarian Historical Review" 1995, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 32–50.

[25] İ. Yosmaoğlu, *Blood Ties. Religion, Violence, and the Politics of Nationhood in Ottoman Macedonia, 1878–1908*, Itacha–London 2014, p. 33.

The two most interested powers in the Balkans, Austria-Hungary and Russia acting upon the Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin,[26] with the consent of other powers, proposed the Viennese Plan to the Sultan.[27] This proposal was in addition to the December statutes of 1902, and it called for to broaden the rights of the provincial administrations, to employ Christian field guards, and also a call for amnesty for political prisoners.[28] Steven Sowards notes that the Sultan accepted the scheme in 48 hours because he viewed the Austro-Hungarian–Russian move as a conservative effort to maintain his control over the territories in question.[29] The interest of all Great Powers was to bring order and peace to the region, therefore they did not support any possible change of the *status quo* but the pacification of the region.

In light of the reluctant European reactions the local revolutionary organizations, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (henceforth IMRO) in particular, had to move as his goal was to attain the intervention of the Great Powers, and consequently to secure autonomy for Macedonia.[30] However, IMRO put their lot on a general uprising which should be started in the upcoming summer. After long preparations, the Ilinden Uprising broke out on 2 August 1903. After some initial success the rebellion was doomed, and the Ottoman military troops, with the help of Muslim irregulars, eliminated all resistance until mid-autumn. In response to the developments, in September 1903, Emperor Francis Joseph and Tsar Nicholas II met in a hunting lodge near Mürzsteg, in Styria, to discuss the complications of Southeastern Europe. They drafted a new program which in essence was very similar to the earlier Viennese Points, but they also wished to involve the other Great Powers in the regulation of the Macedonian problem.[31] The

[26] Article XXIII of the Treaty ordains the implementation of "similar laws adapted to local requirements" in the European parts of Turkey in the spirit of the Organic Statutes of 1868 which had been inaugurated in Crete. It intented to convoke a special commission in order to draw up a reform scheme for European territories of the Porte. See: *Treaty between Great Britain, Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Russia, and Turkey for the Settlement of Affairs in the East. Signed in Berlin, July 13, 1878*, "The American Journal of International Law" 1908, vol. 2, no. 4, p. 412.

[27] N. Lange-Akhund, *The Macedonian Question, 1893–1908. From Western Sources*, Boulder–New York 1998, p. 136.

[28] İ. Yosmaoğlu, op. cit., pp. 33–34.

[29] S. Sowards, *Austria's Policy of Macedonian Reform*, Boulder 1989, p. 26.

[30] D. Rodogno, *The European Powers' intervention in Macedonia 1903–1908: an instance of Humanitarian Intervention?,* [in:] *Humanitarian Intervention: A History*, eds. D. J. B. Trim, B. Simms, Cambridge 2011, p. 208.

[31] N. Lange-Akhund, op. cit., p. 142.

Mürzsteg program appropriated the appointment of two civil agents to the office of the Macedonian Inspector-General, namely to Hilmi Pasha, in order to supervise the implementation of the reforms and to counsel the Inspector-General. It aimed to reorganize the gendarmerie, and also the judicial and administrative structure of the involved vilayets. It was clear to all observers that the Great Powers wanted order in this part of Europe, so the intervention was rather endorsed the recovery of Ottoman control over the Macedonian provinces.

In Duncan Perry's evaluation, in the short run, the uprising did not gain anything for Macedonia and IMRO. During the fights the organization lost several of its leaders, and it became irretrievably divided along factions.[32] Moreover, it discredited the Ottoman Statutes of December 1902 and the Austro-Hungarian-Russian Viennese Points, and made the question a European one.[33] On the other hand, the Ilinden Uprising and its suppression evoked greater public attention and interest to the Macedonian question, and also to the Western lobby-groups who aimed to improve the plight of the local Christians inhabitants. One of these organizations was the Balkan Committee.

Balkan Committee and the reforms in Macedonia

Noel Buxton, the founder of the Balkan Committee visited the Balkans in 1899 for the first time by an advice of his doctor.[34] This travel made him to dedicate himself to the study of the region, and began to feel the need to raise the concern for the Macedonian peasants in the British public. As early as 1901 he was thinking of establishing a committee to promote this cause. However, in a letter to Buxton, Francis Seymour Stevenson, Chairman of the Council of the Byron Society, wrote that he and other leading members of the society believed that "as long as the South African War lasts it would be hopeless to arouse any widespread interest in England in the affairs of the Near East, and more harm than good would result from any attempt at public agitation at the present time."[35] Nevertheless, Buxton continued to study the history

[32] D. Perry, *The Politics of Terror. The Macedonian Revolutionary Movements, 1893–1903*, Durham–London 1988, p. 139.
[33] S. Sowards, op. cit., p. 29.
[34] N. Buxton, *Travels and Reflections*, London 1929, p. 49.
[35] *F. S. Stevenson to Noel Buxton, 29 October 1901*, Noel-Buxton Papers, Balkan Committee—1903–1910, MS 951 c. 24/1.

and the political problems of the area, and eventually, according to one of Buxton's sisters, Victoria de Bunsen, he and his brother, Charles Roden, established the Balkan Committee already in 1902.[36] Despite there is no publication or meetings held under the auspices of the Balkan Committee until the summer of 1903, Noel Buxton set forth his ideas and insights on the possible troubles and solutions of the Macedonian Question in different platforms. In a pamphlet written in 1902, he believed that the Turkish "misrule" in Albania and other areas inhabited by Greeks or Serbs were serious but Macedonia was the only place where the European powers' intervention would seem probable.[37] He also argued that the British public opinion should be prepared and be informed regarding the matters of European Turkey because at that moment it was full of negative prejudices about the Balkan Christians. Albeit Buxton stressed that the liberation movement (the IMRO) represented a spirit that all English should applaud, and this freedom consequently implied the future capacity of progress.[38]

The brothers could gather the support of many influential members of the British political and public life in the forthcoming period up to the suppression of the Ilinden Uprising. Among them was James Bryce, one of the old comrade of William E. Gladstone, the Liberal leader of the Opposition, during the Bulgarian Agitation movement in 1876–1878, and also a promoter of the cause of the Armenians living in the Ottoman Empire. Bryce's experience in lobbying was a major factor in that he became the first president of the Balkan Committee, but he also signaled the presence of the Gladstonian liberal legacy in the Committee's intellectual make-up. Bryce accepted presidency and set out the future tasks of the committee in a letter he wrote to Noel Buxton on 3 July 1903. In his views, there was an urgent need for such a committee to watch the progress of events in Macedonia, and the Committee ought for the present to be confined to obtaining and diffusing information and views, exciting interest in the subject and advocating measures calculated to secure peace, and put an end to oppression, bloodshed and cruelty without directly challenging any of the Powers with which a Liberal Government might have to deal.[39]

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[36] V. de Bunsen, *Charles Roden Buxton. A Memoir*, London 1948, pp. 54–55.

[37] N. Buxton, *Recent Notes from the Balkans*, [in:] *The Macedonian Question. With an Introduction by Francis Seymour Stevenson, M. P. (Chairman of the Council of the Byron Society,* London [1902], p. 36.

[38] Ibidem.

[39] Cited in T. P. Conwell-Evans, *Foreign Policy from a Back Bench 1904–1918. A Study based on the Papers of Lord Noel-Buxton,* London 1932, p. 3.

The organization announced its foundation on the pages of 28 July 1903 issue of the liberal-radical daily newspaper, the "Manchester Guardian." Their task was to provide precise and reliable information about the state of events in Macedonia, and also to bring the issue before the British government in order to exercise some influence and to execute a reform program in the disturbed vilayets. It was generally accepted among the membership of the Committee that Great Britain had enormous responsibility in placing back Macedonia under Ottoman sovereignty at the Congress of Berlin in 1878.[40]

During the reforms in Macedonia the Balkan Committee attempted to place the question in the forefront of British public opinion. Recent scholarship has revealed that how pre-1914 liberal lobby-groups, such as the Balkan Committee, connected domestic, imperial, and international questions together.[41] As Noel Buxton recalled later, from the end of August 1903, they became intensely busy with work. "We secured a big room in Adelphi Terrace in the house of Bernard Shaw, and there, overlooking the river, we organized meetings and produced leaflets which secured public notice both here and abroad in a measure out of all proportion to our diminutive numbers."[42] After the Ilinden Uprising was suppressed, the Committee organized more than 300 meetings nationwide, and also held common conferences with similar French organizations.[43] The aims of these meetings were manifold. On the one hand, they aimed to gather as wide public support behind the Committee's memorandums and proposals sent to the Foreign Office as much was possible. On the other hand, they also collected donations to finance the Macedonian Relief Fund which also led a relief mission to the spot in early 1904. Beside public meetings, the Committee's members constantly wrote to several newspapers and journals where they intended to inform the public about the situation in Macedonia. Members of parliament also raised the question in both houses of the British Parliament.[44]

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[40] *Misrule in Macedonia—An English Balkan Committee*, "Manchester Guardian" 28 July 1903, p. 5.

[41] J. Perkins, *The Congo of Europe: The Balkans in early Twentieth-century British Political Culture*, "The Historical Journal" 2015, vol. 58, no. 2, p. 568.

[42] *Draft on Autobiography—Balkan Reform*, MS 951 c. 8/2.

[43] D. Rodogno, *The European Powers' intervention*, op. cit., p. 213.

[44] For a general outlook of the Balkan Committee's activities see: R. B. McCormick, *Noel Buxton, the Balkan Committee and Reform in Macedonia, 1903–1914*, [in:] *Antiquity and Modernity. A Celebration of European History and Heritage in the Olympic Year 2004*, eds. N. C. J. Pappas, Athens 2004, pp. 151–164.

The Balkan Committee (and also other lobby-groups in France and Italy) viewed that the Mürzsteg reforms and so the European control in Macedonia should have had to go further than assisting Austria-Hungary and Russia's conservative reorganizing attempt in the Balkans. It should be emphasized that the "experts" who shared an interest in the plight of the Macedonian inhabitants were overwhelmingly liberals and liberal-radicals who believed that the Balkan question in general was a question of civilization.[45] Peter Mandler suggests that in the course of the development of nineteenth-century British political thinking, Liberals (and Conservatives alike) tended to see the British Empire as the one which developed the highest civilization in the world. However, British intellectuals did not regard this as a distinctly British capacity to progress, but rather as an universalistic human potential.[46] The close association of progress with the notion of "civilization" established a virtual scale which enabled European thinkers, in general, to posit countries and nations on it according to their perceived level of civilization. "The standards of civilization" was a quite ill-defined concept during the 19th century, and of course, it was the privilege of "those nations who achieved the highest levels of civilization" who could judge and grant full membership to the international community of "civilized nations". Generally, the elements of "the standards of civilization" were attributed to those states who could securing basic civil rights (to life, property, dignity, and to religion) to its citizens, and who could administer its territory with its full sovereignty (organized bureaucracy and capacity for self-defense). In their conduct of foreign policy they must adhere to the established principles of international law, and they also maintain permanent diplomatic relations with other states. There was also a very ambiguous criteria that a country's society should conform "to norms and practices of 'civilized' society."[47] The global practices of international law and diplomatic protocol, as Jennifer Pitts has recently demonstrated, were molded and dominated by European principles and practices, certainly, reflecting the European Great Powers' increased power over the rest of the globe.[48]

[45] D. Dauti, *Britain, the Albanian Question and the Demise of the Ottoman Empire 1876–1914*, Leeds 2018, p. 98.
[46] P. Mandler, *'Race' and 'Nation' in Mid-Victorian Thought*, [in:] *History, Religion, and Culture. British Intellectual History 1750–1950*, eds. S. Collini, R. Whitmore, B. Young, Cambridge 2000, pp. 242–243.
[47] A. Heraclides, A. Dialla, op. cit., p. 33.
[48] J. Pitts, op. cit., pp. 10–27.

British intellectuals and policy-makers overwhelmingly shared this understanding of international relations. Therefore, it should be emphasized that liberals were seeking to establish international order on the grounds of justice, orderly governance all which would enable the material and moral progress of peoples in question. This means that the majority of liberals of the Balkan Committee promoted self-government as sort of Home Rule within an existing political unit, and they were not clearly advocated national self-determination.[49] Even referring to the already independent Balkan states, James David Bourchier, the famous Balkan correspondent of "The Times" and a very important agent of the Balkan Committee, described them in an infantilizing manner. As he put it, "[…] They must still remain under the tutelage of Europe. Let us hope that Europe will awake to her responsibilities towards these wayward children; […]."[50] However, it was generally accepted that some sort of European guidance and control was required in the whole Balkan Peninsula. The establishment of independent states in 1878 had not indicated the Great Powers' conviction that the application of national idea in the Balkans was the most suitable way to stabilize the region, but they rather imagined a set of client states what could have been hold in check by them, thereby securing the area's peace and its tranquil progress.

International control and reform: the views of H. N. Brailsford and Noel Buxton

Immediately after the suppression of the Ilinden Uprising, the Balkan Committee urged the British Government to take a leading role, operating within the European Concert, in the settlement of the question. By reading the different texts produced by the members of the Committee, it becomes evident that according to the group the solution to the Macedonian Problem should be an international one,

[49] I must note that Diana Mishkova views that „one of the abiding impact of British liberals' enmeshment in the *Balkan problematique* before World War I was the imposition of the nation-state as the gold standard of civilisation—the idea that a community could develop fully and progress only within independent national borders." D. Mishkova, *Beyond Balkanism. The Scholarly Politics of Region Making*, London-New York 2019, p. 24.
[50] J. D. Bourchier, *The Balkan States – Their Attitude towards the Macedonian Question*, [in:] *The Balkan Question. The Present Condition of the Balkans and of European Responsibilities*, eds. L. Villari, New York 1905, pp. 88–89.

and they fundamentally referred to earlier precedents of European intervention, thereby they formulated their suggestion in the contemporary framework of international law and diplomatic practice. In a pamphlet published by the Balkan Committee in the aftermath of the uprising in 1903, titled *The Macedonian Crisis*, the authors (it is most likely that it was written by Buxton himself and co-authored by James Bryce, the first president of the Committee) proposed to the British Government that in a joint action with the other powers, they should demand the acceptance of the following solution from the Porte. Most importantly the "withdrawal of Turkish troops from Macedonia proper, the appointment of a European governor, with complete control of the civil and military administration, and the establishment of a gendarmerie commanded by European officers."[51] The author also suggests that "if precedents of successful intervention are needed, there are two clear cases in point—that of Lebanon in 1860–61, and that of Crete in 1897." The author claims that by the intervention of France and England, with the consent of the rest of the Powers, the autonomy which was granted to the Lebanon resulted in the growth of commerce and agricultural production in the province, and due to this peaceful prosperity its population had doubled.[52] In the same publication, the writing of P. W. Wilson, the Honorary Treasurer of the Balkan Committee, is very suggestive regarding how British imperial and domestic liberal political agenda intertwining with the British perception of civilization had influenced the narrative of Southeast European events. Placing the Macedonian case in context, Wilson posits it in a successive line of uprisings against "Turkish misrule." After enumerating the liberation of Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Romania from Turkish domination, he adds the examples of Crete, Cyprus, Lebanon, and finally Bosnia and Herzegovina which all were granted "a tolerable system of government."[53] Wilson meticulously denotes the Ottoman Christian subjects' deprivation of franchise, of safety of property and of equal access to public offices. It is striking that he also sees "the struggle with the Turks has been from first to last a struggle for womenhood."[54] Through the lens of the Macedonian situation he reflects to the current Liberal agenda of British domestic

[51] *The Macedonian Crisis* 7, EVA I/I.
[52] *The Macedonian Crisis*, [in:] *Macedonia 1903. Published by the Balkan Committee*, London 1903, pp. 6–7.
[53] P. W. Wilson, *The General Situation*. [in:] *Macedonia 1903*, op. cit., p. 9.
[54] Ibidem.

politics, such as the ever-troubling Irish question and question of women enfranchisement. By presuming that a decent government would reconcile the disturbing population he evokes one of the basic requirement of belonging to "the club of civilized nations" where the state must secure basic rights to its citizens and orderly administration through its territory. Finally, Wilson concludes that these turbulent lands should not present "insuperable difficulties to the honest administrator" such as "those areas which, like Bosnia, Herzegovina, or the Lebanon, are administered somewhat on the *Egyptian system* [emphasis added], are becoming prosperous under a tutelage that is fair to all creeds and all races included therein."[55] In the case of Macedonia, he proposes a joint protectorate over the Balkan confines of the Ottoman Empire, thereby „no further trouble will arise within those divisions of the Ottoman Empire."[56] The establishment of a sort of international supervision over the involved Macedonian territories is a key issue in the Balkan Committee's writings during the period under scrutiny. Some of the leading figures of the Committee gave elaborated accounts on their vision about the nature of international control, which make it possible to investigate the perception of the Macedonian question in the British liberal mind.

Henry Noel Brailsford was a well-known radical journalist, whose name became identical to liberal internationalism during his quite long career.[57] Brailsford in his well-known and much cited account, *Macedonia: its races and its future* (1906), provides the reader a general outlook of the different groups of Macedonia, and the everyday life in the aftermath of the Ilinden Uprising and its brutal suppression by the Ottomans. His first-hand knowledge of the region was due to his experiences during a relief work in Ohrid organized under the auspices of the Balkan Committee.[58] In the last chapter of his aforementioned book, Brailsford summarizes his opinion on the implemented reforms, and he also delivers his ideas on a possible satisfactory solution. Brailsford's main assumption, among many other Europeans' as well,

[55] Ibidem, p. 14.

[56] Ibidem.

[57] On Brailsford see: G. Giannakopoulos, *Internationalism between National Questions and Imperial Considerations: Henry Noel Brailsford and the Transformation of Central and Eastern Europe (1898–1919)*, "History of European Ideas" 2018, vol. 44, no. 2, pp. 244–259 and F. M. Leventhal, *The last Dissenter. H. N. Brailsford and His World*, Oxford 1985.

[58] F. M. Leventhal, *H. N. Brailsford and the Search for a New International Order*, [in:] *Edwardian Radicalism 1900–1914. Some Aspects of British Radicalism*, eds. A. J. A. Morris, London-New York 1974, p. 204.

was that until the Ottomans were governing Macedonia there would be neither peace nor reform.[59] Brailsford envisaged an international society which would manage international questions in accordance with the assumed civilizational hierarchies of his time.[60] In this particular case, he regarded the Concert of Europe as an international body empowered by its assumed superiority in civilization to control another (mostly non-European) state's territory. It is very clear that the position of contemporary lawyers had a significant impact on Brailsford's views. Moreover, it is very likely that, based on his Edwardian radical views, he wanted the realization of a modernized version of the European Concert led by the "Liberal Powers", namely Great Britain, France, and Italy, which aimed to "restrain the appetite of aggressive capitalism and […] uphold the ideal of 'worldwide brotherhood'."[61] We cannot fail to see the contours of this imagined "international organization" as the forerunner of the post-war League of Nations.

For Brailsford, the only possible solution to end the disturbances in Macedonia was the imposition of European control. According to his scheme, Macedonia should be governed by a Board of Delegates from the Five Protecting Powers, independently from both the Sultan and the Ambassadors in Constantinople.[62] The Board would be responsible directly to the Great Powers' governments. Contrary to the Mürzsteg program which was supposed to reorganize the gendarmerie forces of the vilayets by dividing the whole area into sectors supervised by each protecting powers, Brailsford suggests instead of the territorial sectioning that each protecting power should be assigned to a certain branch of administration.[63] He argues that Austria should manage the economic affairs of the vilayets, taking into consideration her accomplishments in Bosnia and Herzegovina. To this end, she might take charge for Public Works and Agriculture. Brailsford saw Russia, as the major Orthodox power, fit to manage education and church matters of the vilayets. As of the rest of the powers, Brailsford highlights one specific administrative fields for each: England, utilizing her experiences in Egypt, should run the courts and local administration, and France should be responsible for finance, taking into consideration of her already existing interests in Ottoman banking and finance in general. By the decision of the Mürzsteg program, the task of reorganizing the

[59] H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia and its races and its Future*, London 1906, p. 315.
[60] G. Giannakopoulos, op. cit., p. 252.
[61] F. M. Leventhal, *H. N. Brailsford and the Search*, op. cit., p. 202.
[62] H. N. Brailsford, op. cit., p. 322.
[63] Ibidem, p. 325.

gendarmerie of the vilayets was assigned to the Italian general, Emilio de Georgis (1844–1908), who worked with an international body of officers. In Brailsford's view the management of Public Order should be assigned to Italy, as they had already gained experiences in Crete.[64] It is somewhat appalling to read from an ardent critique of imperialism such as Brailsford was, that he envisioned a paternalistic reform, administered by the Great Powers. What is striking in Brailsford's argument, is its evident similarity to imperialist's justification to maintain colonial rule. Although we must not fail to realize colonial attitudes in this proposal, I think we can rather grasp here the real weight of the "standards of civilization".

As I pointed out earlier, European observers began to doubt the Ottomans capacity to reform their empire successfully from the 1870s onwards. In his book, *Europe and the Turks* (1907), Noel Buxton wonders "whether anyone ever believed that the Turk would so alter his habits as to conform to Western ideas."[65] Almost all Balkan Committee members agreed that the Turkish administration should be virtually removed from Macedonia. Buxton also shared this opinion. As early as 1902 he elaborated in a pamphlet the possible risks around the Macedonian problem, which was generally seen by contemporaries as a potential threat that eventually leads to a "European conflagration." In this writing, he rather reckons with the solution by occupation. As he put it "of the five districts which we may live to see set free […] have of course one satisfactory fate, viz. to be redeemed by their own parent nations."[66] However, he also found Austrian and (or) Italian occupation as a possible solution: taking into consideration an Austrian occupation of Macedonia he believed that

> If circumstances ever brought about this Austrian descent one might say in favour of it that Austrian rule has been successful in Bosnia, or at least has shown religious impartiality (the agents of the British Bible Society find more religious liberty there than in Austria itself), that the Greeks would much prefer Austria to Bulgaria, that the violence of Serbo-Bulgarian rivalries would be suppressed, and that perhaps the balance of power in Europe would best be served at the same time.[67]

[64] Ibidem.
[65] N. Buxton, *Europe and the Turks*, London 1907, p. 99.
[66] Idem, *Recent Notes*, op. cit., p. 42.
[67] Ibidem, pp. 43–44.

During the Macedonian Reforms (1903–1908) he articulated his views several times on various platforms. Later, in his above mentioned book, *Europe and the Turks*, he musters four possible solutions: the Great Power occupation, annexation by the Balkan states, joint international control, and self-government.[68] Among them he promotes the idea of international control, as according to him, momentarily this solution best fits the complex realities of the region.[69] However, he failed to give a detailed account on the practical side of this control as Brailsford did. In his conclusion he gives an appalling example of how most contemporaries saw this uneven relationship between the "West and the rest": "if in one respect, such abominations as those of the Congo are more deplorable because performed by Europeans, those of Turkey are, without exaggeration, *the greatest atrocity on the surface of the world, because the sufferers themselves are civilized beings* [emphasis added]."[70] The examples given above shed some light on the controversial understanding of the region complex problems by British observers. On the one hand, the enthusiasm for the "oppressed Balkan Christians" of most British liberals (and also members of the Balkan Committee) derived from an often radical tinge inspired by their Gladstonian heritage and the strong belief in progress and social justice, what they strongly articulated in their domestic political discourse. On the other hand, they applied without hesitation the established views of contemporary international law (and often colonialist political thinking) on the asymmetrical relationship between the "civilized West" and its "semi-civilized" periphery, and therefore they regarded the establishment of a tutelage or protectorate ("a decent government") essential to bring peace and prosperity to the region, and last but not least, to avoid an "European conflagration" because of the "Near East".

Conclusion

All in all, the reform in Macedonia eventually failed due to several reasons. Also, the total international control of the area, the Committee's primary goal, was never truly realized. Nevertheless, the Mürzsteg program made some improvements in the vilayets, especially in terms of the reorganization of the gendarmerie and of local administration,

[68] N. Buxton, *Europe and the Turks*, op. cit., pp. 100–102.
[69] Ibidem, p. 102.
[70] Ibidem, p. 130.

but it could not achieve its main aim: to pacify the region. The contest between the rival nationalities plunged the region into absolute anarchy, as well as the cooperation of the Great Powers became more and more complicated, and finally impossible. The proposals set out by the Balkan Committee, though never realized, demonstrates the intertwining relationship between Liberal political agenda, international law, and colonialism as well. I believe, there is much room left by earlier research to further investigate the questions set forth by the pioneer researches on the evolution of international law, and its vital relation with empire and the notion of civilization. There is still a painfully huge gap in historical literature over the role and intellectual make-up of the numerous foreign-policy pressure-groups of the era, such as the Balkan Committee was.

After the July Revolution 1908, the Young Turks proclaimed a constitution to the Empire, promised equal rights and modernization to its citizens. The Balkan Committee changed its course of action: it started to support the new Young Turk regime. We can conclude that its purpose, in this period between 1903 and 1908, was not to promote particular national interest, that is, self-determination which eventually leads to national independence, but rather to realize a sort of "Home Rule" and granting constitutional rights to the Balkan Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire within the empire itself. Nevertheless, it turned out soon that the promises of the Young Turks revolution were to be just shattered dreams, and by the time of the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 many British liberals, and most of the members of the Balkan Committee finally supported the division of Macedonia on ethnic lines between the Balkan states.

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Abstract

Humanitarian intervention is a relatively new concept in international relations. Although the origins of interventionism can be traced back well in history, its humanitarian aspect had been gradually formulated during the course of the 19th century. In my paper I focus on the ideas and proposals of the London-based Balkan Committee to solve the "Gordian Knot of the Balkans": the Macedonian Question. In 1903, after the abortive Ilinden Uprising, the European Great Powers concerted to pacify Ottoman Macedonia and to implement reforms in the judiciary and administrative systems, which became known as the Mürzsteg Program. The representatives of the Committee such as its founder Noel Buxton or the well-known journalist at the time, Henry N. Brailsford, suggested international control for Macedonia "by establishing a Government responsible to the Powers." I argue that their ideas were influenced by the notions of contemporary international law which deeply internalized the period's European perception of civilizational hierarchies of the world.

Keywords: humanitarianism, liberalism, Southeastern Europe, Macedonian Question, intervention

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STRUGGLE FOR A BORDERLAND.
THE ECCLESIASTIC AND CIVIL AUTHORITY IN MEĐIMURJE (MURAKÖZ) BETWEEN 11TH AND 20TH CENTURY

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Introduction

It is almost impossible to find an equivalent to the Polish term *kresy* (confines, borderland). Still, maybe it is not without a reason that we think that a somewhat similar notion of "confines" also existed in the Hungarian Kingdom and its partner country, Croatia, being in a similar geopolitical region, as our countries were also considered to be the confines of Western civilization and the Eastern borders were often held to be a dangerous zone as far as the security of the country was concerned.[1]

As Csaba Gy. Kiss describes, Međimurje may be seen as a transitional region between Hungary and Croatia. Between 1102 and 1918, Croatia had a federal relationship with Hungary as a part of the Lands of the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen. The common state of Hungary and Croatia functioned as a personal, and also as a real union.[2] Even tough Croatia was slightly restricted in the process of the national development in consequence of the union, it could preserve comprehensive autonomy within the frame of the Kingdom of Hungary. This situation resulted in the development of a very specific relationship between the two states.

[1] Cs. Gy. Kiss, *Understanding Central Europe: Nations and Stereotypes*, Budapest 2013, p. 169.
[2] D. Sokcsevits, *Horvátország a 7. századtól napjainkig*, Budapest 2011, p. 102.

The name of Međimurje comes from the word *Međimorje*. According to Zvonimir Bartolić, this was used as a synonym for *island* in old Croatian. The Hungarian name is Muraköz (or *Murasziget*) and bears the same meaning. In the Medieval Ages, the Latin names of the region were *Muram et Dravam*, *Insula Muro Dravana*, or *Insula Murinsel*, which mean "Mur island," referring to it as a peninsula between the Mur and the Drava River.[3] Međimurje (or Muraköz) is one of the best examples of transitional borderlands in East-Central Europe. Subjected to competing interests of Hungary and Croatia, just like most borderlands, it owns a troubled past with shifting borders and changing rulers. Nowadays, Međimurje is the northernmost county of Croatia between the Mur and the Drava River, surrounded by four main ethnographic regions: the Slovene Hills (Slovenske Gorice), Prekmurje (Muravidék/Mura mente), the Zala Hills (Zalai-domság, Hungary), the Mur valley, and the Zagorje region with the centre of Varaždin. Thanks to the confluence of the Mur and the Drava Rivers, Međimurje is in fact a triple border between Slovenia, Hungary, and Austria, as the Austrian border (Bad Radkersburg) is only 35 kilometres away. Geographically, we can consider this region as a border area as well, because this is the meeting point of the Alps region and the Pannonian Basin.

Međimurje is the most densely populated region compared to the neighbouring regions (except Zagreb, nowadays the ratio is 165 habitants per km^2). According to the census in 2011, 113,804 people live in the county of Međimurje.[4] Historically this region is 880–883 km^2, nowadays it is only 730 km^2 because the separation of Legrad in the south (in 1931, before that it was part of the Nagykanizsa district), and Rackrižje in the north (in 1945). Međimurje belongs to the Kaj regional dialect. Throughout the centuries the closeness to Croatia was very important. Varaždin is less than fifteen kilometres away from Čakovec; it was a multifunctional city, where the Jesuits established a high school in 1636. The villagers from Međimurje often went to the market not only to Čakovec, but also to Varaždin. Even across the Drava River, Varaždin had a cultural impact on Međimurje, because it was easy to acquire Croatian newspapers, books, and commodities therefrom. There were also pilgrimages to Maria Bistrica from Međimurje.

In the following paper I will mostly use Croatian place names, but for the period prior to 1918 I will mention them in Hungarian as well

[3] Z. Bartolić, *Sjevernohrvatske teme*, t. 5, Čakovec 1998, pp. 281–307.
[4] *Statistički ljetopis Republike Hrvatske*, Zagreb 2018, p. 126.

(except for villages) because of the controversial Magyarization of toponyms in the 1880s.

Problems of dual authority during the Medieval and Early-Modern period

King Ladislaus I the Saint established the diocese of Zagreb in 1090/1091 and Međimurje became part of the newly created bishopric within the archdeacon of Bekšin (Bekcsény). The name of Međimurje was firstly mentioned in 1203, and from the 11th century it was part of Zala county within the Kapronak district. At the beginning this dual authority resulted in administrative (firstly with the diocese of Veszprém), later in political problems too. The borders of the diocese of Zagreb often changed, also Hungarian settlements (Lenti, Páka, Alsólendva) and Slovenian villages (Bogojina, Beltinci) payed tithe to the bishops of Zagreb, so Hungarian priests served in the bishopric territory. From the medieval period, Štrigova was an ecclesiastical centre. According to the legend, Saint Jerome, the translator of the Bible into Latin (Vulgata), was born here, and it was one of the oldest parishes in Međimurje.[5] In 1447, Pope Nicholas V gave privileges (remission of sins, additional graces) for the local shrine.[6]

The appearance of the famous Zrinski/Zrínyi family in Međimurje was coincidental with the spread of the Protestant faith in Transdanubian Hungary. In 1546, Nikola IV Zrinski (Zrínyi IV. Miklós) gained the domain of Čakovec (Csáktornya), which overlapped with the area of Međimurje. The Zrinski family originated from Dalmatia, early on they became part of the Hungarian aristocracy. Thanks to the new domain, they had close connection with the Hungarian aristocracy, especially with the Batthyány, Nádasdy, and Bánffy families, meanwhile Zrinskis also became Croatian bans. At that time Međimurje were among the richest domains of Hungary due to the fertile soil and its position. Furthermore, the population density of Međimurje was 30–40 people per km^2, which was double of the Hungarian rate. Nikola IV Zrinski settled peasants from his Croatian estates alongside the Una River, which effected the ethnic composition of Međimurje

[5] J. Požgan, *Stridóvár plébánia a 19. század végétől a 20. század 20-as éveinek kezdetéig*, [in:] *Pomurje 1914–1920, Mura mente 1914–1920*, ed. B. Bunjac, Čakovec–Csáktornya 2011, p. 93.

[6] V. Kalšan, *Iz vjerskog života Međimurje*, Čakovec 2003, p. 218.

deeply.[7]

Juraj IV Zrinski (Zrínyi IV. György, 1549–1603) introduced the Lutheran confession at about 1570, but the local Pauline Saint Jelena monastery of Šenkovec maintained the Catholic faith. Juraj IV was buried in the mausoleum of the Zrinski family, which belonged to the monastery. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, approximately twenty Lutheran congregations functioned, which were part of the Transdanubian church district and the diocese of Zala and Somogy.[8] Nonetheless, Juraj V Zrinski (Zrínyi V. György, 1599–1626) converted back to the Catholic faith, which strengthened the connection between Međimurje and the bishopric of Zagreb, meanwhile the relationship with the Hungarian Protestant regions was halted. Considerable Hungarian population remained only in Legrad.[9] The affiliation of the Saint Jelena Pauline monastery was also questionable, because the Croatian Pauline Province was established in 1684, and the bishopric of Zagreb tried to separate it from the Hungarian ecclesiastical authority.[10]

Nikola VII Zrinski (Zrínyi VII. Miklós, 1620–1664), poet and military leader, established a Franciscan monastery in Čakovec in 1659.[11] The Zrínyi family successfully developed a unique border-defending structure alongside the Danube and the Mur River. The peasant soldiery was used as a special defence system against the Ottoman incursions.[12] The name of the Zrinski family is strongly connected with the struggle against the Ottomans and the idea of self-denial.[13] Petar

[7] F. Végh, *Négy ország határvidékén: a Muraköz a 17. században. Történeti áttekintés*, [in:] *Határok fölött. Tanulmányok a költő, katona, államférfi Zrínyi Miklósról*, eds. S. Bene, P. Fodor, G. Hausner, J. Padányi, Budapest 2017, pp. 265–267.

[8] F. Végh, *Egy különleges határrégió (A Muraköz a 17. században)*, [in:] *A horvát–magyar együttélés fordulópontjai. Intézmények, társadalom, gazdaság, kultúra*, eds. P. Fodor, D. Sokcsevits, Budapest 2015, pp. 527–528.

[9] In 1910, 2,896 people lived in Legrad (32.5 percent Hungarians, 65 percent Croats). It was an important fortification against the Ottoman Empire; the Zrinski family head used the title of the Captain of Légrád and Muraköz. *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények. A magyar szent korona országainak 1910. évi népszámlálása*, part 1: A népesség főbb adatai, vol. 42, Budapest 1912, pp. 86–87. See more: D. Feletar, *Legrad*, Čakovec 1971; J. Haller, *Légrád története*, Eszék 1912.

[10] R.A. Kann, V.D. Zdeněk, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526–1918*, Washington 1984, p. 171.

[11] V. Kalšan, *Iz vjerskog života*, op. cit., p. 70.

[12] F. Végh, *Society in the Duty of Defence: The Muraköz as a Peculiar Border Region in the Early Modern times*, [in:] *Specimina Nova Pars Prima Sectio Mediaevalis VIII*, eds. G. Barabás, G. Kiss, Pécs 2015, p. 193.

[13] Nikola IV Zrinski defended the castle Szigetvár against the Ottomans in 1566. Thanks to this event, he has become a national hero for Croats and Hungarians. Sz. Varga, *Leónidász*

Zrinski's possessions were confiscated in 1671 because he took part in the so-called Magnate conspiracy (Zrinsko-Frankopan Conspiracy). The Zrinskis held the estate of Međimurje for 125 years. Nevertheless, the memory of the family was important on a local and national level as well. Thanks to the Croatian origin of the Zrinski family, they were always seen as national heroes at the same time Hungarians also empathize with their legacy. Hungarian historians tried to demonstrate their Hungarian affiliation, especially the figures of Nikola IV Zrinski and Nikola VII Zrinski, who were authors of books in Hungarian.

After confiscation of the domain of Čakovec, the *Hofkammer* and later the Althan family became the owners of the estate of Međimurje. Finally, György Festetics bought it in 1791 and his family possessed the land until 1923.[14]

Conflicts between authorities and the spread of nationalism (1791–1918)

The majority of the lower clergy of Međimurje completed their studies in the seminary of Zagreb, which meant that they supported the Croatian language and culture in Međimurje. After the establishment of the bishopric of Szombathely, the bishopric of Zagreb lost territories over the Mur River, so it became more homogeneously Croatian. In 1785, Joseph II created districts instead of the historical counties (vámegye, županija). According to the Croatian historiography, the emperor separated Međimurje from Hungary in 1785 when the whole of the Zala county became part of Zagreb district, although the king withdrew this decree on his deathbed.

After the Germanization attempts led by Joseph II, on 13 February 1793 György Festetics (1755–1819), the member of the general assembly of Zala county, proposed that Međimurje should be separated from the bishopric of Zagreb and be annexed to the newly established diocese of Szombathely. Furthermore, he stood for introduction of the Hungarian language in the local schools and choosing Hungarian notaries in the local towns and villages. We can interpret this proposal as a reaction against the earlier Germanization attempts, but also as a first step to Magyarize this region. Although, it is absolutely clear, that this

a végeken Zrínyi Miklós (1058–1566), Pécs–Budapest 2016, p. 39.

[14] B. Bunjac, *Pregled Povijesti Međimurja*, Čakovec 2003, p. 95.

was the starting point of the unbroken struggle for the ecclesiastical separation of Međimurje from the bishopric of Zagreb, which continued until 1945.[15]

The Hungarian assimilation in Međimurje attempts started with the activity of the Educational Committee of Zala County *(Zala megyei Népnevelési Választmány)*, which introduced the Hungarian language in the local schools. According to the *canonica visitatio* in 1846, written in Latin and Hungarian, the language of the schools were Hungarian: "The priest should be active in religious, moral affairs, who teach the students in Hungarian language." The canonical visitation was carried out by bishopric of Zagreb.[16]

During the campaign of Josip Jelačić (ban of Croatia) in 1848–1849 in Hungary, the Croatian soldiers often looted the locals who opposed ban. The most famous person among them was the Franciscan Márk Gasparich (1810–1853), who was born in Međimurje, and fought against the enemies of the Hungarian revolutionists. Due to his actions, later the Hungarians tried to portray him as a local hero, as an example, who should be followed by the citizens of Međimurje. During the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence in 1848–1849, Međimurje was occupied several times, finally, Josip Jelačić annexed Međimurje to Croatia with a ban decree of 18 September 1848. Within the Bach era, Međimurje was part of Croatia under the jurisdiction of the Varaždin county. The schools which worked in Croatian were subordinated to the Croatian-Slavonian Royal Council of Governor and the Archbishopric Consistorium. In 1861, as results of the negotiations between the Emperor and the Hungarian political elite Međimurje became part of Zala county and therefore Hungary too.

The Franciscan Monastery of Čakovec was erected in 1790 (the previously one was burnt down in 1699). At that time Čakovec was a slowly developing market-town. Its rapid growth started in the second half of the 19th century, after finishing the South Railway (Déli vasút) in 1873, which linked Budapest and Rijeka/Fiume. In 1883, the city already had electric lighting, three decades later the number of the citizens was 5,213. "The society and the language used in schools in Csáktornya (Čakovec) was completely Croatian half a century ago, this

[15] Cs. M. Sarnyai, *Politikai és/vagy egyházkormányzati konfliktus? Megjegyzések a Muraköz zágrábi egyházmegyétől való elcsatolásának 1848-as történetéhez*, [in:] *Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok*, vol. 1–2, Budapest 2008, p. 131.

[16] Nadbiskupski Arhiv u Zagrebu (Later: NAZ), Kanonske Vizitacije Arhiđakonat Bekšin, Protokoli Broj 86/XVII (without number).

has fully changed by now. The Hungarian language is gaining ground fast in its society."[17] – Ferenc Gönczi (1851–1948), ethnographer and teacher of the primary school of Kuršanec, described this process which occurred in Čakovec in the late 19th and early 20th century. Only 21.73% of the city's inhabitants were Hungarians in 1881, meanwhile in 1910, their percentage was doubled: 46.67% meant relative majority of Čakovec.[18] Hungarian officers, teachers, soldiers, and craftsmen came to settle down in the city, which was easily accessible by train from Nagykanizsa or Zalaegerszeg. The Hungarians were overrepresented in specialist professions. In 1879, a state teacher-training college was established in Čakovec, which was meant to promote the Hungarian education and teachers in the border regions (like Međimurje and Prekmurje), to aid the Hungarian schools in Croatia (*Julián schools*) as well. The initial aim was to employ local Croats (or Slovenes) and teach them Hungarian, but mostly Hungarians later became local teachers. The first women teachers of Zala county appeared here as well, because the authorities tried to aid the lack of school staff.

Notwithstanding, the Hungarians remained minority in Međimurje, their ratio was only 8.26%, meanwhile the Croats gave 90.83% of the region's population in 1910. During the Dualist period, one of the most complicated questions was the jurisdiction of schools. In 1910, more than half of the schools of Međimurje became state schools: 24 of 41 (13 were denominational and 4 community schools). Usually state schools functioned in the bigger towns and villages. Croatian remained the language of teaching only in one school of Međimurje in the school year of 1907/1908.[19]

The local Croatian lower clergy tried to make up for the lack of Croatian intellectual presence. Ivan Novak (1884–1934) who was born in Međimurje and later became a Croatian publicist and politician wrote his famous book titled *Justice for Međimurje* in 1907.[20] Novak tried to awake Croats to take actions towards the cause of Croats in Međimurje, to help them to throw off the "Hungarian yoke." The Croatian Party of Rights claimed that the unification of Međimurje with Croatia was the

[17] F. Gönczi, *Muraköz és Népe*, Budapest 1895, p. 28.

[18] *A magyar korona országaiban az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás főbb eredményei megyék és községek szerint részletezve*, vol. 2, Budapest 1882, p. 375; *Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*, part 1, vol. 42, op. cit., pp. 78–96.

[19] F. Bauk, *Povijest školstva i prosvjete u Međimurju*, Čakovec 1992, pp. 75–76.

[20] I. Novak, *Istina u Međimurju*, Zagreb 1907.

first point of their program published on 26 June 1894.[21] The Hungarian government tried to maintain a good relationship with Croatia and with the help of the ban could influence the Croatian internal affairs. The leaders of Zala county protested in vain, the Hungarian government did not support to dis-annexation of Međimurje from the Archbishopric of Zagreb fearing that the Croatian-Hungarian relations would get worse. We should keep the crucial fact in mind that the national awakening in Croatia was widely against the Hungarian-Croatian union—in the late 19th and the early 20th century, the leaders of the Croatian movement supported either the union of the South Slavic nations or the establishment of the Independent Croatia.

The local Croatian clergy represented the most significant resistance against the Hungarian assimilation attempts. The Hungarians often accused the archbishopric of Zagreb that it employed foreign priests instead of locals (which was not true).[22] The local clergy was divided by the question of spreading of the Hungarian language in the churches. For example, Ivan Ivko, parson who was born in Međimurje, protested against the Magyarization of public life in Međimurje, he was denounced several times to the police, because of speaking against denationalization.[23] In fact, Croats could use their language publicly and legally in churches.

Luka Purić (1881–1914) was one of the most important activists against Magyarization. He was born in Hodošan (Međimurje) and graduated from the high school in Keszthely (Hungary). After that, he studied theology in the University of Zagreb and became a parish priest in Belica. He reminded Croats about the importance of the process of denationalization in Međimurje and tried to introduce methods to avoid assimilation. Firstly, he recommended establishing libraries, cooperative saving banks, and agricultural cooperatives. Purić published his writings in the journal of Varaždin, "Naše Pravice."[24]

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[21] G. Kemény, *Iratok a nemzetiségi kérdés történetéhez Magyarországon a dualizmus korában*, vol. 2: 1892–1900, Budapest 1956, p. 288.

[22] In 1910, there were 22 parish priests in Međimurje: 10 was born there, 3 came from Hungary (over Mur River), and 8 priest from Croatia (over Drava River), so this accusation was not correct. *NAZ Schematismus cleri Archi-Diocesis Zagrabiensis*, Zagreb 1910, pp. 80–90, 284–301. There is no data about a birthplace of a Franciscan in Čakovec.

[23] J. Požgan, op. cit., pp. 99–100.

[24] In 1904–1907, he published four main brochures in "Naše Pravice": *Kako je našoj hrvatskoj braći u Medjumurju, Put k slbodi i sreći, Živila Hrvatska, Napried u Medjumurje i O ljubavi domovine, Ban Jelačić i 1848*. Z. Bartolić, *Sjevernohrvatske teme*, vol. 4, Zagreb 2001, p. 9.

Juraj Lajtmann (1883–1964) finished the high school in Nagykanizsa and studied theology in Zagreb. As Luka Purić, he became an important leader of the Croatian national movement in Međimurje. Lajtmann worked as a parish priest in Kotoriba, where he tried to stop the spread of the Hungarian language, presented a social and agrarian programme to culturally and economically strengthen the Croatian community, and organized a woman choir and theatre. In 1912, he published with Ivan Kuhar and Ignacije Lipnjak the book *Jezuš ljubav moja* (*Beloved Jesus,* Zagreb 1912). Juraj Lajtmann actively participated in the organization of the military occupation of Međimurje by Croatian volunteer troops in 1918, when he was imprisoned in Nagykanizsa for a short time.[25]

The intensifying interests towards Međimurje was significant in Croatia. Rudolf Horvat, a Croatian historian wrote a book about the region in 1907, in which he claims that after the Lex Apponyi in 1906, the parish priests of Međimurje remained loyal towards the Hungarian authorities. Consequently, Croatian priests also preached in Hungarian, at the beginning only on speech-days in schools, later every month they gave sermons in Hungarian as well.[26] We also have to mention Vinko Žganec (1890–1976), who was born in Vratišinec. He was an ethnograpisht and later a jurist who finished the high school in Varaždin and studied theology in Zagreb. He became a parish priest in Dekanovec and supported the annexation of Međimurje to Croatia during the World War I. In 1916, Žganec published the book about the folk Croatian songs in the region on the south to the Drava River.[27]

Many priest actively participated in the fostering of the Croatian language and culture, some of them more radical than others. The priests of Međimurje supported the military occupation of Međimurje in 1918, many of them were members of the National Committee of Međimurje (*Narodno vijeće za Međimurje*). Juraj Lajman took part in the organization of the Croatian public education in the region. The Hungarian authorities achieved that Ignacije Lipnjak was temporarly transferred from Međimurje, furthermore, the Croatian priests were often accused by the Hungarian press with seditious acts.[28]

During the World War I, the economic and social difficulties increased, especially in 1918, when the whole of Međimurje was fac-

[25] "Zalai Közlöny" 22.09.1920, vol. 59, no. 190, p. 3.
[26] R. Horvat, *Poviest Međimurja*, Zagreb 1944, p. 275.
[27] V. Žganec, *Hrvatske pučke popijevke iz Međimurja*, Zagreb 1916.
[28] V. Kalšan, *Iz vjerskog života*, op. cit., p. 23.

ing chaotic circumstances. The local notaries and landlords were persecuted, Jewish shops and communities were attacked, and the local priests were threatened.[29] Hungarian authorities killed more than one hundred people in the villages.[30] Croatian volunteer troops led by Dragutin Perko and Slavko Kvaternik occupied Međimurje on 24 December 1918. Many Hungarian state officiers and teachers had to flee to Hungary, meanwhile, many welcomed the Croatian soldiers, it seemed as this event was a liberation of Međimurje, the joining with their motherland. On 9 January 1919, the Great National Assembly (*Velika narodna skupština*) declared the final separation of Međimurje from Hungary, referring to Woodrow Wilson and the right of people to self-determination.

Interwar period (1918–1941)

Međimurje belonged to the county of Varaždin between 1919 and 1922, then it was annexed to the Maribor Oblast. After 1929, Međimurje was a part of the Sava Banovina (with the centre of Zagreb). During the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, there were problems with the administrative integration, for example, the Hungarian civil and criminal laws remained in power in some aspects.[31]

In 1931, Štrigova was separated from the District of Čakovec and added to the Drava Banovina, within the District of Ljutomer. The community of Razkrižje consisted of several smaller settlements (among others, Globoka, Veščica, Razkrižje, Šafarsko) were separated from Štrigova because of the hilly environment.[32] It was noticeable already at the turn of the century that the north-western villages were different from other parts of Međimurje. Ferenc Gönczi wrote that:

> The language of the highlands of Međimurje is a hybrid of the dialects of Lower-Međimurje, Styrian Slovenian, and Slovenians of Zala (Vends), besides this, there are also some German and

[29] I. Puzak, *A plébániai krónikákban lejegyzett élet a Muraközben 1914–1920*, [in:] *Pomurje 1914–1920*, op. cit., pp. 132–141; Z. Paksy, *A Muraköz és a Muravidék megszállása 1919-ben*, "Pannon Tükör" 2009, vol. 14, no. 1, p. 89.

[30] V. Kapun, *Međimurje 1918*, Čakovec 1982, p. 19.

[31] L. Bíró, *A jugoszláv állam 1918–1939*, Budapest 2010, pp. 124–136.

[32] S. Grgić, *Accepting the Border, Choosing the Border: The Štrigova and Razkrižje Micro-region in the First Half of the 20th Century*, "Prispevki za novejšo zgodovino" 2017, vol. 56, no. 3, p. 40.

> Hungarian appearing in it. Therefore, this dialect developed from five languages and it is a mixture of them to a greater or lesser extent; but there are also slight differences within this dialect as well. There are only few, two-three communities, or Hill Districts, where inhabitants would speak the same language. In the villages along the bank of the Mur River, locals are speaking partly Slovenian (Vend).[33]

There were the territorial disputes between Croats and Slovenians about Štrigova. Slovenes accused Croats of Croatianization carried out by the teachers and priests in Razkrižje, meanwhile Croats blamed local leaders for separatism and leading to that the north-western border of Međimurje was under the Slovenia's influences. According to the census of 1921, the local population of Štrigova district were 6,076, from which 98% declared themselves as Croats. Notwithstanding, they preferred to use the Slovenian language.

On 23 August 1935, the Eucharistic Congress was held in Čakovec, in which ten thousand people participated, among others archbishop of Zagreb Antun Bauer, coadjuctor archbishop of Zagreb Alojzije Stepinac (later the archbishop of Zagreb, 1937–1960), the archbishop of Belgrade, and Franciscan provincial August Šlibar. There were holy mass served not only in Croatian, in Slovenian and Hungarian as well. The congress was a prominent event in Međimurje. The locals decorated streets with Croatian flags, although it was forbidden to use national flags instead of the Yugoslavian one. In September 1935, Alojzije Stepniac visited parishes in Međimurje.[34] He blessed the renovated church of Štrigova and he tried to reconcile Croats with Slovenes.[35]

From ecclesiastical point of view, Catholics represented overwhelming majority. In 1910, 93,283 people lived in the region, 98.15% of which were Catholic, 1,086 Jewish (1.16%), other religions represented only 0.96%. In 1921, 97.49% of the population were Catholic; in 1931, 98.28%. In 1941, there were 22 parishes in Međimurje, one of them was a Franciscan monastery in Čakovec, altogether 35 priests served in the region.[36]

According to the previously mentioned census of 1931, the total population of Međimurje was 96,499, of which 93,690 were Croats

[33] F. Gönczi, *Muraköz és Népe*, op. cit. p. 106.
[34] V. Kalšan, *Iz vjerskog života*, op. cit.,pp. 24–27.
[35] Idem, *Građansko društvo u Međimurju*, Čakovec 2000, pp. 72–73.
[36] Idem, *Međimurje u drugom svjetskom ratu*, Čakovec 2015, p. 59.

and 1,297 Hungarians (1.4%).[37] Nonetheless, Hungary maintained the territorial claims to Međimurje during the interwar period. The Association of Muraköz (*Muraközi Szövetség*) was established in Budapest, one year after the occupation of Međimurje on 24 December 1919.[38] The honorary president of the association was István Zadravecz Uzdóczy (1884–1965), who was born in Čakovec and was a retired bishop of the Hungarian Armed Forces. They tried to support the revisionist movements and to influence internal policy-making to regain Međimurje to Hungary. There was an opinion among the revisionists that the local population trying to reunite with Hungary. Misunderstandings and illusions resulted in huge troubles during the World War II in the region. Hungarians emphasized the historical rights in contrast to the Croats who referred to the ethnic composition of Međimurje (the right of the people to self-determination). The two different point of view clashed over Međimurje. We should keep in mind that during the interwar period the Hungarian government supported the Croatian separatist movements because it weakened the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and—as a result—Little Entente. The main goal of the Hungarian government was to regain the lost Hungarian territories with peaceful methods: With help of the Hungarian communities of Transylvania, Slovakia, and Vojvodina. Compare to these lost Hungarian territories, the significance of Međimurje was important only to citizens of Zala county, especially for those people who had to flee to Hungary after the World War I. In Prekmurje, the situation was a bit different, because there was a strong Hungarian community along the border (especially in the town of Lendava—Alsólendva). The authorities of Zala county tried to linked the problem of Međimurje with Prekmurje, meanwhile the situation was sufficiently different. At that time the "Muraközi–Vend theory" was spread among Hungarian intellectuals: According to it, the population of Međimurje and Prekmurje was Hungarian (despite the fact that they spoke Slavic languages) and that people suffered in the Yugoslav state. They tried to emphasize the differences between the official Croatian and Slovenian language and the local dialects of

[37] R. Horvat, op. cit., p. 300.

[38] Cs. Csóti, *A trianoni döntés és Zala megye*, [in:] *Zala Megye Ezer Éve. Tanulmánykötet a magyar államalapítás millenniumának tiszteletére*, eds. L. Vándor, Zalaegerszeg 1996, p. 217; Idem, *A Mura–Dráva határ néhány történeti problémája, 1910–1955*, [in:] *Ahol a határ elválaszt. Trianon és következményei a Kárpát-medencében*, eds. C. Pásztor, Balassagyarmat–Várpalota 2002, p. 543.

Međimurje and Prekmurje.[39] Many Hungarian intellectuals and political leader agreed with this theory, especially in Zala and Vas counties.

The World War II (1941–1945)

During the World War II, we can find similar (but more intense) tendencies occurring in comparison with the Dualist Period. On 7 April 1941, the German troops arrived in Čakovec and on the following day the Ustaša general staff of Međimurje was established in head of Teodor Košak, a local pharmacist.[40] The official proclamation of the Ustaša Independent State of Croatia occurred on 10 April in Zagreb. Ante Pavelić formed a cabinet on 16 April,[41] on the same day when the Hungarian Army started the occupation of Međimurje and Prekmurje.[42] The occupation was the topic of the Croatian-Hungarian peace negotiations but finally thanks to diplomatic help of Germany the region became part of Hungary.[43] The Hungarian civil administration was introduced in the District of Čakovec (Csáktornya) and Prelog (Perlak) on 21 August 1941.[44]

The regained territories were reincorporated to the Hungarian Church organization, just as it happened with Prekmurje—the bishop of Szombathely József Grősz became the apostolic administrator of this region.[45] Nevertheless, the Hungarian occupation of Međimurje and the introduction of the Hungarian civil administration was questionable until the summer of 1941. The authorities of Zala county did not describe it as a military occupation of Međimurje, but as political and administrative re-annexation. Papal prelate József Pehm (after 1943 József Mindszenty, in 1945 the archbishop of Esztergom and primate of Hungary) was in charge of the Međimurje questions and induced the Hungarian government to keep the separate status of the region.

[39] I. Puzak, op. cit.. p. 139.
[40] V. Kalšan, *Međimurje u drugom svjetskom ratu*, op. cit., p. 16.
[41] P. Adriano, G. Cingolani, *Nationalism and Terror. Ante Pavelić and Ustasha Terrorism from Frascism to the Cold War*, Budapest–New York 2018, p. 178.
[42] K. Vladimir, *Muraköz történelme*, Csáktornya 2014, p. 310.
[43] A. E. Sajti, *A magyar–horvát határtárgyalások és a lakosságcsere kudarca (1941–1944)*, vol. 81, Szeged 1985, pp. 3–18.
[44] L. Göncz, *Felszabadulás vagy megszállás? A Mura mente 1941–1945*, Lendva 2006, pp. 64–65; A. Kovács, Á. Tátrai, *Magyarok a Muravidéken 1918–1945 Kronológia*, Lendva-Ljubljana 2013, p. 86.
[45] A. Kovács, Á. Tátrai, op. cit., p. 203.

The Hungarian Government was reluctant to do it because of the overwhelming majority of the Croats there, moreover, Budapest wanted to maintain a good relationship with Croatia as a German ally. However, the Independent State of Croatia protested against the Hungarian occupation of Međimurje. When it became clear that Zagreb could not regain Međimurje, the offices of the Čakovec and the Prelog districts in Varaždin were established to maintain the symbolic Croatian authority in the region.

On 8 May 1941, a delegation from Međimurje came to the meeting of the municipal board of Zala county to present the position of loyalty to Hungary and Regent Miklós Horthy in the name of 12,501 inhabitants of the region.[46] According to the Croatian historiography, initially Hungarians collected the signatures for the detachment of Međimurje from the Archbishopric of Zagreb offering people bribes (flour, salt, and petroleum). Beyond that they forged thousands of signatures with the leading role of Ottó Pecsornik, the mayor of Čakovec.[47]

"Međimurje is Hungarian, because it feels Hungarian"—József Pehm said during the extraordinary general assembly of Zala county on 15 July 1941.[48] In the next months, the Hungarian and Croatian side could not agree with each other on the jurisdiction of Međimurje. Due to the changes of the international politics and the activity of the authorities of Zala county and József Pehm, in July 1941, the Hungarian government introduced the civil administration and integrated Međimurje with the Hungarian state.[49] Firstly Germans occupied Štrigova but Hungarians took over the town on 11 July 1941. Therefore Hungarians controlled the whole territory of historical Međimurje.[50]

[46] Ibidem, p. 57.

[47] J. Drvoderić, *Generalni Vikarijat za Međimurje*, Zagreb 1996, p. 19. The author refers to the following book: N.N., *Međimurje 1919–1959,* Čakovec 1959, pp. 62–64.

[48] L. Göncz, *Felszabadulás vagy*, op. cit., , p. 61.

[49] About the activity of József Pehm: M. Balogh, *Mindszenty József (1892–1975)*, vol. 1, Budapest 2015, pp. 254–282; L. Nagy, *Mindszenty József szerepe Muraköz visszacsatolásában*, "Zempléni Múzsa" 2016, vol. 16, no. 3, pp. 19–30; L. Göncz, *A területi integritás szellemében. Pehm (Mindszenty) József megnyilatkozásai a visszacsatolt Muramentéről és Muraközről*, "Vasi Szemle" 2005, vol. 59, no. 4, pp. 415–423.

[50] Z. Bartolić, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 7.

The archiepiscopal vicariate of Međimurje

Croatian civil servants, teachers, and people who settled down in Međimurje after 1918 were expelled from the region in 1941. They were replaced by the Hungarian officials and teachers. Only Croatian priests could stay in Međimurje. The archbishop of Zagreb and primate of the Croatian Catholic Church Alojzije Stepinac established the archiepiscopal vicariate of Međimurje on 13 August 1941. Ignacije Rodić, the parish priest of Selnica, was ordered to administrate the vicariate and conduct the parishes of Međimurje fearing that the Hungarian authorities would make difficulties in functioning of the Croatian Church in the region. In the circumstances of the Hungarian occupation, the archiepiscopal vicar could represent the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Zagreb in Međimurje. Rodić made arrangements about the celebratory masses for soldiers, appointments of teacher of religion, the right to confess; he kept contacts with the archbishopric of Zagreb and with the Hungarian civil and Church authorities. Furthermore, Rodić was responsible of the certificates of baptism and marriage, the minutes of the archiepiscopal vicariate as well.

Alojzije Stepinac gave spiritual and political support to the local clergy of Međimurje. He could prevent serious conflicts between the Hungarian authorities and Croatian priests. On 21 August 1941, the clergy would have to take an oath on Hungary and Regent Miklós Horthy. Furthermore, in the oath it was mentioned that (1) they could not admit any appointment from the archbishopric of Zagreb or the archiepiscopal vicar of Međimurje, (2) they could not keep contact with the archbishop of Zagreb (because the archbishop would interfere in local citizens' affairs), (3) priests from Croatia could not come to Međimurje, (4) the priests of Međimurje would be supervised by the bishop of Szombathely.[51] Alojzije Stepinac warned the priests of Međimurje that they should swear an oath, otherwise the local communities would remain without spiritual leaders. However, the archbishop protested against the ecclesiastical detachment of Međimurje and interceded in the Holy See thanks to which the region would not be approved as a part of the Hungarian Catholic Church until the end of the war. Moreover, he said that: "Until the war continues the only thing what they [Hungarians] can gain is not more than temporary administration."[52]

[51] J. Drvoderić, op. cit., p. 27.
[52] NAZ, Fond Generalni Vikarijat za Međimurje, MV/129/1941.

On 21 August 1941, eighteen priests of Međimurje took an oath (according the Croatian sources eleven, without Franciscans), while eight priests did not swear on Hungary and the Regent. Until a set a date, the Hungarian authorities guaranteed the protection of those clerics, who took an oath—they obtained a Hungarian citizenship.[53] Nonetheless, Alojzije Stepinac could induce Croatian and Hungarian diplomats to permit to those Croatian priests who did not take an oath to able to stay in Međimurje and continue their service.[54]

The anxieties of the ecclesiastical detachment were not baseless because in the 19th century there were several attempts to ecclesiastically separate Međimurje from Zagreb and to integrate it with the bishopric of Szombathely (perhaps with the archbishopric of Veszprém). During the introduction of the Hungarian civil administration in Međimurje, József Pehm wrote an article about the religious life of Međimurje: "Now the solution of the issue is in Budapest and Rome. Croatia went his own way, there is not any reason why a foreigner prelate should have a claim here."[55] Basically the Hungarian Catholic Church tried to expand in Međimurje with support of the authorities of the county and József Pehm. Several articles and books were dedicated to this matter.[56] As Haller Láposi Jenő wrote:

> The Croatian priests incite more in interest to separate Međimurje from Hungary. Nowadays, also these restless people eat Hungarian bread, nevertheless they are trying dismember Hungary. They could educate anti-Hungarian xenophobe priests in Zagreb and Varaždin, and from women of Međimurje anti-Hungarian xenophobe nuns. After finishing their studies they were sent back to their homeland, where they fight as janissaries against us. If we would like to keep peace and order in Međimurje, it is absolutely necessary that the Croatian priests should be removed immediately.[57]

[53] "Muraköz–Megyimurje" 11.09.1941, vol. 36, no. 1, p. 2.
[54] V. Kalšan, *Međimurje u drugom svjetskom ratu*, op. cit., p. 62.
[55] "Zalamegyei Újság" 19.07.1941. On the other hand József Pehm had proposed on the municipal assembly in 1942 that the civil cervants in Međimurje should study Croatian language and in this case he supported to establish language courses. L. Göncz, *A területi integritás*, op. cit., p. 422.
[56] M. Kring, *A Muraközi országhatár a magyar–horvát viszony történetében*, Budapest 1942; J. Muravölgyi [J. Margitai], *Muraköz és a horvátok*, Budapest 1929; J. L. Haller, *Igazságot Muraköznek*, Budapest 1938; It was published in Italian also: J. L. Haller, *La Giustizia del Muraköz, Giustificaziona della sua Riannessiona All'Ungheria*, trans. G. Brunner, Budapest 1941.
[57] "Zalamegyei Újság" 25.10.1941, vol. 24, no. 244, pp. 4–5.

In article entitled *Hungarian Muraköz* in the daily paper of "Zalai Magyar Élet Ujság" Ferenc Kelemen wrote that: "As soon as possible, we have to ecclesiastically reannex (sic!) Međimurje, if we would like to remain there, which was a Hungarian territory by one thousand year, and after two decades of oppression would stay in the heart of hearts Hungarian."[58]

On 22 May 1942, Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac sent a letter to Ignacije Rodić, in which he confirmed that until the war continued, Međimurje would not be under Hungarian ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Furthermore, he drew the Croatian priests attention to maintain their ecclesiastical functions and convinced them to not give up to the Hungarian authorities. Moreover, he emphasized the importance of preaches in churches and schools. As Stepinac wrote, in another case they would be expelled from Međimurje and therefore it would be disagreeable consequences to the Croatian nation. According to the report of Ignacije Rodić, 35 priest served in Međimurje in 1942. Eight priest had Slovenian origin (five from the neighbouring Prekmurje), which presence in the region was the initiative of Stepinac archbishop.[59]

Hungarians tried to send Hungarian priests to Međimurje. Firstly, in 1942, two Franciscans came from Hungary to the Franciscan monastery of Čakovec to teach catechism in the local schools. Géza Fekete became the headmaster of the local primary school.[60] Thirteen Hungarian priests from Levenete (a military youth organization of Interwar Hungary) arrived in Međimurje on 13 December 1943. However, they could not serve in the local parishes because the archiepiscopal vicar Ignacije Rodić did not let them to push the local Croatian priests out of Međimurje. Referring to canon law he successfully defended their sphere of authority against the Hungarian attempts. The Levente institutions were established in Međimurje and tried to teach Hungarian history and strengthen Hungarian identity among the local pupils during the meetings. They also improvised military tactics.

Hungarians tried to establish congregations in Međimurje, however, with the leadership of Ignacije Rodić the local Croatian clergy was against the congregation because they were worried about the fact that the Hungarians would interfere in the church affairs. Several congregations were established in Međimurje and the majority of the members were Croats. On 20 August 1943, the State Foundation Day of Hun-

[58] "Zalai Magyar Élet napilap" 4.09.1941.

[59] NAZ, Fond Generalni Vikarijat za Međimurje, MV 221/1942.

[60] "Muraköz–Megyimurje" 13.11.1941, vol. 36, no. 10, p. 2.

gary, the mayor of Čakovec Ottó Pecsornik led a pilgrimage to the Hungarian village, Búcsúszentlászló—the Hungarian press represented this event as a patriotic act of Croats from Međimurje, since they went to Hungary instead of the Croatian pilgrim centre of Maria Bistrica.[61]

Several punishments were imposed on priests and civilians because of their resistance against Magyarization. There are available documents about that phenomenon in the Archbishopric Archive of Zagreb and the State Archive of Međimurje in Štrigova.[62] Within the frame of this paper, there is no possibility to list all of the sources about the repressions in Međimurje during World War Two. Notwithstanding several clashes occurred between local Croats and Hungarian settlers and priests. The main cause of conflict originated from the language of the mass.[63] For example, the Hungarian Levente priests served masses in Hungarian only for soldiers and local students. Except for Čakovec, the liturgy was held in Croatian, meanwhile settled Hungarians tried to sing in Hungarian during the sermons. It was a completely new phenomenon for the local Croatian priests. There were conflicts between a new Hungarian choirmasters and the local Croatian priests too.[64] Lots of priests were accused or reported for smuggling Croatian books from Croatia. The parish priest of Nedelišće was accused because he did not distribute Hungarian prayer books among people.[65] In Pribislavec, a local threw a stone at the Hungarian teacher on the street when he heard that she sang along with the children in Hungarian.[66] It was a divisive question of whether locals cooperate with the Hungarian authorities or resist them. The situation also resulted in several clashes between locals during the Hungarian occupation and after the Second World War.

As the frontline approached Međimurje in 1944, the situation deteriorated. The deportation of 605 Jews from Međimurje via Nagykanizsa to Auschwitz-Birkenau was carried out by the Hungarian authorities on 21 May 1944. From the Jewish Community of Čakovec (800 people) only 70 people survived the war. It is important to mention that several Jews in Međimurje supported the unification with Hungary.

[61] "Muraköz–Megyimurje" 20.08.1942, vol.38, no. 33, p. 2.
[62] Državni Arhiv za Međimurje (Later: DAM), Kotarski sud Čakovec, 1941–1945; Kotarski sud Prelog 1941–1945.
[63] NAZ, Fond Generalni Vikarijat za Međimurje, MV 37/1944.
[64] NAZ, Fond Generalni Vikarijat za Međimurje, MV 282/1943.
[65] DAM, Kotarski sud Čakovec 1942, B 4101-4200, III/26.
[66] DAM, Kotarski sud Čakovec 1942, Pl. 4001-4100/1942 II 27.

There were also partisan actions in Međimurje after the second half of 1943. The partisans attacked railways, oil wells, and police stations. The Hungarian authorities accused Croatian priests of collaboration with communist partisans. The Hungarian soldiers killed several partisans and condemned those people who allegedly collaborated with them. On 6 April 1945, the Bulgarian Communist troops liberated Čakovec, thereafter the Soviet soldiers and the members of the Kalnik Partisan squad arrived. The fights in the territory of Međimurje continued until 12 April 1945 when Štrigova was also liberated from Nazi troops.

Međimurje after World War Two

After the end of War, those who allegedly collaboratorated with the paramilitary Ustasha Crusaders (Križari) were detained, among them, several local priests were under suspicion. The new authorities prevented the clerks from fulfilling their duties. As an example, they could not visit the villages because of the vicinity of borderline.[67] They did not have permission to teach in the local schools and to get passports. Initially Yugoslavia and the Croatian Border Commission had territorial claims in Hungary (along the Raba, Mur and Drava River until spring 1946). The authorities in Belgrade tried to convince South Slavs still living in Hungary to join to Yugoslavia. However, later Tito strived for establishing good relationship with Budapest.[68] The ethnic conflicts erupted between Croats and Slovenians regarding to the Štrigova Municipality—the official government proposed Slavic unity, so it was very important for the communist leadership. The Štrigova Municipality was finally split between the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Republic of Croatia in 1946. Surprisingly, the local Croats referred to the period of the Hungarian rule because at that time the border of Međimurje was not changed.

During the alienation period (as a consequence of Tito–Stalin split), the bridge of the Mur River was closed in August 1948. Croats from Međimurje could not cultivate their vineyards in the "Hungarian" riv-

[67] V. Kalšan, *Muraköz történelme*, Csáktornya 2014, pp. 378–379.

[68] Á. Hornyák, *Határkijelölés, határsáv és a magyarországi délszlávok. Vitás kérdések a magyar–jugoszláv kapcsolatokban a második világháború után*, [in:] *Magyarok és szerbek a változó határ két oldalán, 1941–1948. Történelem és emlékezet*, eds. Á. Hornyák, L. Bíró, Budapest 2016, p. 320.

erside of Mur River. It was common for Croats in Eastern Međimurje because Eastern Međimurje was very flat, meanwhile the hills of Letenye were very close to Croatian settlements. This caused several problems, for example, their lands were confiscated by local Hungarians or collectivized by the state.

A 15 km-wide border zone was formed in the summer of 1950 with an increased number of border-guards. Within the "South Defence System", more than 5,000 bunkers, shelters, and firing positions were built until 1955. During this period, there was a massive propaganda campaign between Hungary and Yugoslavia. Both government punished the respective Croatian and Hungarian minorities. The border zone was temporarily abolished in January 1956, and finally in 1965. In February 1957, it was reintroduced thanks to the events of 1956. During these years the size of the zone changed.[69]

At the beginning of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, Tito was well-disposed towards the events in Hungary but he rapidly changed his mind (he worried that the revolution would spread over to Yugoslavia). Only the Croatian exile press supported the Hungarian Revolution openly. However, the official press condemned the events, yet, Tito accepted the Hungarian refugees. Firstly, the agents and leaders of the political police came to Yugoslavia, than the civilians followed them; twenty eight camps were created (twelve in Croatia). Twenty thousand Hungarians fled to Yugoslavia and 642 people were in the temporary camp of Čakovec, in the castle of the Zrinski. Later on, almost all of the refugees fled to Western Europe.[70]

Not just the physical border was closed, but the Croatian–Hungarian relations touched bottom as well. At that time, it was difficult to talk openly about the conflicts between local Croatian priests and Hungarian authorities during World War Two. As like in the every socialist republic of Yugoslavia, the role of the partisan movement was highlighted in Croatia. The Museum of Čakovec, which was opened in 1954, organized a permanent exhibition about the partisan actions against Hungarians during World War Two. Until 1990, there were footraces organized every year on 6 April in Čakovec in memory of the liberation from Hungary. This date is celebrated as a day of the liberation of Međimurje from Nazi occupation. Then, Čakovec played an important role during the Croatian War of Independence, since Međimurje was the first county which was liberated from the Yugoslav

[69] Ibidem, pp. 328–335.
[70] A. Hegedűs, *Az 1956-os forradalom és Jugoszlávia*, Budapest 2010, p. 62.

People's Army in 1991.[71] 7,700 people from Međimurje fought in this war. On 23 September 2005, the Croatian Sabor declared 9 January as a memorial-day for the events of 9 January 1919 when Međimurje was separated from Hungary.[72] According to the official website of the Parliament in Zagreb, this date represents the unity of the Croatian territories.[73] The War of Independence triggered a tangible shift in the Croatian historiography, therefore, there are fewer anti-Hungarian sentiments in the local historiography of Međimurje also.

However, the public discourse about the Hungarian legacy has only been started recently. The memory of Hungarian authority is still present in Međimurje and regularly recalled in the form of memorial days (9 January, 6 April). Moreover, the contemporary intellectual cooperation between Croatia and Hungary is very fruitful (for example, the researches about the Zrinski/Zrínyi family).[74]

Summary

Međimurje (Muraköz) administratively belonged to the Hungarian Kingdom from the 11th century until 1918 (except between 1848–1861), it was part of the Zala County. Nevertheless, from the perspective of Church administration, it belonged to the archdiocese of Zagreb. Before the 18th century, the dual suzerainty in Međimurje was not a political problem because Hungary and Croatia were under the same crown. After the birth of nationalism, it became an urgent ques-

[71] Collection about the Croatian War of Independence (*Zbirka Međimurje u Domovinskom ratu*) was organized by Ana Šestak, Muzej Međimurje Čakovec, https://mmc.hr/zbirka-medimurje-u-domovinskom-ratu/ [access: 29.11.2019].

[72] *Domorodci! Medjimurci! Suženjstvu je našemu kraj! Izložba povodom 100. obljetnice odcjepljenja Međimurja od mađarske države*, eds. A. Šestak, Čakovec 2019, p. 59. In January 2019, there was 100. anniversary of the estrangement of Međimurje from Hungary. The Museum of Međimurje with the Nikola Zrinski Library and the State Archive of Međimurje organized an exhibition with the title "Exhibition about the 100 anniversary of the split from Hungary". According to the work plan of the Museum, the aim was to show the historical process of how Međimurje estranged from Hungary and joined the "mother" Croatia and to introduce the exhibition to the wider public especially for students.

[73] https://www.sabor.hr/hr/o-saboru/povijest-saborovanja/vazni-datumi/9-sijecnja-dan-donosenja-rezolucije-o-odcjepljenju [access: 29.11.2019].

[74] D. Sokcsevits, *A Zrínyiek helye és emlékezete az újkori (XIX–XX. századi) horvát történelmi és nemzeti tudatban*, [in:] *Határok fölött. Tanulmányok a költő, katona, államférfi Zrínyi Miklósról*, eds. S. Bene, P. Fodor, G. Hausner, J. Padányi, Budapest 2017, pp. 225–237.

tion that how can acquire both authorities in Međimurje. The contradiction increased because the absolute majority of the population spoke in Croatian but the territory administratively belonged to Hungary. During the Dualist period, the leaders of Zala County had many attempts to assimilate the Croats of Međimurje but merely the town of Čakovec (Csáktornya) started to be Magyarized. Only the Croatian lower clergy could resist forcefully against Hungarization attempts. The end of World War I resulted in a chaotic situation in Međimurje, then the arrival of Croatian–Serbian troops changed the political situation in the region.

Hungarians maintained the historical claim to Međimurje until World War Two. In 1941, Hungary took advantage of the opportunity and occupied Međimurje with the consent of Germany. Even though they militarily occupied Međimurje, the future of the region was remained uncertain, because the Independent State of Croatia also laid claim for this territory. Finally, Hungary introduced civil administration in Međimurje in July 1941. Similar to the Dualist period, only the local clergy could defend the Croatian interests in Međimurje (with the help of the archiepiscopal vicariate). During the war, several clashes occurred between Hungarian authorities and local Croatian civilians. Nevertheless, after 1945, it never became a serious question of whether Međimurje was an integral part of Croatia. Despite ethnic tensions in the past, contemporary intellectual cooperation between Croatia and Hungary is very fruitful and hopefully, it will attract more attention to the region.

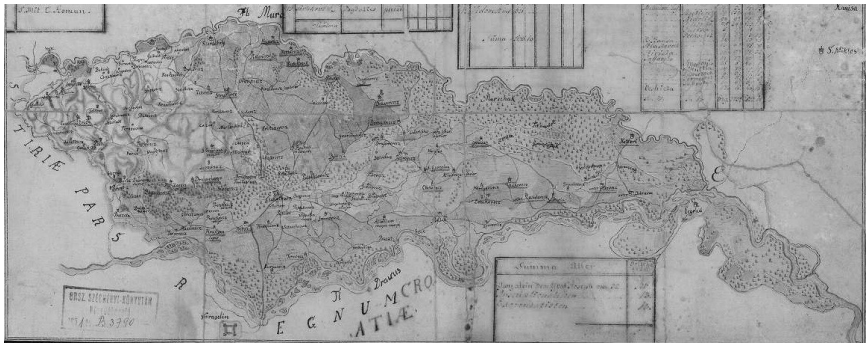

Fig. 1: Topographic map of Međimurje/Muraköz in 1750, source: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, TK 354, Hungaricana, Térképek és építészeti tervek, https://maps.hungaricana.hu/hu/OSZKTerkeptar/353/ [access: 29.11.2019].

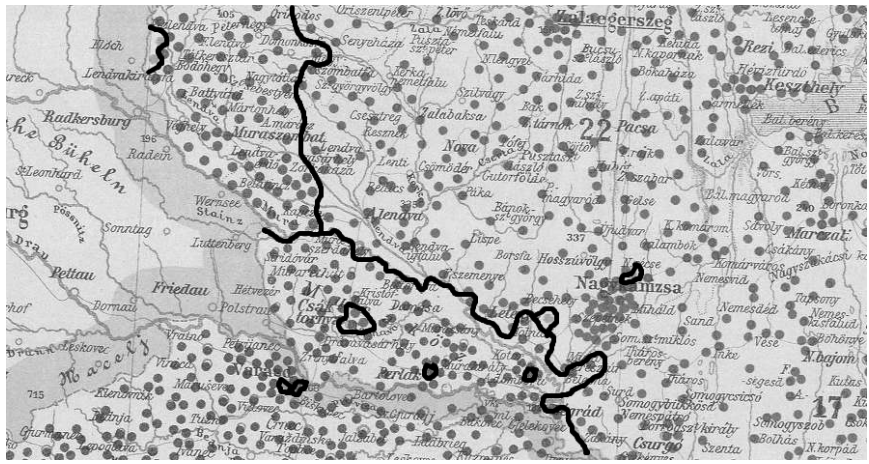

Fig. 2: The ethnic composition of Međimurje in 1910, source: Klösz György és fia, Budapest, Magyarország néprajzi térképe az 1910. évi népszámlálás adatainak alapján, Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, B IX c 1041, https://maps.hungaricana.hu/hu/HTITerkeptar/2727/ [access 29.11.2019].

Fig. 3: Hungarian irredentist posters by A. Helbing about the separation of Međimurje from Hungary in 1918–1920, source: Bessó Károly Grafikai Műintézete, Muzem Međimurje Čakovec, 11640.

Fig. 4: Hungarian irredentist posters by A. Helbing about the separation of Međimurje from Hungary in 1918–1920, source: Kellner és Mohrlüdler Nyomda, Budapest, 1921, graphic A. Helbing, Pomurski Muzej Murska Sobota, 510:MUS-Z-2050.

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Abstract

Until 1918 Međimurje belonged to Zala County, Hungary (except between 1848–1861) but ecclesiastically the region was a part of the diocese of Zagreb (since 1852 archdiocese). This situation induced dual authority in Međimurje. In the second half of 1918, the region had to face chaotic circumstances—on 24 December 1918, Croatian volunteer troops moved into Međimurje. Between 1941 and 1945, Međimurje once again was a part of Hungary but only for a short period of time. After the World War II, it became clear that Međimurje would be a definitive part of Croatia. The paper highlights the role of

the Catholic Church in the "dual authority" of the region throughout the centuries.

Keywords: Međimurje (Muraköz), regional history, Central Europe, border studies, Croatian–Hungarian relations

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HISTORY IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE.
RESISTANCE IN COMMUNIST DICTATORSHIPS AFTER 1945 IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE WITH A FOCUS ON HUNGARY AND AGRICULTURE

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Introduction

The history of Central and Eastern Europe was affected throughout centuries by the interaction of countries, nations, people, cultures, economies, and traditions. On the pages of this history independence and freedom were among the terms which had the most significant impact on the thinking of the next generations. Identity was shaped and culture was developed because of events linked to independence movements and freedom fights. This topic has special significance for Poland, for Hungary as well. The geographical location of these countries determined their future. Slower development in a political, economic, and social sense was caused undoubtedly by the occupation of foreign forces, Poland was not on the map of Europe for many periods of time, but the Polish spirit and soul remained there which made it possible to restore their state and to resurrect from the dust.

The 20th century was a real challenge for the countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Conservatism, nationalism, and then communism were among the ideologies which caused deep wounds in the economy and society. The search for freedom of individuals was developed to larger and more complex structures in dictatorships, for instance to movements and other forms of resistance. One could assume if the instruments of repressive authorities were the same or similar, then the

reactions of society were similar or even the same. In the second half of the 20th century, almost 45 years long communist parties ruled whole Central and Eastern Europe. The goal of uprisings and freedom fights in this region was independence as in the previous many centuries. Occupation and Sovietization meant the abolition of old structures of the society and economy by adopting the Soviet communist state model. Focusing on this time period, forms, and types of resistance against communist dictatorships should be evaluated in international, comparative, and interdisciplinary aspects.

Regarding this research topic, the following questions could be raised: How did the Soviet occupying force and local communist parties handle and control the underground resistance movements? To what extent were the resistances in countries of the "socialist bloc" different? How did the social, economic, legal, and cultural transformation affect the nation in general and the individual in particular? Which factors led to a revolution or to an uprising, what unified people on the local level? How informed were people about events in countries of the "socialist bloc"? What kind of effects of revolutions and uprisings had on communist regimes in countries in Central and Eastern Europe? Why there was no major revolution and freedom fight in the "socialist bloc" against repression in the 1950s? Did resistance form the communist dictatorships? Does the use of terms depend on the extent of area, time, and forms of resistance concerning revolution and uprising? What kind of effect did revolution and uprising have on economic, agrarian, and social policy? How many people left the countries because of repression? What kind of comparison can be applied? Which types of sources can be analyzed? Had the communist regimes at the international level intentionally organized party and state to prevent and repress uprisings or revolutions?[1] This study puts methodological and theoretical questions in the foreground and tries to give ideas to this topic.

The resistance is not a neglected topic in the literature; country analyses contain chapters on it and studies for example on the economy, society ones elaborate it from various aspects. More volumes can be found in English and in German, and some studies apply a compara-

[1] For example, the Warsaw Pact of 1955 was to prevent the military intervention of foreign forces or to coordinate the war against „capitalist countries," North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), to suppress domestic opponents, uprisings, and revolutions.

tive perspective, some studies present case studies.[2] However, in-depth analyses are rare; comparisons are harder to be found. What is the reason for this? In each country, specific events, persons, and movements are often in the focus, for example, resistance in the countryside in Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia, the uprising in Czechoslovakia and in the GDR in 1953, in Poland in 1956, in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the revolution, and freedom fight in Hungary in 1956.[3]

The resistance and freedom fight in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the 19th and in the first half of the 20th century can be compared because of their aims, common features, even because of interrelations and connections. Here could be mentioned the year of 1848 or that how the term "revolution" could be misused by radical ideologies in the 20th century. In these cases, there could have relations between states, nations, groups, and individuals, which makes international and comparative methods more relevant. The years of 1944/1945 began a new chapter in the history of Central and Eastern Europe, however, we should take a look at long-term processes and previous events to understand how societies in the region reacted

[2] J. Sharman, *Repression and Resistance in Communist Europe*, London- New York 2018; *Revolution and Resistance in Eastern Europe: Challenges to Communist Rule*, eds. M. Stibbe, K. Mcdermott, New York 2006; *Die ostmitteleuropäischen Freiheitsbewegungen 1953–1989. Opposition, Aufstände und Revolutionen im kommunistischen Machtbereich*, hrsg. A. H. Apelt, R. Grünbaum, J. Can Togay, Berlin 2014; *Oppositions- und Freiheitsbewegungen im früheren Ostblock*, hrsg. M. Agethen, G. Buchstab, Freiburg 2003; Regarding the Polish events in 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976, and 1980, see the comparative approach of Jerzy Eisler, *The "Polish Months": Communist-ruled Poland in Crisis*, Warsaw 2019. See also the article by Barbara J. Falk, who gave a historiographical overview of the resistance and dissent. She also detailed the current trends of research and pointed out the need for comparative, interdisciplinary, and transnational studies: B. J. Falk, *Resistance and Dissent in Central and Eastern Europe*, "East European Politics and Societies" 2011, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 318–360, especially pages 347–349; On the communist crimes, terror, and repression see S. Courtois et. al., *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror and Repression*, Cambridge 1999; The volume was controversial for many scholars and the public; it was praised and criticized at the same time. It detailed communist crimes, for example genocides, mass executions by forced labor, deportation, and artificial famine. See also: A. Paczkowski, *The Storm over the Black Book*, "The Wilson Quarterly" 2001, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 28–34; Y. N. Maltsev, *The Soviet Experience: Mass Murder and Public Slavery*, "The Independent Review" 2017, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 183–189.

[3] The review article of Paweł Sasanka on the book of Jerzy Kochanowski offers various views on historical approaches (social, political) related to events in 1956–1957 in Poland, as well as on the whole process, effects, and legacy. P. Sasanka, *On the 'Inter-October Revolution (1956–1957)': The History of a Radical Social Change in Poland as Viewed by Jerzy Kochanowski*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 2019, vol. 126, no. 3, pp. 97–117.

to changes from above. The communist dictatorships were established and they were based on the repression of societies, and this can be considered as a common point for comparison. The time period of 1945–1990 can be divided assumingly into more periods in which the possibility of a revolution or an uprising was higher or lower. Evaluating the epoch of state communism after 1945 as a line can be concluded in the past of Central and Eastern Europe where resistance and searching for liberty and independence have a long tradition.[4] From this point of view, the second half of the 20th century shaped further the common history of this part of Europe regarding this research topic.

History in comparative, transnational, and interdisciplinary perspective

The comparison is one of the methodological and theoretical approaches which can provide us a deeper understanding of the history of Central and Eastern Europe.[5] The second half of the 20th century is a perfect period to find subjects in this regard, which can be put into an international and interdisciplinary context. Interrelations, connections, similarities, and peculiarities of processes can be evaluated in comparative, transnational, and interdisciplinary perspectives. Comparative legal history is a method of jurists and historians to analyze various political and legal systems. The existence of communist dictatorships in Central and Eastern Europe was mainly dependent on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. However, Yugoslavia chose "another way to socialism" and was "independent," the Romanian communist regime is described in the literature as a "national communist" state. The Hungarian and Polish communist systems had peculiarities, which made them "softer" than the communist system in the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, or Czechoslovakia. The geographical location was assumingly more significant too: The regime in Albania remained more Stalinist, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia were direct neighbors of Western "capitalist countries" as Hungary as well.

[4] *Die ostmitteleuropäischen Freiheitsbewegungen*, op. cit., pp. 22–24.

[5] About the historical comparison, comparative method, and theory: *Geschichte und Vergleich. Ansätze und Ergebnisse international vergleichender Geschichtsschreibung*, hrsg. H. G. Haupt, J. Kocka, Frankfurt am Main 1996, pp. 9–45; *Comparative and Transnational History. Central European Approaches and New Perspectives*, eds. H. G. Haupt, J. Kocka, New York-Oxford 2012, pp. 1–30.

In the Soviet power sphere and beyond, communist dictatorships tried to realize the basic elements of "socialism." For many countries, the Soviet communist state model offered and probably was a pattern in a political, economic, social, legal, and cultural sense. From this point of view imitating partly or entirely Soviet institutions became practice, even obligatory in the Soviet power sphere. The Soviet foreign policy, Soviet relations with countries of the "socialist bloc," and the extent of intervention and interaction should be taken into account to analyze this research subject and to put it in historical context.

Transforming the economy and society could not occur in the dictatorships without the repression. Was the extent of resistance depended on the repression scale? Assumingly it was partly dependent on it and local circumstances as well. My main research field is the land policy of the communist party in Hungary in 1944/1945–1967. Concerning agrarian, cooperative, and land policy, the resistance of the peasantry against repressive measures caused by these policies should be evaluated. Forced collectivization and cooperativization of agriculture meant terror and misery in the countryside. Various groups of the peasantry were affected, for instance, peasants with larger agricultural estates labelled generally as "kulaks", small and middle peasants, agricultural workers, and landowners who did not cultivate the land themselves. The peasantry as a social group was not homogeneous but most of the agrarian population were landowners after the implementation of land reforms. Their attitude was simple and clear: They stuck to their land and property rights. That makes it possible to analyze the complexity of this topic in the mentioned aspects and to try to point out new conclusions on the peasantry, private land use and ownership, repressions, criminal policy, legislation, and resistance. Complex analysis can highlight different points regarding these topics: evolution of criminal legislation, the codification of criminal law, including regulation on amnesty, its function, and use. The main subject of comparison is resistance in the countryside, its forms, and types linked to criminal policy and criminal law. The criminal cases and legislation reflect types and forms of resistance. However, it is disputed in the literature that to what extent sources of this kind can be considered as relevant primary or secondary sources.[6] It seems self-evident to search for sources

[6] Gy. Gyarmati, *A Rákosi-korszak. Rendszerváltó fordulatok évtizede Magyarországon 1945–1956*, Budapest 2013, pp. 271–272; However, a meeting was recently organized which explored how archival documents of Hungarian secret state police during the communist dictatorship could be used to analyze resistance in Hungary. https://gyanusmuveszek.

of resistance among those who resisted a dictatorship but we should maybe think in the opposite direction to understand resistance in the whole period. The persons, who opposed the system, were in the eyes of the regime "criminals" and "enemies of the people." So what kind of sources could reveal who opposed the system as a "criminal"? For instance, the sources of courts and the Ministry of Justice.

The spheres of power were not separated, the judiciary system as a whole served the party's interests. The documents of courts, law enforcement, and secret police allow us to use quantitative methods, to analyze the trends of specified cases concerning popular resistance and opposition. The law, legislation, and judiciary system were the instrument of repression. The legal acts which caused forced transformation provoked also the resistance of the population. The legislation reflects how people reacted to state policies, and also reactions of the party-state to different types and forms of resistance, such as revolution and how the state tried to avoid it, prevent, or punish undesirable behaviors, etc. The law was used to avoid and prevent imminent unrest or to cease the effects of uprisings or revolutions. In my opinion, legal history is one of the most relevant research fields which can provide us more information on the history of this region in a comparative and transnational view.

The comparative approach can be applied regarding levels of societal structures: individuals (a person, a family), localities (a group, a part of the society, a village, or a city), a region or geographical territory (a county, a geographical region), more individuals, localities, or regions within one country (for instance, in the Soviet Union, in the countries of "socialist bloc"), or between more countries.

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wordpress.com/ [Access: 28.09.2019]; See also the COURAGE project, which deals with the topic of cultural dissent under communism regimes in a historical view, funded by the European Union: http://cultural-opposition.eu/ [Access: 28.09.2019]; On the use of sources of state security and state police see: B. J. Falk, op. cit., p. 340; Many studies analyze repression, violence, and resistance by elaborating the history of communist state police: R. Butler, *Stalin's Secret Police: A History of the CHEKA, OGPU, NKVD, SMERSH & KGB*, London 2018; P.R. Gregory, *Terror by Quota: State Security from Lenin to Stalin*, New Haven-London 2009; P. Lagenloh, *Stalin's Police: Public Order and Mass Repression in the USSR, 1926–1941*, Baltimore 2009; *Stalinist Terror in Eastern Europe: Elite Purges and Mass Repression*, eds. K. Mcdermott, M. Stibbe, Manchester-New York 2012; D.R. Shearer, *Social Disorder, Mass Repression, and the NKVD during the 1930s*, "Cahiers du Monde Russe" 2001, vol. 42, no. 2/4, pp. 505–534; B. Szalontai, *The Dynamic of Repression: The Global Impact of the Stalinist Model 1944–1953*, "Russian History" 2002, vol. 29, no. 2 /4, pp. 415–442; A. G. Walder, *Rebellion and Repression in China, 1966–1971*, "SocialScience History" 2014, vol. 38, no. 3–4, pp. 513–539.

Types and forms of resistance. Types of sources

First of all, the definition of resistance should be cleared to clarify the types and forms of resistance. The resistance does mean in this context every activity of individuals who tried to counteract the implementation of repressive policies of the illegitimate communist leadership of the state.[7] The types of resistance could be differenced as follows: passive or active, individual or collective.[8] Within these types, the following forms of resistance can be observed: economic, cultural, social, and military. However, this is just a formal categorization of larger or smaller structures within the state, economy, and society, because these types and forms could be combined and interrelated. Moreover, more terms should be clearly defined such as unrest, popular protest, riot, revolt, rebellion, uprising, insurrection, freedom fight, outcry, indignation, revolution, and even not just in English but in other languages as well, for example in German *Aufstand* (*Volksaufstand*), *Erhebung* (*Volkserhebung*), *Revolution*, *Freiheitskampf*, *Freiheitskrieg*, or in Hungarian *felkelés*, *lázadás*, *forradalom*, *szabadságharc*. Some aimed at changing the political system, some at demanding less repression or at taking actions to increase living standards.

Some topics could be raised which emphasize special aspects such as participation of women in the resistance, church, religion, relation of resistance with culture, nation, minorities, propaganda, different narratives on resistance.[9] In communist dictatorships, the people feared

[7] On the definition of resistance see: *Revolution and Resistance in Eastern Europe: Challenges to Communist Rule*, eds. M. Stibbe, K. Mcdermott, New York 2006, pp. 4–6.

[8] Furthermore, the various aspects could be emphasized, according to an article by Barbara J. Falk resistance and dissent was elaborated in the literature in the following aspects: „hidden," political, private/individual, and public. B. J. Falk, op. cit., pp. 320–322.

[9] W. J. Chase, *Enemies within the Gates?: the Comintern and the Stalinist Repression, 1934–1939*, New Haven-London 2001; J. Harris, *The Great Fear: Stalin's Terror of the 1930s*, Oxford 2017; F.J.M. Feldbrugge, *Samizdat and Political Dissent in the Soviet Union*, Leyden 1975; I. Kashtalian, *The Repressive Factors of the USSR's Internal Policy and Everyday Life of the Belorusian Society, 1944–1953*, Wiesbaden 2016; D.R. Shearer, *Policing Stalin's Socialism: Repression and Social Order in the Soviet Union, 1924–1953*, New Haven-London 2009; J. Sherman, *From Revolution to Repression: Soviet Yiddish Writing 1917–1952*, London 2012; P. Holquist, *"Conduct Merciless Mass Terror": Decossackization on the Don, 1919*, "Cahiers du Monde Russe" 1997, vol. 38, no. 1/2, pp. 127–162; D. Johnson, M. Titma, *Repressions against People and Property in Estonia: Immediate and Long-Term Impacts*, "International Journal of Sociology" 1996, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 74–99; A. Kim, *The Repression of Soviet Koreans during the 1930s*, "The Historian" 2012, vol. 74, no. 2, pp. 267–285; J. Morris, *The Polish Terror: Spy Mania and Ethnic Cleansing in*

the state, and the state feared the people. If this could be a hypothesis and a starting point, the above-mentioned sources can be more relevant. Concerning agriculture, more studies can be found which analyze violent methods during collectivization and cooperativization.[10] More significant sources are documents of party organs and various bodies of local government on a local, district, and national levels, furthermore, the documents of courts and law enforcement. Legal provisions on criminal justice reveal main tendencies as well. Some sources refer directly or indirectly to resistive behavior or on resistive actions of people; some contain and mention just intentions. Even if it is just an assumption, sources on resistance were mainly not exaggerated or falsified on a massive scale, but the possibility of exaggeration and falsification was probably larger in the Stalinist period. Sabotage was, for example, a more common charge against people who did not fulfill compulsory delivery. From this point of view, peculiarities, differences, and similarities can be evaluated in comparison. The source criticism should be applied in a more proper way in these cases, because evaluating and analyzing these sources do not "justify" the charges, however, the indictments, charges, and provided information should be read more carefully and more critically. The de-Stalinization period is more interesting because people were rehabilitated and acquitted, and at the same time the offenders who admitted crimes against people were not prosecuted (or just partly and selectively). Sources that could be examined to find out more about resistance are memoirs, flyers, diaries, letters, maybe officially published articles in newspapers, complaints,

the Great Terror, "Europe-Asia Studies" 2004, vol. 56, no. 5, pp. 751–766; V. Narkutė, *The Confrontation Between the Lithuanian Catholic Church and the Soviet Regime*, "New Blackfriars" 2006, vol. 87, no. 1011, pp. 456–475.

[10] Regarding Hungary for example publications of József Ö. Kovács on methods of mass cooperativization of the communist regime. J. Ö. Kovács, *"Sűrített népnevelő". A kollektivizálás tapasztalattörténetei (1958–1959)*, "Korall" 2000, vol. 10, no. 36, pp. 31–54; Idem, *A paraszti társadalom felszámolása a kommunista diktatúrában. A vidéki Magyarország politikai társadalomtörténete 1945–1965*, Budapest 2012; *Állami erőszak és kollektivizálás a kommunista diktatúrában*, eds. S. Horváth, J. Ö. Kovács, Budapest 2015. For instance, in Poland Stanisław Jankowiak wrote a study on the use of repression and collectivization at the local level: S. Jankowiak, *The "Gryfice Scandal" in Poznań: Dealing with Abuses Committed in the Process of Establishing Cooperative Farms in the Poznań Region*, "Studia Historiae Oeconomicae" 2017, vol. 35, pp. 61–71; Regarding Estonia: A. Mai Koll, *The Village and the Class War: Anti-Kulak Campaign in Estonia 1944–1949*, New York-Budapest 2013; Regarding the Soviet Union: R. Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet Collectivization and the Terror Famine*, Oxford 1987; L. Viola, *Peasant Rebels under Stalin. Collectivization and the Culture of Peasants Resistance*, Oxford 1999.

samizdat, photos, or audiovisual materials. These sources can be useful to zoom on the grass-root level, for example, a village or a family.[11]

Revolution and Freedom Fight in Hungary in October–November 1956

Another hypothesis can be related to the topic: Because of tradition in this part of Europe regarding independence movements and freedom fights, I assume that search for sovereignty was a factor that contributed to resistance and uprisings against the repression of communist dictatorships and Soviet occupation. The Soviet Union would not be an exemption, because the communist regime used force to establish its illegitimate state power. However, Central and Eastern Europe as historical and geographical formation shared similarities in political, social, economic, legal, and partly religious sense. Iván Berend T. stated that there was a 500-years delay in the development of Central Europe compared to the West, and the region was mostly occupied between the 15th and 18th centuries.[12] Belonging to the West or the East was seemingly determined by the Soviet occupation from 1944/1945, however, deep-rooted traditional institutions could not have abolished by the regime entirely in the legal system, economy, and society.[13] Maybe the territory was a frontier or a periphery in some aspects, modernization was depended on the interaction of domestic and foreign factors.

From a historical perspective, the difference should be made between uprisings against legitimate-power and non-legitimate power, between aggressor and defender, and between partly or entirely occupied territories. The use of terms like an uprising, revolution, and freedom fight can depend on these differences. The year 1956 was a peak of Hungarian resistance, even though the communist regime eased its hardliner policies during the "new course" and after the twentieth congress of the Soviet communist party in February 1956. It can be speculated that the measures taken in these periods regarding the process

[11] A. Komaromi, *Uncensored: Samizdat Novels and the Quest for Autonomy in Soviet Dissidence*, Evanston 2015.

[12] I. T. Berend, *What is Central and Eastern Europe?*, "European Journal of Social Theory" 2005, vol. 8, no. 4, p. 402.

[13] Regarding the legal system see: H. Slapnicka, *Soviet Law as Model: The People's Democracies in the Succession States*, "American Journal of Jurisprudence" 1963, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 106–121.

contributed in the long-term to the revolution and freedom fight that started on 23 October 1956 and lasted until 10 November 1956.

The communist state model and the system was in crisis in 1952/1953. The agricultural policy was temporarily eased in Romania and the first months of 1953 in Yugoslavia; Stalin's death gave a significant push to this direction in the Soviet Union and whole Central and Eastern Europe. In the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the uprising could not have prevented by the repressive actions, by that time the Hungarian leadership feared similar revolts in Hungary. Before the events in the GDR, an uprising occurred in Czechoslovakia in Plzeň from 31 May to 2 June 1953.[14] The next was Poland in 1956 and Hungary in Autumn, many years later Czechoslovakia in 1968. The Hungarian freedom activists fought directly against the Soviet forces for days, and the entire country took part in the revolution somehow, including the countryside. Without Western help, the Soviets suppressed the revolution. The new communist regime had to continue implementing reform ideas to consolidate power, but it was very paradoxical and contradictory. The Hungarian revolution was the longest armed resistance against Soviet occupation in Central and Eastern Europe. While confronting local communist party members and law enforcement loyal to the regime and Soviet troops, the abolition of "cooperatives" went further even faster in the countryside, peasants reclaimed their property, land, equipment, and livestock, destroyed land registers and property of "cooperatives". The roots of the revolution were basically in the Stalinist period when state terror was everyday practice, the causes and motives were deeply linked to this, furthermore, the rigorous economic and social policy led to unsatisfactory conditions and living standards.[15] Retaliation and consolidation followed the revolution, which largely affected agricultural production and livelihood of the peasantry.

[14] K. Mcdermott, *Popular Resistance in Communist Czechoslovakia: The Plzeň Uprising, June 1953*, "Contemporary European History" 2010, vol. 19, no. 4, pp. 287–307.

[15] Soviet practices of repression were described in many cases as terror or terrorism generally, see: W.H. Chamberlin, *The Evolution of Soviet Terrorism*, "Foreign Affairs" 1934, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 113–121; J.F. Murphy, D.R. Brady, *The Soviet Union and International Terrorism*, "The International Lawyer" 1982, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 139–148.

Resistance in Agriculture during the Communist Dictatorship

The peasant resistance and behavior can be characterized in a very similar way well before and after the revolution in Hungary as well as in all countries in the region. First of all, it should be noted that despite propaganda the farmers of larger agricultural estates labeled as "kulaks" were not considered as the "enemies of the people" by the rural population. They sympathized with them and showed solidarity towards "kulaks," persons who were pursued violently and were in many cases deported. In the countries where this social group was much less in number, for instance in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, the "kulaks" were eliminated earlier. The resistance of the peasantry concerning land ownership was passive, active, directly, and indirectly. In many cases, the farmers did not leave their lands, instead of that the estates were consolidated and so formed into large-scale fields of "cooperatives" or state farms. If the land was taken away, they demanded to give it back or at least compensation. Some people rather took the land back than accepting another. The "kulaks" and middle landowners divided or sold their land property to get the other category of landowners, and so do to decrease their tax burdens. The landowners left "cooperatives" and took their lands back, demanded proper land surveys to secure their property rights and lower taxes, and to abolish compulsory delivery. It was more common that peasants did not fulfill the quotas of compulsory delivery or taxes because they could not do it under the hard economic conditions. Other forms of economic resistance were leaving land uncultivated, concluding land transfer or land lease without allowance of state authorities, or leaving the country illegally. Considering revolution as one of the most significant forms of resistance, active peasant resistance culminated and reached its peak during the revolution in October and in November 1956, while demanding the abolition of compulsory delivery and "cooperatives" the peasants took back the land and other means of production.

In October 1956, more radical forms emerged as mentioned above, for instance destroying land registers and property of "cooperatives."[16] After mass cooperativization and collectivization, many farmers did

[16] More studies in the following volume put the Hungarian revolution and freedom fight in 1956 in the context of agrarian policy: *1956 és a magyar agrártársadalom*, ed. J. Estók, Budapest 2006; Two volumes elaborate revolution in the countryside in detail: *A vidék forradalma, 1956*, vol. 1, eds. A. Szakolczai, L. Á. Varga, Budapest 2003; *A vidék forradalma, 1956*, vol. 2, eds. A. Szakolczai, Budapest 2006.

not go to "cooperatives" to work, they sabotaged machinery and shared fliers. After 1960/1961, much of the land was in common use and it was impossible in practice to take it back in private use, even after leaving the "cooperatives". The private land ownership was gradually or radically abolished, while in two countries, in Yugoslavia and Poland, private farming had prevailed to a higher extent.

I analyze some files from the court of Győr, the city in Northwestern Hungary, to find out how those documents reflect on resistance in the countryside in the first years of the 1960s at the local level. It should be noted that the county Győr-Sopron was the first "fully collectivized" county in the state. After a short time, I found some criminal cases related to resistive behavior and activities against the "cooperative sector." For example, a person marked with an abbreviation L.N. had not given his horse to the "cooperative" after the forceful attachment to it. In autumn 1959, he said that the party cadres of the "cooperative" were rogue, in October 1960, he was working in crop production, when he saw an airplane and told the party and "cooperative" members that shortly planes come and carry them ammunition and then there will be no longer "cooperative". While saying this he cried. He was accused of charges, for instance, incitement to public order and was taken into custody. He was sentenced for six months imprison.[17] In more cases, drunken persons made statements, which were later considered as a threat against "democratic state order" and it led to charges against them with incitement to public order or with threatening people's democracy with overthrowing the communist system.[18] The cases show that relatively more persons were against the communist regime and its policies, even if their livelihood changed and were not in the countryside because they were originated from peasant families and had relatives in the villages.

Resistance, judiciary system, criminal justice, and criminal policy

New legal norms and institutions were established based on Soviet legal theory. Nevertheless, these norms and institutions were instruments to forcedly implement the Soviet model to other countries. For

[17] Case of L.N., National Archives of Hungary, Győr-Moson-Sopron County's Archive Győr (MNL GyMSMGyL), 1959–1960, XXV/11/188, B/806/1960.
[18] For example: case of K.H., MNL GyMSMGyL, XXV/11/187, 116/1960.

example, the legal provisions on securing the "common property" were introduced. The "common property" consisted of state property, the property of various public organizations, and "cooperatives"; it was considered as a higher form of property and "socialist property". The criminal codes were issued in the countries of the "socialist bloc" based on the Soviet penal law which was reformed in the first half of the 1960s. Regarding agriculture, even legislation of "cooperative criminal law" was considered by party cadres in Hungary. Following, adopting, and copying the Soviet practices in the judiciary system were a common trend in the Stalinist period and partly after it.

However, some documents of criminal cases cannot be considered as reliable sources or simply they do not refer to resistance (or do it just indirectly). Taking into account the psychological factor, it is questionable, if drinking alcohol or committing suicide can be evaluated as forms of resistance or maybe as reactions to state policies. The forced cooperativization increased certainly such phenomena. It seems important to note that analyzing types and forms of resistance in the countryside is important and relevant not just in the period of waves of mass cooperativization but beyond. The extent of repression was not the same in the countries in Central and Eastern Europe, even not in the Stalinist period. Maybe this is one more reason to link the types and forms of repression to the topic of the resistance.[19]

A short overview of criminal law reveals legislative actions in the Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe and illustrates legislation in this regard. The criminal codes and laws are basic primary sources.[20] In the Soviet Union, in 1924 and in 1958, the fundamental principles of criminal legislation were promulgated; the criminal code was is-

[19] Regarding the Soviet Union, following book analyses repression and forms of resistive actions of population after death of Stalin: R. Hornsby, *Protest, Reform and Repression in Khrushchev's Soviet Union*, Cambridge 2015. About the connection between resistance and repression see: R. Sharlet, *Dissent and Repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: Changing Patterns since Khrushchev*, "Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis" 1978, vol. 33, no. 4. pp. 763–795.

[20] We could count to basic secondary written sources textbooks on criminal law. The textbook on the general part of Hungarian criminal law contains a legal comparison with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (Soviet, Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Yugoslav, Polish, East German, and Romanian). *Magyar büntetőjog, általános rész*, eds. I. Békés, J. Földvári, Gy. Gáspár, G. Tokaji, Budapest 1980, pp. 456–489. The textbook on Hungarian law enforcement contains legal comparison with "capitalist" and "socialist" countries as well. *Büntetésvégrehajtási jog I*, eds. L. Balogh, T. Horváth, J. Lőrincz, M. Magyar, M. Deme, I. Gláser, L. Banka, Budapest 1983, pp. 61–151.

sued in 1960.[21] In Czechoslovakia, in 1950 and in 1961, in Hungary, the general part in 1950, new criminal code in 1961,[22] in Bulgaria, in 1951, 1956, and 1968,[23] in the German Democratic Republic in 1968, in Poland in 1969, in Romania in 1948 and 1969, in Yugoslavia in 1951 and 1977, the criminal codes were published.[24] Furthermore, the amendments and laws, penitentiary and procedural laws were drafted and promulgated. Taking an example judiciary system, justice policy, criminal policy, and criminal justice were elaborated detailed in historical perspective in the German literature regarding the Soviet Occupation Zone of Germany/German Democratic Republic.[25] Not surprisingly, not just repression, but resistance stand out in the texts.[26] Falco Werkentin's work on political criminal justice during the Ulbricht era takes a logical way to illustrate the functions of political criminal justice in the GDR. Many interesting definitions can be found in German literature: *Erziehungsdiktatur*, *Unrechtsstaat*, *Doppelstaat*. Agriculture stays not in focus, but the "land reform" in 1945, expropriations, and forced collectivization are the main topics of the book. Werkentin names some of the most typical forms of resistance in the early 1960s: farming individually, leaving "cooperatives", and sabotage. Additionally, the state took measures to set an example for

[21] B. S. Nikiforov, *Fundamental Principles of Soviet Criminal Law*, "The Modern Law Review" 1960, vol. 23, no. 1, pp. 31–32; W. Meder, *Das Sowjetrecht. Grundzüge der Entwicklung 1917–1970*, Frankfurt 1971, pp. 480–481.

[22] *Magyar jogtörténet*, eds. B. Mezey, Budapest 1999, pp. 334–337.

[23] H. Slapnicka, op. cit., pp. 115–116.

[24] *Összehasonlító jogtörténet II*, eds. P. Horváth, M. Révész T., I. Stipta, J. Zlinszky, Budapest 1993, pp. 269, 277, 282–283; R. C. Donelly, *The New Yugoslav Criminal Code*, "The Yale Law Journal" 1952, vol. 61, no. 4, p. 510.

[25] J. Raschka, *Justizpolitik im SED-Staat. Anpassung und Wandel des Strafrechts während der Amtszeit Honeckers*, Köln 2000.

[26] F. Werkentin, *Politische Strafjustiz in der Ära Ulbricht. Vom verdeckten Terror zur verdeckten Repression*, Berlin 1995; K. Behling, *Die Kriminalgeschichte der DDR: Vom Umgang mit Recht und Gesetz im Sozialismus, politische Prozesse, skurrile Taten, Alltagsdelikte*, Berlin 2018, p. 84; S. Korzilius, *"Asozialie" und "Parasiten" im Recht der SBZ/DDR*, Wien 2005. In Hungary, there are publications on judiciary system, retaliation after revolution in 1956, show trials, and also volumes of source materials, for instance: Zs. Mikó, *A forradalom utáni megtorlás bírósági és ügyészségi szervezete, 1956–1961*, "Történelmi Szemle" 2006, vol. 48, no. 1–2, pp. 121–169; *Iratok az igazságszolgáltatás történetéhez*, vol. 2, eds. Gy. Szabó, I. Horváth, T. Zinner, P. Solt, J. Zanathy, Budapest 1993. The following volume contains various studies about law development, justice policy, and legal education in countries in Central and Eastern Europe: *Recht im Sozialismus. Analysen zur Normdurchsetzung in osteuropäischen Nachkriegsgesellschaften (1944/45–1989),* vol. 2, eds. G. Bender, U. Falk, Frankfurt am Main 1999.

those who resisted: death penalty, deportation, and forced labor.[27] The author gives in the appendix the exact number of prisoners each year. It is relevant to link criminal justice and justice/criminal policy to topics repression and resistance.

The transformation of the public administration and judiciary system began in the mid-1940s.[28] In the Stalinist period, the Soviet communist state model was officially propagated and widely adopted. The state "enemies" were pursued and punished by the authorities. The law, criminal policy, and judiciary system were an instrument to achieve the transformation of society and economy.

On the other hand, after the death of Stalin in March 1953, the restrictions were eased and persons, who were prosecuted in the previous years, were partly rehabilitated, granted amnesty, or pardoned. According to a study by Zile Zigurds, the Soviets used these terms to make a distinction between specific cases. If someone was innocent but convicted or the law was enforced not properly, he could be rehabilitated. If someone committed a crime, the partial, individual, or collective amnesty could be provided.[29] In the Soviet Union, between 1945 and 1953, there were three amnesties at federal level; between 1953 and 1967—seven.[30]. While evaluating the first months of the "new course" in Hungary in 1953, more interesting measures can be found regarding the agriculture, for instance, in summer 1953 peasants, who were convicted for various crimes and were sentenced imprison, were temporarily released for the harvests. Furthermore, probably based on Soviet practices, the decree on amnesty was promulgated on 26 July 1953. In Czechoslovakia in 1953 more than 15,000 persons were released and later amnesty was extended for military offenders. In the de-Stalinization period, in 1955, a political amnesty was granted for more thousands of people. In Poland, in 1956, the political rehabilitation was issued on 27 April 1956; in Romania amnesty was more limited. In the Soviet Union, in 1955, the rehabilitation and amnesty continued. From the second half of the 1950s, it was almost common in every country to provide amnesty

[27] F. Werkentin, op. cit., pp. 105–110.

[28] H. Slapnicka, op. cit., pp. 109–110; *Magyar jogtörténet*, eds. B. Mezey, Budapest 1999, pp. 330–334.

[29] Z. L. Zile, *Amnesty and Pardon in the Soviet Union*, "The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review" 1976, vol. 3, no. 1, pp. 37–39.

[30] For instance, there was a partial amnesty shortly after Stalin's death on 7 March 1953 and a common amnesty on 27 March 1953. Ibidem, p. 44.

on the anniversary of the liberation of the country or of the foundation of "Peoples' Democratic Republic."[31]

In Hungary, in 1953, the communist party and the Soviet leadership probably prevented an uprising by introducing the "new course." The show trials were partly investigated and the institution of deportation was abolished. After the beginning of 1955, while the Stalinist leadership reemerged, new decrees on amnesty were issued in April. However, in 1955, 87% of the pleas for pardon were rejected. In April 1956, the amnesty had been extended and the Stalinists could not counteract this development: On 6 October László Rajk, the minister of interior, who was convicted in a show trial and executed in October 1949, was reburied. The Presidential Council's resolution on 15 September 1956 prescribed that every plea for pardon should be evaluated, even the ones which were rejected by the Attorney General or by the Ministry of Justice. Nearly 2,000 pleas for pardon per month were sent in 1956. In Hungary, according to archival sources, before the start of the revolution on 23 October, 1,956 drafts on amnesty were prepared and during the revolution, the government promised amnesty for those persons would lay down weapons. The Ministry of Justice drafted a decree on amnesty before the revolution started on 23 October 1956, however, the document is dated on 25 October. According to the archival sources, more drafts were prepared: on 1 November, in mid-November, and in December. In the first half of November, the Ministry of Justice announced a decree on the facilitation of the return of people who left the country after 23 October (more than 200,000 people fled the country at that time).[32] The decree would have provided collective amnesty for people who were sentenced in civilian prosecution or received military penalties until 23 October. The draft on 1 November extended the period until the document came into force. This draft would not have given amnesty for the former members of the ÁVH (secret state police) who carried out an armed attack against revolutionaries or gave the order to attack them. Ultimately, however, that version of the decree was not issued. The amnesty for

[31] http://www.totalita.cz/vez/vez_hist_amnestie.php [Access: 26.09.2019]; http://www.memorialsighet.ro/decretul-de-gratiere-nr-3101964/ [Access: 26.09.2019]; http://soviet-history.msu.edu/1954-2/prisoners-return/prisoners-return-texts/first-post-stalin-amnesty/ [Access: 26.09.2019]; https://mult-kor.hu/cikk.php?id=38627 [Access: 26.09.2019].

[32] Classified and confidential documents on implementation of amnesty, National Archives of Hungary, National Archives (MNL OL), XIX-E-1-c 270 0105/3/1953; Strictly classified documents on amnesty, MNL OL XIX-E-1-z 78 00315/1/1956.

people, who left the country after 23 October and returned within a limited time, was regulated by a decree released on 1 December. The decree on partial amnesty was published more than two years later, in April 1959. After suppressing the revolution and freedom fight, the new communist regime used amnesty to consolidate power. In 1959 and 1960, partial amnesty was granted, in 1964—general. In Yugoslavia, in 1962; in other countries after mass cooperativization: for instance, in Romania, in 1964; in the GDR, in 1964; in Czechoslovakia, in 1962 and 1965.[33] Probably in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, there were most of the amnesties granted. But the question is if the amnesty policy of communist dictatorships reduced the predisposition of people to resist, for instance, in the countryside?

In Hungary, 70,000–80,000 persons were labeled as the "kulaks", furthermore, their relatives were subject to persecution. Between 1948 and 1953, approximately 400,000 persons were sentenced; at the peak of Stalinism in the early years of the 1950s, authorities charged approximately 850,000 persons and conducted prosecution about one million cases.[34] Similar to the Soviet legislation, legal protection of

[33] On amnesty in the GDR: F. Werkentin, op. cit., pp. 384–388.

[34] Gy. Gyarmati, op. cit., pp. 267–268; On the other hand, the authorities referred to the resistance of the peasantry in many cases to prove that the „class struggle" is real, to intimidate the population, furthermore, they held show trials. The hundreds of thousands were convicted for "crimes", including "cooperative" members, agricultural workers, middle, and small farmers, "kulaks." É. Cseszka, *Gazdasági típusú perek, különös tekintettel az FM perre (1945–1953)*, Budapest 2012, pp. 148–149. The purges and show trials within the communist party can be considered as a special type of repression. In many cases, it aimed to create fear among the cadres and to increase their willingness to follow the party's orders. The leaders and party members were prosecuted and sentenced, deported, and executed. Not just in the Soviet Union, but in all communist dictatorships deportation to forced-labor camps, displacement, and repatriation were specific forms of repression. The resistance concerning deportation (to Gulag in the Soviet Union), labor camps, is part of studies: N. Adler, *Keeping Faith with the Party: Communist Believers Return from the Gulag*, Bloomington 2012; L. Viola, *Stalinist Perpetrators on Trial: Scenes from the Great Terror in Soviet Ukraine*, New York 2017; Eadem, *The Question of Perpetrator in Soviet History*, "Slavic Review" 2013, vol. 72, no. 1, pp. 1–23; M. Jakobson, *Origins of the Gulag: The Soviet Prison Camp System, 1917–1934*, Lexington 1992; B. Bank, Gy. Gyarmati, M. Palasik, *"Állami titok". Internáló- és kényszermunkatáborok Magyarországon 1945–1953*, Budapest 2012; A.J. Frank, *Gulag Miracles: Sufis and Stalinist Repression in Kazakhstan*, Wien 2019; J.S. Hardy, *The Gulag after Stalin: Redefining Punishment in Khrushchev's Soviet Union, 1953–1964*, Ithaca-London 2016; O.V. Khlevniuk, *The History of the Gulag: From Collectivization to the Great Terror*, New Haven- London 2004; T. Krausz, *Gulag. A szovjet táborrendszer története*, Budapest 2001; P. Polian, *Against Their Will: The History and Geography of Forced Migrations in the USSR*, Budapest 2004;

"cooperative" and "socialist" property was put in the foreground. In the Soviet Union, in 1932, more rigorous regulations came into force: Looting and abusing *kolkhoz* property were punished hardly.[35] In Hungary, after starting forced collectivization and cooperativization, the Decree No. 2.110/1949 regulated criminal protection of "cooperatives" and punished hard those who opposed cooperativization. Further punishments were introduced to protect "cooperative" property. The legal provisions gave space for law enforcement to indict and prosecute people without any reason. The Stalinist period culminated in deporting and sentencing people to forced labor in labor camps without indictments and trials.

Conclusions

The identity and national independence were key elements in forming new countries in Central and Eastern Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries. The regimes which arbitrary and violently used state power to extract resources and "energy" from the economy and society paradoxically organized multiple levels of society against illegitimate state actions. The communist dictatorship was just one of such regimes. The resistance as a topic can be analyzed by different approaches and methods, but I would like to emphasize interdisciplinary, transnational, and comparative perspectives to understand historical problems. The history, law, economics, sociology, and psychology are among disciplines that could use these perspectives and methods. The connections, interactions, analogies, and interrelations between communist states, repressive instruments, and resistance can be put in context in the transnational view. Beyond nations and national boundaries, the common history and experiences like struggles for the development and modernization can be explored regarding Central and Eastern Europe. Many hypotheses could be related to this topic, maybe the two

A. Szolzsenyicin, *A Gulag-szigetvilág 1–3*, Budapest 2018; N. Adler, *Enduring Repression: Narratives of Loyalty to the Party Before, During and After the Gulag*, "Europe-Asia Studies" 2010, vol. 62, no. 2, pp. 211–234; A. Applebaum, *Gulag: A History of the Soviet Camps*, New York-London 2004; J. Carmichael, *Stalin's Masterpiece: The Show Trials and Purges of the Thirties, the Consolidation of the Bolshevik Dictatorship*, London 1976; G. Hodos, *Show Trials: Stalinist Purges in Eastern Europe, 1948–1954*, Praeger 1987; I. Csicsery-Rónay, G. Cserenyey, *Koncepciós per a Független Kisgazdapárt szétzúzására 1947*, Budapest 1998; Gy. Dupka, *Koncepciós perek magyar elítéltjei 1944–1957*, Budapest 1993.

[35] *Összehasonlító jogtörténet*, op. cit., pp. 170–171.

most important are these two: (1) people feared state and state feared people, (2) searching for independence, sovereignty, and autonomy was traditionally a factor in Central and Eastern Europe when people confronted state or occupying forces. Furthermore, many topics regarding the economy, society, law, and culture can be linked to each other; resistance and opposition can be analyzed within these research projects in comparison. An example is an agriculture and rural population. If we want to understand how the "kulak" families resisted and reacted to state policies, we should take a look at the legal system and measures against "kulak" families (for instance, party decisions, official decrees, and legal provisions). Regarding this example, it is hard to estimate if there was any correlation between repressive legal actions by the party-state and the resistance scale. It is also hard to explain if there was a chance of a major revolution in Poland, in Yugoslavia, or Romania in the whole period, and to what extent the Soviet criminal law affected the legislation of countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Furthermore, it is questionable, if, in 1953, a major uprising or revolution could have happened in the region. Maybe the types of resistance can be related to forms (social, cultural, economic, military, and civil) which could become the subjects of research and comparison. The main aim of the communist dictatorships was to abolish private property or at least to minimize it. Many forms of resistance were linked to this issue.

Whether from above or from below, the comparative approach makes it possible to find connection points and sources, which reflects on the reaction, aim, and achievement of society as well as a state. The forced cooperativization and the whole transformation process in the countryside make the topic more relevant. The peasants' mentality, rural networks (more generations lived in one household, relatives, etc.) did affect trends of resistance in specific regions. The criminal system, laws, and cases are sources of historical analysis, especially when focusing on violence, repression, and resistance. The typology of oppression and opposition are discussed in the literature, however, types and forms of resistance and repression should point out categories to make the comparative method more effective and to apply properly quantitative and qualitative approaches. The criminal law and legislation were instruments of the transformation of society and economy. In this regard, criminal cases and political criminal law can reflect on types and forms of resistance. The comparative legal history can also contribute to knowledge on trends, analogies, peculiarities, and differences

of the criminal policy of communist regimes in the region. Another significant aspect of the research is the interpretation of resistance in the communist dictatorships and definitions which were constructed and designed by ideological preconceptions, like the "counter-revolution."

The major active resistance as a protest, uprising, unrest, revolution, and freedom fight can be evaluated in context. The causes, effects, and consequences were part of the process and divide even periods. The lack of legitimacy and sovereignty could increase the possibility of larger resistance movements; however, that could be a simple generalization of the issue. On the other hand, the national communism, soft communism, or "national way to communism" did not guarantee that people remained silent. It can be assumed that the opposing communist state model from below contributed to reforms from above, but this statement could be another simple generalization. The cases of Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the GDR show different measures, responses, and consequences in the long-term period. "Socialist legality" and "democratic centralism" remained official slogans for decades. The popular resistance, dissent, and state control clashed in everyday life, central power sought to deaden dissatisfaction, although some types and forms of resistance could not change. Additionally, in the 1980s, the Perestroika, organized opposition, "negotiating" of the peaceful revolution (or simply just "revolution") in 1989/1990 should be reassessed in other perspectives.

The criminal policy, judiciary system, and legislation aimed at preventing, retaliating, and punishing crimes against new institutions of the communist party-state, and officially to defend and protect the "socialist society and economy" and "socialist state order." The criminal law should have protected centrally planned economy and "collective" or "socialist" property. Additionally, the internal orders, regulations, and officially not published legal provisions created insecurity in all branches of law, and basically a "dual legal system" existed in which remnants of traditional law, adopted and newly formed "socialist law" and unofficial law were parallel in force. There are clear points to connect and focus on and on this topic in comparison. A detailed and thematic analysis could reveal peculiarities and differences, similarities, effects of Soviet law, grade of Soviet control, principles, and development of legal systems. Lastly, in addition to words by Ehrhart Neubert, it could be stated that communist dictatorship forced people to violate the law, meanwhile, people could sue the state because of violating and misusing the law.[36] Raising

[36] *Oppositions- und Freiheitsbewegungen*, op. cit., p. 48.

questions, pointing out hypotheses, and conclusions by the comparison are the further task of historians. The comparative perspective encourages scholars and researchers to cooperate and to work together to better understand their history. Expanding and strengthening cultural relationships between countries in the transnational aspect is necessary and essential to learn more about the history of the region.

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Abstract

Europe was divided by ideologies almost in the entire second half of the twentieth century. Central and Eastern Europe was the place where the communist experiment sought to transform economy, society, culture, law, and the mind of people. Resisting the process was pursued and condemned by the communist dictatorship. Analysis on resistance as research topic can reveal socioeconomic interactions between state and individuals, groups and whole population.

Keywords: Hungary, repression, anti-communist opposition, communism, agriculture

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NOTES TO RESEARCH OF THE NAZI REPPRESIVE POWER IN THE PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA[1]

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Introduction

The Czech (before 1993 Czechoslovak) historiography of World War Two was for a long time mainly focusing on the description of military operations and actions of Czechoslovak resistance (either involved in exile resistance or Czechoslovak army formed in the United Kingdom or the Soviet Union or fighting on the "home front"). Resistance fighters played a major role in the narrative of these works, and members of Nazi repressive power involved in fighting the opposition stood behind the scenes. In resistance stories, they were only depicted as an anonymous and foggy group of ruthless Nazi fanatics whose only working methods were brutal investigations, torture, and executions.

Under the influence of Western (mainly German and Anglosaxon) historiography, however, the "Täterforschung" ("Research of perpetrators") has been slowly making its way into the Czech historiography in the last 20 years. The term "Täterforschung" itself originated during the 1990s and is connected with a new generation of mainly German historians who started asking new questions about this topic. The focus

[1] This work was supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic, Grant IGA FF UP (IGA_FF_UP_2020_014 A Society in Historical Development VI).

of these historians also went gradually from head Nazi leaders down to the lower ranks.[2] This fact opened new opportunities for research and historians went slowly down the hierarchy focusing more on the "ordinary men" of the Nazi regime as well.[3]

The situation in the Czech (or at this time yet Czechoslovak) historiography was far more complicated as before the Velvet Revolution in November 1989, even Czechoslovak archives provided only very limited sources and many materials were unreachable for historians. With some luck, historians were only given a limited amount of materials even without information about origin. Historian Stanislav Biman explained difficulties with research before the Velvet Revolution in the interview with Jan Vajskebr: "They [archivists] gave us only a few selected papers. It was a problem as one was not able to see information in context. I did not know from which collection these [papers] are."[4] One can imagine that research in foreign archives was forbidden completely for Czechoslovak historians. It surprises that despite these enormous problems historian Oldřich Sládek was able to write his famous book *Zločinná role gestapa* which was published in 1986 and until recent years was the only complex monography about nazi Secret state police (*Geheime Staatspolizei*, Gestapo) written by a Czech author.[5] However, as newer research showed, this book has become obsolete and many of its conclusions were proven inaccurate or even incorrect. Yet pieces of information from this work were extensively quoted by other authors, and many inaccuracies and myths continued their journey through Czech historiography.[6] Overall said it can be stated that the opening of Czechoslovak archives after 1989 provided the necessary basis for initially slow but continuous development.

[2] About forming the "Täterforschung" direction of research in the German historiography, see *Gestapo za druhé světové války. „Domácí fronta" a okupovaná Evropa*, eds. G. Paul, K.-M. Mallmann, Praha 2010, pp. 9–17.

[3] The author borrowed the term from the book by Christopher R. Browning bearing the same name: Ch. R. Browning, *Ordinary Men. Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, New York 1998.

[4] J. Vajskebr, *„Práci je třeba umět předávat." Rozhovor se Stanislavem Bimanem*, "Paměť a dějiny" 2017, vol. XI, no. 2, p. 71.

[5] O. Sládek, *Zločinná role gestapa. Nacistická bezpečnostní policie v českých zemích 1938–1945*, Praha 1986.

[6] Historian Jan Zumr focuses in his recent paper on the structure of the Prague Gestapo and pointed out all the inaccuracies not only in Sládek's book but also showed the limited picture of the facts about Nazi secret police known in Czech historiography at all. J. Zumr, *Organizační struktura exekutivního a kontrarozvědného oddělení pražského Gestapa*, "Moderní dějiny" 2018, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 251–290.

The young generation of Czech historians, however, started filling those blank spaces in research, although methods of research and archival sources used in those works (and their quality as well) vary a lot. It is a must to mention Vojtěch Kyncl[7] in the first place as this historian discovered archival sources stored in The Central Office of the State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes (*Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen*) in Ludwigsburg and presented these to Czech professional public. It was a groundbreaking moment in Czech historiography as until this time researchers most of the time worked only with sources from Czech archives and archival sources based outside the Czech Republic stood behind without any attention.

To this time, a significant amount of works about the secret state police has been written. From the newest works, one needs to mention: the complex monography by Vladimír Černý, which describes the activity of Gestapo in Brno during the war and connects the topic with postwar lawsuits of former Gestapo officers.[8] Other works include analysis of mass executions during so-called second martial law (started after the assassination of Reinhard Heydrich) by mentioned Vojtěch Kyncl,[9] monography about police forces activity during the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Petr Kaňák, Dalibor Krčmář, and Jan Vajskebr,[10] personnel analysis of the anti-parachutist section of Prague Gestapo by Pavel Kreisinger,[11] and dozens of case studies about selected Gestapo personnel, either written by authors mentioned above. Other authors

[7] Vojtěch Kyncl is famous mainly for his research about burned down villages of Lidice and Ležáky, see i.e. *Ležáky a odboj ve východních Čechách*, eds. V. Kyncl, J. Padevět, Praha 2016; V. Kyncl, *Lidice. Zrození symbolu*, Praha 2015 and others.

[8] V. Černý, *Brněnské gestapo 1939–1945 a poválečné soudní procesy s jeho příslušníky*, Brno 2018. Along with Jan Břečka, Černý edited and published manuscript of former resistance member František Vašek about Gestapo prison located in Kounic college, see F. Vašek, V. Černý, J. Břečka, *Místa zkropená krví. Kounicovy studentské koleje v Brně v letech nacistické okupace 1940–1945*, Brno 2015.

[9] V. Kyncl, *Bez výčitek… Genocida Čechů po atentátu na Reinharda Heydricha*, Praha 2012.

[10] P. Kaňák, D. Krčmář, J. Vajskebr, *S jasným cílem a plnou silou. Nasazení německých policejních složek při rozbití Československa 1938–1939*, Terezín 2014.

[11] P. Kreisinger, *Personální obsazení tzv. protiparašutistického IV 2b pražské řídící úřadovny gestapa v letech 1943–1945. Pokus o rekonstrukci na základě výpovědí hlavního dešifranta podreferátu IV 2b Karla Schnabla a dalších pramenů*, "Historica Olomucensia" 2013, no. 45, pp. 169–203.

include Václav Adamec,[12] Vojtěch Češík,[13] Lenka Geidt,[14] Jiří Plachý,[15] and others.

Archival Sources

As it was necessary to begin the complex archival research, many of these works are based on classic positivism and ordinary description of events without any further analysis. As said before, the books on this topic also suffer from using only sources stored in Czech archives providing only a limited and unbalanced research basis. On the other hand, the youngest generation of Czech historians (besides Vojtěch Kyncl mainly Pavel Kreisinger, Jan Vajskebr, Jan Zumr, and others) have broken through this barrier and started their researches outside the Czech Republic as well.[16] Connected with the availability of sources stored outside the Czech Republic also new methods of historical work have been used, including historical sociology, anthropology, statistics, etc. The vast problem with wartime sources is the enormous disposal of files created by repressive institutions (mainly card files of investigated etc.). Germans especially in the Protectorate were very precise with destroying written evidence of their war crimes so only very limited fragments of documents survived until the present.[17] The author does not claim to provide a complete list of relevant archival sources as some supplementary information can be found elsewhere. Sources mentioned below should provide a basic overview of materials even for the reader not familiar with the described topic.

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[12] V. Adamec, *Mýtus Koslowski. Kriminální rada brněnské řídící úřadovny Gestapa Otto Koslowski*, "Paměť a dějiny" 2014, no. 4, pp. 76–89.

[13] For example V. Češík, *Kriminální komisař Richard Heidan (1893–1947). Životní osudy posledního vedoucího gestapa v Olomouci*, "Moderní dějiny" 2018, vol. 26, no. 1, pp. 183–203.

[14] L. Geidt, *Gestapačkou z lásky i přesvědčení. Sekretářka Gestapa v Moravské Ostravě Magdalena Siwy*, "Paměť a dějiny" 2015, no. 2, pp. 88–97.

[15] For example J. Plachý, *Naše služba jako úředníků gestapa nebyla lehká. Kurt Max Walter Richter. Nacistický válečný zločinec, jehož zachránil Antonín Zápotocký*, "Paměť a dějiny" 2016, no. 2, pp. 89–100.

[16] About problems with using foreign archival sources in Czech historiography, see J. Zumr, *Organizační struktura exekutivního a kontrarozvědného oddělení pražského Gestapa*, "Moderní dějiny" 2018, vol. 26, no. 2, pp. 252–253.

[17] V. Češík, *Příslušníci olomouckého gestapa odsouzení v rámci retribuce k trestu smrti*, Olomouc 2018 (MA Thesis), p. 7.

Probably the most important archive sources are stored in German Federal Archives (*Bundesarchiv*) in Berlin-Lichterfelde, and those are necessary for everyone interested in the research of the Nazi repressive power. These materials slope into the collection of former Berlin Document Center (BDC), a collection originally created for preparation for Nuremberg war crimes.[18] For research focused on perpetrators, there are two most important agendas included in the BDC. First of them are files of the former SS Race and Settlement Main Office (*Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt der SS*, RuSHA), now stored in agenda RS. These files contain personal information about SS members who were requesting marriage permission as marriage requests of SS members needed to be authorized by *Sippenamt* (Family Office) in RuSHA.[19] Applicants and their future wives were requested to fill in various forms and questionnaires, and these are very useful for research of information about persons of interest. One can reconstruct their careers before entering the SS, find often missing information about education, awarded medals, membership in various Nazi organizations (including membership numbers), etc. These materials can also be used for comparison with information from postwar sources and so can be used to fix inaccuracies or even lies stated in postwar materials (mainly in files from postwar lawsuits, more of these sources later). Some more vital information can be found in the so-called agenda SSO (*SS-Offiziersakten*). However, this agenda is relevant only for the former SS officers. These files contain a concise and factual overview of ranks held by the particular persons, brief information about educational attainment, and last but not least summarized military career (if an examined person was in the army before) with the list of awarded decorations. Similar information about SS members born in Austria can be found in collection *Gauakten* stored in *Archiv der Republik* in Vienna, which is part of the National Archives of Austria (*Österreichisches Staatsarchiv*).[20]

As said before, there is an immense amount of relevant archival sources present in Czech archives, though the majority of them were

[18] For more information about this archival institution, see Berlin Document Center, https://web.archive.org/web/20170101232007/https://www.bundesarchiv.de/fachinformationen/01001/index.html.de [access: 17.11.2019].

[19] SS Marriage Order (December 31, 1931), https://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=1505 [access: 18.11.2019]; For more information about SS marriage and family policy, see A. Carney, *Marriage and Fatherhood in the Nazi SS*, Toronto 2018.

[20] For further information, see Archiv der Republik, https://www.statearchives.gv.at/archiv-der-republik [access 18.11.2019].

created in the period after the end of the war. These are connected with the work of different Czechoslovak offices, which were investigating Nazi war crimes perpetrated in the area of Czechoslovakia during the war. For all one can mention the infamous State Security (*Státní bezpečnost*, StB) which was besides persecuting political opposition of the communist regime, also investigating the former Nazi officers who were captured after the war.[21] Nazi war criminals were searched for by a Czechoslovak mission led by general Bohuslav Ečer (this mission was stationed in Wiesbaden and it was among others responsible for the extradition of Karl Hermann Frank or Kurt Daluege to Czechoslovakia).[22] Materials collected by these institutions were stored in former Federal Ministry of the Interior Collections, now they are mainly in the Security Services Archive in Prague (*Archiv bezpečnostních složek*, ABS).[23] These collections contain an enormous variety of documents, ranging from different interrogation protocols, through photographic materials to documents with wartime origin (either in original form or as transcripts). All of these provide a useful basis for research despite all the inaccuracies included (investigators had often only limited knowledge of the Nazi repressive power structure, etc.). The other important source for research is Moravian Land Archives in Brno, mainly collection B 340 (Gestapo Brno) located there. This collection provides information about first and second martial law in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia as dozens of sentences of the "Standgericht" (martial court) in Brno. However, documents stored in this collection are just a fragment of its original extent as the majority of the wartime agenda got destroyed during this time. There are also fragments of sources in other Czech archives or museums, but the utility of these documents depends on the individual research topic.

Other sources crucial for research of perpetrators are documents from collections of the Extraordinary People's Courts (*Mimořádné lidové soudy*, MLS) stored in State Regional Archives (*Státní oblastní*

[21] For more information about StB in the early postwar period and its role in communist take-over in 1948, see i.e. K. Kaplan, *Protistátní bezpečnost. 1945–1948. Historie vzniku a působení StB jako mocenského nástroje KSČ*, Praha 2015.

[22] For the newest monography about Bohuslav Ečer, see M. Dudáš, *Bohuslav Ečer. Český lovec nacistů*, Prague 2019; About investigating Nazi war crimes in Czechoslovakia in postwar period, see i.e. the newest work of V. Kyncl, *Bestie. Československo a stíhání válečných zločinců*, Praha 2019.

[23] For information about collections stored in ABS, see Guide to the Collections, https://www.abscr.cz/en/guide-to-the-collections/ [access: 18.11.2019].

archivy, SOA).[24] These collections contain court files of Nazi war criminals who had a place in Czechoslovakia between 1945–1948, including mainly interrogation protocols and entries from the lawsuit among several other types of documents (notes about transferring defendants among different prisons, execution protocols, etc.). These materials provide useful information, however, difficulties connected with research in these files show up as well. Especially in files from MLS, the researcher needs to be very careful in taking over the information provided as probably every defendant was trying to reduce his role in war crimes. Defendants were also concealing their activity yet not known to investigators or they were simply lying (not only about activity but about their membership in Nazi organizations, etc.). Also, witnesses were sometimes manipulated to testify falsely so extreme caution is advised when working with these files. Without verifying information in other sources it is easy to take over the defendant's narrative. However, with keeping all these problems and complications in mind, files from the Extraordinary People's Courts provide a very useful source of information. In some files, even certain relevant documents from the wartime period can be found, and they can help with completing the final image a bit.

There are also other problems connected with almost all materials from the postwar period. The most obvious inconvenience is a simple fact that not everybody was found or even captured after the war ended. Many former members of the secret police simply disappeared in the chaos of the early postwar period and escaped justice. Many names of these officers are also known only from postwar interrogations. Their names are often mispronounced or garbled so positive identification of those is complicated or even impossible. This fact connected with the absence of personal register from the wartime period causes hard times for the researcher. The common case is that the historian discovers the only surname of the person of interest, often accompanied by typing errors and with a lack of any further information, and the whole research in that direction comes to a dead end.

[24] For more information about retribution in postwar Czechoslovakia, see B. Frommer, *National Cleansing. Retribution against Nazi Collaborators in Postwar Czechoslovakia*, Cambridge 2005.

Methodogy

On these pages, the author would like to show readers one of the possible methods used mainly to research German police officers who served on occupied territories (primarily in the area of Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia). The presented method can be used for research in area of Protectorate only (mainly specific archival sources stated above), major part of methods can be applied on research of perpetrators in other areas as well. Author in his thesis decided to go against in Czech area traditional positivism; the main point was to analyse several phenomena connected with former Gestapo members from Gestapo field office in Olomouc and compare results with data known about Gestapo members from other offices.[25] The brief positivistic enumeration of events and dates should be used only to provide background for further analysis. The same method in larger scale is being implemented by above mentioned Jan Vajskebr and Jan Zumr in their current research project within Institute for the Study of Totalitarian Regimes (*Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů*, ÚSTR).[26] It should be mentioned that positivism was not completely removed from said method. Description of events connected with analysed personnel had to be utilized in limited form to give reader some basic information about researched individuals.

The first task is to find a methodological key for selecting a sample of analyzed individuals. The members of the Gestapo in Olomouc for analysis were chosen whether were they tried by MLS in Olomouc, and whether were they sentenced to death and executed. This key enabled us to put together a sample containing leading officers, investigators of the executive department, and personnel of the administration as well—results of the analysis could be put into context of the whole Gestapo office in Olomouc. The next part of the research is to determine what phenomena will be analyzed. It is obvious to select only phenomena with mentions in available sources. However, overall said, common points of interest applicable to probably all areas are:

[25] V. Češík, *Příslušníci olomouckého gestapa*, op. cit.

[26] Part of their project "Nacistický bezpečnostní aparát a SS v protektorátu Čechy a Morava" was a lecture about the Gestapo commanding officers stationed in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the record of the lecture is available, see Uspořádali jsme přednášku o velitelském sboru gestapa na území protektorátu, https://www.ustrcr.cz/akce/poradame-prednasku-o-velitelskem-sboru-gestapa-na-uzemi-protektoratu/ [access: 18.11.2019].

1. Competence in police work—the structure of the Gestapo can be characterized as a very diverse group containing a mix of professional policemen with many years of experience, people transferred to Gestapo from other Nazi organizations, and last but not least unprofessional personnel with often no education in police work. The last group was brought to Gestapo often with a desire for stable and prestigious employment connected with more than average salary.[27] Many of those unprofessional staff were drafted from local sympathizers from occupied territories who were indispensable for Germans due to their knowledge of local conditions and language skills.[28]

2. Education and social status—comparison of these phenomena can bring us interesting results as there existed divergent situations among Gestapo personnel (mainly commanding officers) serving in Altreich and occupied territories.[29]

3. Membership in Nazi organizations—this is the most obvious yet the most problematic phenomena to analyze as in many cases there is an extensive lack of relevant sources providing information about membership of analyzed individuals in Nazi organizations (it is often possible only to confirm membership in NSDAP and SS, and membership in other organizations remains hidden).

4. Age—besides showing the age range of the observed sample, analyzing of age is also useful when connected with other phenomena (i.e. participation of analyzed personnel in World War I and forming their political opinions, etc.).[30]

One other possible phenomena not only for occupied territories is to analyze chosen personnel by their place of birth and compare proportions among officers from Altreich, former Austria, and from the occupied territory itself. In the case of Olomouc (the more or less similar situation was, however, present throughout the whole Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia), about 70% of personnel was born in former Czechoslovakia, often directly in Olomouc or its surroundings, and only commanding officers and some other higher ranks came from Austria or Altreich.[31] As mentioned above, the final touch in the

[27] V. Kyncl, *Ležáky: Obyčejná vesnice, Silver A a pardubické gestapo v zrcadle heydrichiády*, Pelhřimov 2008, p. 53; C. Dams, M. Stolle, *Gestapo. Moc a teror ve třetí říši*, Praha 2010, pp. 54–55.

[28] V. Kyncl, *Ležáky*, op. cit., p. 43.

[29] C. Dams, M. Stolle, op. cit., pp. 57–59.

[30] For futher information about age diversity among Gestapo personnel, see Ibidem, pp. 56–58.

[31] V. Češík, *Příslušníci olomouckého gestapa*, op. cit., p. 67.

outlined research is to provide a comparison of the situations in other areas. This helps to put research results into a wider context and to better understand the personal structure of the secret police as a whole. Due to the extensive work of many historians in recent years, there is already a huge amount of data about Gestapo members in different areas, which can be used for comparison.

Conclusion

It is clear that this topic still offers space for further research as thousands of German police officers were serving in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia during the Nazi occupation. The majority of repressive power personnel serving not only in the Protectorate still remains unclear and waiting for further research. Due to those white spots in research, it is evident that positivistic methodology is still needed, though together with analytical methods stated above positivism can be pushed aside and can be used only for initial description of facts and so provide background for subsequent analysis. With the combination of these, research provides beneficial data, and at the same time, it remains readable and attractive for a reader. When speaking about readability, it is crucial to find a balance between historical narration and pure analysis. With just the use of pure statistics and quantification, there is a threat of falling into "the history without people" making the text completely unreadable.[32]

The amount of various types of sources also facilitates different methods not stated above consistent with current trends in the historiography. This includes, for example, research in the field of everyday life history or biographical case studies and besides "ordinary" historical research, its results can be used also for popularisation. In its attractivity for the public, the history of Nazi repressive power (and history of Gestapo especially) has been flooded with many myths and inaccuracies, and these are difficult to fight against. These myths are renewed over and over mainly by journalists who want to shock the public while bending and schematizing the reality.[33] Therefore popularisa-

[32] About problems with implementing quantitative methods into historiography, see an example by The Annales School, G. Iggers, *Dějepisectví ve 20. století*, Praha 2002, pp. 59–60.

[33] One example to illustrate this fact is a series of articles published on server info.cz during this year. The author uses schematizing statements and focuses only on the usage of

tion of this topic among the public seems like an appropriate method of fighting all the myths as the majority of professional works written in professional language remain hidden from the general public and resulting blank spaces are often filled by journalists and unprofessional researchers with close to zero knowledge about the problematics.

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Guide to the Collections, https://www.abscr.cz/en/guide-to-the-collections/ [access: 18.11.2019].

brutal interrogating methods, totally omitting all the other methods and fields of work of the Secret State Police. For example, see article focused on *Kriminalrat* Otto Koslowski, which is part of the mentioned series, see Školil ostatní nacisty, jak zabíjet odbojáře. Po válce ze sebe udělal nevinného odbojáře, https://www.info.cz/magazin/skolil-ostatni-nacisty-jak-zabijet-odbojare-po-valce-ze-sebe-udelal-nevinneho-uprchlika-41679.html [access: 19.11.2019].

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Abstract

This paper deals with possible directions of researching personnel aspects of the Nazi repressive power (with the main interest in Gestapo officers who were assigned to Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia during World War II). It also focuses on methods of research of the Nazi repressive power, and the paper shows relevant archival sources and literature with outlining limits associated with those sources.

Keywords: World War II, Gestapo, 20th century, modern historiography

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FACTORS INFLUENCING DECISIONS AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF POLISH EMIGRANTS AFTER THE KOŚCIUSZKO UPRISING

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Introduction

Few historians have been interested in the problem of Polish emigration after the Kościuszko Uprising, which was only considered in regard to its political aspects, with the exception of Polish Legions in Italy. Among them, one can list Jan Pachoński,[1] Aleksander Kraushar,[2]

[1] J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie. Prawda czy legenda 1794–1807*, vol. 1–4, Warszawa 1969–1979. However, it concerns mainly the Polish Legions in Italy, in subject of emigration see: Idem, *Emigracja polska w Wenecji w latach 1794–1797*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 1968, t. 75, nr 3, pp. 869–893.

[2] He mainly wrote works connected with Wojciech Turski [A. Kraushar, *Albert Sarmata (Wojciech Turski)*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 1899, t. 13, 1899, pp. 42–68], Franciszek Barss [Idem, *Barss, palestrant warszawski i jego misya polityczna we Francyi (1793–1800)*, Warszawa 1904], to which Bogusław Leśnodorski rightly referred with the following words "As usual, he did not do anything else but summarize some documents from the French archives and paint the background." See: B. Leśnodorski, *Polscy jakobini*, Warszawa 1960, p. 68. My research is based mainly on original manuscripts because not all of Kraushar's translations are considered precise; A. Kraushar, *Bonneau. Ostatni konsul generalny Rzeczypospolitej Francuzkiej za Stanisława Augusta (1759–1805)*, Lwów 1900. The author, however, mainly reported materials from the French Archives Diplomatiques concerning Poland.

Adam Skałkowski,[3] and Marian Kukiel.[4] My purpose is not to delve into particular aspects of emigration policy, but instead to analyze and illustrate the factors which affected decisions and choice of centers in which Poles decided to stay and be active. It is worth following exiles' experience and competencies, which affected or could have affected their decisions and actions. The first part of the text is devoted to explaining the decisions concerning the ways and manners of their activities, the second one presents the influence of family and financial situation on the activity and realised plans.

The political environment was functioning in an entirely different way in the face of difficulties of emigration, when problems connected to finances, health, family relationship, or correspondence had a totally different dimension than for politicians in service for a normally functioning country. Some correlations, existing between the functioning of particular emigration groups, their efficiency, foundation, causes, and determining factors have not been elaborated and explained yet, however, in my opinion, they have considerable significance for the understanding the mechanisms and patterns of their activity. Many examples and the aforementioned reasoning builds an image that can be useful for further investigation of the topic.

It is worth paying attention to the difficulty of work on this topic since many of the source materials are scattered,[5] probably the majority had disappeared or was destroyed. This was caused not only by the destruction of many archive documents during partitions and wars but also by emigration difficulties. Although some emigrants did collect historical materials to edit them later (for example, Franciszek Barss and Józef Wybicki) and, impressively, they often also saved written diaries and correspondence, one should nonetheless notice that a great part of documents had already disappeared during the Legion period. The prevalent majority of saved materials were used by Jan Pachoński mainly to capture the history of the Polish Legions.[6]

[3] A. Skałkowski, *O kokardę Legionów*, Lwów 1912; *Archiwum Wybickiego*, vol. 1–3, red. A. Skałkowski, Gdańsk 1948–1950–1978.

[4] M. Kukiel, *Próby powstańcze po trzecim rozbiorze: 1795–1797*, Kraków–Warszawa 1912.

[5] For example, the Archive of Agency, Archive of Deputation, and Barss's papers. Entire documentation disappeared at the beginning of the 19th century.

[6] J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie*, vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 8–40.

Emigration centres

In the latter part of 1794, Poles mainly went to Venice, Paris, and German cities. In later years their number had increased in Constantinople, Moldova, and Wallachia. Obviously, it is difficult to mention all of the locations where Poles emigrated, because a lot of them showed up not to take political steps, but as ordinary citizens or guests. In some centres (for example in Constantinople or Stockholm) individuals pursued diplomatic missions.

It is worth considering the choice of specific destinations of emigration. Some Poles were in Venice already in October 1794. The Republic of Venice was located in the centre of Europe and was neutral towards the war with the French Revolution and possessive policy of powers in Central and Western Europe. It was not the first time that it was visited by Poles at the end of the 18th century. Even before the Great Diet, many well-known people were staying there, such as Stanisław Sołtyk or Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz.[7] Five years later, in 1789, Captain Piotr Gołkowski, who was courier on legation's service, and later Piotr Franciszek Potocki with his entourage arrived there for political reasons, on their way to Constantinople.[8] Venice was visited also by Stanisław Staszic in 1790. The Commonwealth was represented there by the diplomatic agent—Joseph Dall'Oglio.[9]

During the Great Diet, Poles encountered great cordiality and support from Venetian authorities.[10] Between 1792 and 1794, we can also find examples of Poles who were in exile there. The most famous Poles in exile there were Stanisław Małachowski, Kazimierz Nestor

[7] J. U. Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, t. 1, red. J. Dihm, Warszawa 1958, pp. 172–176.

[8] The legation has its own source edition dedicated to it, see: *Ostatni poseł polski do Porty Ottomańskiej. Akta legacyi stambulskiej Franciszka Piotra Potockiego*, t. 1–2, red. K. Waliszewski, Paryż 1894.

[9] J. Łojek, *Materiały do historii polskiej służby zagranicznej w latach 1788–1795*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny" 1962, t. 53, pp. 520–533, also: Dall'Oglio's correspondence with the Polish politicians from 1771–1796, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [further: AGAD], ZP [further: Zbiór Popielów], ms. 495.

[10] A fragment of Potocki's letter to the Deputation is a good example: "Venetians gave numerous and most polite proofs of their kindness and support for our country, that I can find no other way to show my gratitude, but to inform the honorable Deputation about them." *P. Potocki do Deputacji Spraw Zagranicznych, Patras 13 I 1790, nr 4*6, [in:] *Akta legacyi*, t. 1,op. cit., p. 103.

Sapieha,[11] and also Stanisław Sołtyk, who was accompanied by Marcin Leżeński,[12] who at that time corresponded directly with the Polish king. Both were planning to travel to Rome before October. Venice was therefore a popular destination, detached from connections with Polish people, though simultaneously we should not attribute a special role to it in previous relations between the states.

In addition, Venice had a location that was very advantageous for emigrants. It was possible to maintain relatively free simultaneous relations with Paris, Constantinople, and Galicia. Messages were transmitted by independent (non-attached) merchants from Triest, which was also very convenient.[13] In Venice, the function of the French representative was held by Jean Baptiste Lallement.[14] He received the order to treat Poles on a par with the French as equivalent victims of the absolutist regime.[15] He, therefore, served in a friendly manner alongside his son, who was at that time secretary in the embassy. Poles were gathering at the Petrillo inn next to Ponte Rialto. However, they moved to Sendo di Francia soon, where in proximity the French embassy was located.[16] Starting with the second half of 1795, the number of emigrants in Venice decreased. Some of them moved to Paris, which was more and more significant in political terms, some were delegated to other centers to carry out their political missions.

Paris had already been a political base for emigrants in 1792. Wojciech Turski was active at that time in the capital of France and at the beginning of the following year Tadeusz Kościuszko,[17] as well as

[11] J. Bonneau to M. Descorches, Warsaw 24 XI 1792, Archives Diplomatiques [further: AD], Correspondance Politique [further: CP], Pologne, ms. 320, f. 357.

[12] M. Leżeński to P. Kiciński, Venice 24 X 1792, AGAD, ZP, ms. 371, p. 413; M. Leżeński to Stanisław August, Venice 24 X 1792, AGAD, ZP, ms. 371, pp. 417–418; M. Leżeński to Stanisław August, Rome 26 II 1793, AGAD, ZP, ms. 371, p. 431–432; D. Rolnik, *Szlachta koronna wobec konfederacji targowickiej (maj 1792 –styczeń 1793)*, Katowice 2000, p. 133.

[13] M. Ogiński, *Pamiętniki o Polsce i Polakach od roku 1788 do końca roku 1815*, t. 2, Poznań 1870, p. 62; L. Chodźko, *Histoire des Légions polonaises en Italie, sous le commandement du général Dombrowski,* vol. 1, Paris 1829, p. 90.

[14] J. Pachoński, *Emigracja*, op.cit., p. 871.

[15] L. Chodźko, op. cit., p. 89.

[16] J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie*, t. 1, op.cit., pp. 65–66.

[17] Except for many of the biographies of Tadeusz Kościuszko, an important monography about his mission was written by W. M. Kozłowski, *Misya Kościuszki do Paryża w r. 1793*, Lwów 1899.

people on king's service or representing his interests.[18] During the early months of 1794, there were many Polish soldiers who had to leave France soon and joined the Kościuszko Uprising.[19] The difference between the Parisian and Venetian centres is easy to see: Emigrants from the former had high hopes towards the French government, but the Republic of Venice served as a neutral territory of sojourning for the exiles. It was not considered a force when it came to plans and political memorials.

The person around whom the emigrant environment finally gathered was Franciszek Barss, who was present in Paris from the beginning of February 1794.[20] During the whole Kościuszko Uprising, he struggled to gain the support of the Revolutionary Government and remained in the capital after its fall. He was designated to become the leading character of the Polish Agency which was gathering around him. It is obvious that it was easier to cooperate with the Revolutionary government while having permanent access to French elites. With time, more and more Poles flowed to Paris, and it finally became the main emigration centre.[21]

German cities were the third choice, among them Frankfurt, Leipzig, Dresden, and Altona, though none of them had any political significance as Venice or Paris. There were not so many significant persons. Without a doubt Pierre Parandier's appearance in Leipzig was important.[22] He was then delegated to Altona where he stayed for a couple of months before being delegated to Berlin.[23] The emigration to Saxony between 1792 and 1794 and preparations of insurrection by environments of Polish patriots had an undoubted influence on the presence of emigrants in the Reich.

[18] Tadeusz Mostowski, Piotr Maleszewski, Jan Komarzewski, or Scipio Piattoli passed through Paris. The question needs separate consideration.

[19] According to Hipolit Błeszyński's rapport, at least thirty Polish soldiers, including three generals, see: Błeszyński's report, Paris [?] 17 II 1795, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 322, f. 50.

[20] A. Kraushar, *Barss*, op. cit., p. 81.

[21] The information about personal status was presented by Barss: AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 77, 122, 129, 139, 162. According to Pachoński, the number was about fifty (J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie*, vol. 1, op.cit., pp. 69, 81), however, it need deeper analysis.

[22] He had been a lawyer in Lyon at first and subsequently took upon the function of Ignacy Potocki's secretary, working with Poles. Owing to that, he understood the language properly and was well aware of the situation. He was active in Leipzig only in January, maybe also at the beginning of February. P. Parandier to Committee of Public Safety, Leipzig 12 I 1795, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 14.

[23] Some of Parandier's rapports from this period are in: AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323; Archives Nationales [further: AN], III, Pologne 74/301.

Saxony was a country showing a kind attitude towards Polish emigrants, where due to uncensored German and French press and relative liberty of correspondence with other Poles remaining in the country, political messages were coming to their community regularly. It is worth paying attention to the location of Saxony—its main cities were visited by French, German, and Russian diplomats. Dresden as capital had political significance, where the political atmosphere was clear. However, Leipzig could have a different status. It is worth paying attention that it was registered in 1792 by the Patriots as a place completely detached from the current politics,[24] where people are relatively friendly and focused on trade.[25] It was illustrated as a place completely unadapted to any kind of conspiracy.[26]

Parandier was informing the Committee of Public Safety from Altona that there were many migrants in Saxony who left the country endangered by Catherina's persecution and the activities of the Russian army. Many of them sympathized with the idea of negotiations with the partitioning countries.[27]

It's important to note that only few people who played any political role between 1792 and 1794 emigrated after Kościuszko Uprising: Franciszek Ksawery Dmochowski, Wojciech Turski, Jan Chrzciciel Komarzewski, Michał Kleofas Ogiński, and Karol Prozor.[28] Those who were closer to Pierre Parandier like Ignacy and Stanisław Kostka Potocki, Hugo Kołłątaj, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, and Tadeusz Kościuszko were taken to Russian captivity. Perhaps this is why Parandier's mission in Altona to form a committee turned out to be fruitless[29] and his activity did not provide any major results. Finally, the most significant centres in the first months of emigration appeared to be Venice and Paris.

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[24] S. Piattoli to Stanisław August, Dresden 11 VIII 1792, Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich [further: BZNiO], ms. 9675, p. 1075.

[25] *H. Kołłątaj do F. Barssa, Lipsk 6 X 1792, nr XXI*, [in:] *Listy Hugona Kołłątaja pisane z emigracyi w r. 1792, 1793 i 1794*., t. 1, red. L. Siemieński, Poznań 1872, p. 48.

[26] Stanisław Kostka Potocki to Stanisław August, Leipzig 25 VIII 1792, BZNiO, ms. 9675, p. 1080 (letter added to Piattoli's correspondance).

[27] P. Parandier to Committee of Public Safety, Altona 8 II 1795, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 24–25 (he also mentioned a large emigration in Galicia).

[28] Prozor and Ogiński were on emigration in Saxony but for a relatively short period of time receiving permission for return from leading activists.

[29] However, firstly Venice was compared with Altona as similar committees, see: Report to Committee of Public Safety, Paris [?] 21 II 1795, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 36.

Emigrants' experience

The functions which emigrants were performing before leaving the country undoubtedly had an influence on their later activity. Even minor experience in the field of diplomacy and the atmosphere of France definitely made their actions easier and allowed them to understand the current political situation better than those with the experience of military service, even at the level of general. Many activists operated in Paris just before the defeat of the Kościuszko Uprising. One of the most prominent of them was Franciszek Barss who was delegated to the capital of the Republic after Kościuszko's fruitless mission at the end of 1793. Deputed by the Polish emigration centre in Leipzig, he was announced to French minister François Louis Desforgues by Parandier, who moved from Leipzig to Paris at minister's command.[30] The capital of France was visited by Barss in February 1794.

His political activity gave him sophistication, connections, and discernment among Parisian elites. Next to him was Kazimierz Skalski La Roche, also French by origin, but born in Poland of a Polish mother.[31] Promoted to colonel degree in French service, he had received the order to set off to Warsaw as secondary secretary and translator next to Marie Louis Descorches, who was then performing a political mission. After the defeat in the war of 1792, he was expelled from the Commonwealth in November.[32]

What is important, La Roche was also active among Polish emigrants just before the Kościuszko Uprising, simultaneously engaged on the Left and cooperating with Wojciech Turski. He was also interested in the Polish east mission, being a proponent of establishing Polish postal services to the Ottoman Empire, moreover creating a Polish military formation there and in Sweden. He was corresponding in these cases and cooperating with Wojciech Turski from the Polish side and deputy in Constantinople Marie Louis Descorches from the French side.

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[30] A. Kraushar, *Barss*, op.cit., pp. 71–73.

[31] Kazimierz Skalski La Roche was also acquainted with Polish affairs, for a long time he was a correspondent of Paris "Moniteur," moreover he was performing the function of the secretary of the French mission in Warsaw next to minister Descroches. See more: J. Pachoński, J. Reychman, *La Roche Skalski Kazimierz*, "Polski Słownik Biograficzny" 1971, t. 16, pp. 514–516.

[32] C. La Roche to Minister Le Brun, Varsovie 7 XI 1792, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 320, f. 312. As he wrote in his correspondence, finally he left with Wojciech Turski passing Strasbourg.

Among Poles present in Venice at the turn of 1794 and 1795, Piotr Potocki and Michał Skrzetuski had diplomatic experience; both of them had acted in the mission in the Ottoman Empire, as well as Michał Ogiński, who was an ex-deputy in the Netherlands, and Stanisław Sołtyk—ex-deputy in Austria. They were middle-of-the-road, representing views based on the Third of May Constitution. Obviously, it is difficult to analyse the influence of previous diplomatic experience on every undertaken political action or initiative, however, we can easily illustrate the collective character of main factions and the general result of their activity over two years. It is important to note that around Polish Agency there were people who had previously performed diplomatic functions, namely Barss, La Roche, Potocki, Sołtyk, Ogiński, and moreover Józef Wybicki, who was active during the Confederation of Bar as a politician. The main role in the Polish Deputation was played by Dionizy Mniewski, Gabriel Taszycki, and Franciszek Dmochowski, of whom the last two were mainly publicists.

The situation illustrating the differences, which based on individual experiences, was the speech given before the Convention by Wojciech Turski, who would be operating in France since 1792.[33] It became famous among Polish emigrants and was received positively by the Patriotic faction, who were in close contact with the king as well as the French elite.[34] Most likely, the Turski's harangue became the reason for the Deputation to take the speech during the Convention on 22 September 1795. Its initiator was most probably Dmochowski, who was in Saxony in 1792, engaged in the Leipzig faction of the Patriots, and was subsequently one of the leaders of Deputation. The September speech turned out to be one of the most important political actions of Poles at the beginning of their emigration activity. However, it turned out to be a complete failure. The speech was widely criticized, and on top of that, French authorities didn't receive it well at all. Finally, it led to a personal reshuffle in political collocation. The moderate oriented milieus were convinced that Barss would not have made such a mistake.[35]

[33] The manuscript of Turski's speech is in the Jagiellonian Library (ms. 3362), it was later reprinted with translation by W. M. Kozłowski, op. cit., pp. 16–19.

[34] P. Parandier to Minister, Leipzig 13 I 1793, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 321, f. 22 and f. 99–100; S. Piattoli to Stanisław August, Dresden 31 I 1793, BZNiO, ms. 9675, p. 1182; "Gazette nationale ou le Moniteur universel" 1794 (1 janvier), pp. 3–4.

[35] See: J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie*, t. 1, op. cit., pp. 91–92.

The difference is visible also in the matter of choosing ways, which were supposed to lead to the realization of political goals. The Constitutional faction pursued cooperation with European diplomacy by unofficial political missions, while simultaneously getting help from French diplomatic representation. Michał Ogiński was delegated to Constantinople, Aleksander Walknowski to Stockholm,[36] Ignacy Ledóchowski to Berlin, talks were held with Barthélemy in Basel. Finally, the discussions with Bonaparte in Milan gave real success at the beginning of January 1797—the Polish Legions were created in Italy. Contrary to these measures, the Polish Deputation was based on national conspiracy, which is illustrated by the Lviv Centre (*Centralizacja Lwowska*), Romuald Giedroyć's activity in Lithuania or later Polish Republicans' Society (*Towarzystwo Republikanów Polskich*). They were against creating Polish troops in allied countries[37] but wanted to pursue unreal plans, namely, restore the Commonwealth purely by the national power. Even though the faction of "diplomats" was trying to act according to their competences, they were not successful. The missions in Constantinople and Stockholm brought no benefits but creating the Polish Legions was undoubtedly a unique success. It is difficult to decide if it was the fruit of political experience, the coincidence of circumstances, and Bonaparte's successes or perhaps French business. With great probability, we can suppose that without earlier activity in the diplomatic field, the project could not have been undertaken and realized.

Family situation

In many cases, emigrants' family and financial status influenced their political activity; for not everyone could afford to travelling with their close ones. Therefore it was easier to act for people without family nor real estate because they weren't bound by responsibility while making

[36] Verninac was recommended for the Polish missions to Stockholm and Constantinople, see: M. Ogiński, op. cit., p. 72. More about Ogiński's mission in his memoirs, which include documents and letters written by politicians of the period. AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323. There are brief mentions about Walknowski in: A. Skałkowski, *O kokardę*, op.cit., p. 37; Extrait d'une lettre des Polonois Refugiés, Paris 3 Messidor an 4e, AN, AFIII, Pologne 74/301.

[37] Simultaneously republicans had a critical attitude towards "Polish aristocracy, who shivers at the very notion of the reawakening of peasants," see: J. K. Szaniawski to NN, Paris, 22 X 1797, Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, ms. 3930, pp. 118–121.

decisions. Matters of family and finances were included in emigrant dispute.[38]

Many of the emigrants had wives and children who either stayed in their estates or traveled with the head of the family. It often was an effect of the financial situation which was a result of the invaders' politics. The connections between emigrant political activity and family can be seen after 1792. Correspondence shows that Ignacy Potocki was regularly informed about his daughter and waiting for her,[39] Stanisław Kostka Potocki awaited his spouse, just like Stanisław Sołtan, and wife allegedly came to aid ill Józef Mostowski.[40]

The Franciszek Barss' family[41] hadn't been much around him before 1795.[42] It was because the lawyer first went to Vienna, then to Leipzig and Paris. What is important, he left his wife with two young daughters, and a man's absence complicated a lot of matters. However, it is known that Luiza Barss followed her husband with their daughters and *la femme de confiance* to Paris.[43] They lived at Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré 33, near Rue d'Anjou.[44] Poles emigrating to Saxony after the Insurrection's fall traveled with their families, which Parandier pointed out.[45]

Michał Ogiński also traveled with his spouse. Having arrived in Vienna where he reconciled with her, after ten days under the name Michałowski, they departed to Venice.[46] He remained in touch with

[38] Kołłątaj may serve as an example here, as seen in his letter to Barss: "If you are to suffer and ready to put your wife and children to a similar fate, now is the time, but consider in your heart whether your will agree with that of your wife and the fate of your children," *H. Kołłątaj do F. Barssa, Lipsk 6 X 1792, nr XXI*, [in:] *Listy Hugona Kołłątaja*, t. I, pp. 48–49.
[39] *J. Dembowski do I. Potockiego, Warszawa 8 VIII 1792, nr 4*, [in:] *Tajna korespondencja z Warszawy 1792–1794 do Ignacego Potockiego*, red. M. Rymszyna, A. Zahorski, Warszawa 1961, p. 28; *J. Dembowski do I. Potockiego, Warszawa 25 VIII 1792, nr 12*, [in:] ibidem, p. 39.
[40] S. Piattoli to Stanisław August, Dresden 22 XI 1792, BZNiO, ms. 9675, p. 1147.
[41] Daughters Julianna and Franciszka, and wife Luiza, daughter of the Warsaw president Warsaw Andrzej Rafałowicz. Liste des Polonais qui se trouvent à Paris et qui sont connus de l'Agence Polonaise, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 77; A. Kraushar, *Barss*, op.cit., p. 11.
[42] A. Kraushar, *Barss*, op.cit., p. 19.
[43] Liste des Polonais qui se trouvent à Paris et qui sont connus de l'Agence Polonaise, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 77.
[44] J. C. Méhée to Minister B. Barère, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 73; J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie*, t. 1, op. cit., p. 70.
[45] P. Parandier to Committee of Public Safety, Altona 8 II 1795, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 24.
[46] M. Ogiński, op. cit., p. 56. However, since it is difficult to unambiguously specify which of the migrants took refuge with his family, one has to assume that not every one

her while completing the mission in Constantinople.[47] According to François Cacault, Karol Prozor left his wife, children, and estate and emigrated.[48] Marian Dubiecki recorded that Prozor also left his mother, who lived in Żółkiew's Basilian monastery with her chamberlain. Probably, during his three-week-long waitin for a passport in Jarosław, Prozor saw his family for the last time.[49] According to Lallement's report, his two-year-old child was held hostage by the Russians.[50] Having heard about the Kościuszko Uprising, general Franciszek Łaźniński[51] left his wife and child in Ukraine. Kazimierz La Roche was accompanied by his mother, Pole by birth.

Romuald Giedroyć had the possibility of connecting his service towards the motherland with the family life, simultaneously overseeing his estate. He went to Lithuania in summer 1796[52] where he was to observe the social moods.[53] It appears that this choice wasn't only caused by Giedroyć's familiarity with the area, but the purpose was to allow him to contact with his family as well. Dmochowski in 1797 didn't hesitate to visit Hamburg where his numerous cousins lived.[54] A clear example of emigrants caring for their families is Wybicki's attitude. In the letter to Sandoz-Rollin, a Prussian representative in Paris, he was expressed his concern about his wife, Estera, and three children, Teresa, Józef, and Łukasz, who were staying in Southern Prussia. According to the letter, at this time he had not had any information about his family for ten months[55].

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of these mentioned it in his documents, even more so, that it has to be stressed that most of those papers do not exist anymore.

[47] *F. Rymkiewicz do T. Wyssogierda, Konstantynopol 16 II 1797, nr 63*, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracya polska w latach 1795–1797. Materyały Historyczne*, Warszawa 1911, p. 89. Ogińsk's wife lived in Brunswick during his absence.

[48] F. Cacault to Committee of Public Safety, Florence 7 II 1795, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 20–21.

[49] M. Dubiecki, *Karol Prozor*, *oboźny w. w. ks. litew.*, Kraków 1897, p. 269.

[50] Lallement to 2e Section, Venice AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 22.

[51] The informations are in Lallement's report, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 200–207.

[52] Case of passport's issuance in AN, AFIII, ms. Pologne 74/301.

[53] "Dombrowski rencontra chez la palatine Zieberg le général Romuald Giédroyc, qui allait rejoindre sa famille en Lithuanie, et qui s'était chargé en même temps de sonder l'esprit de cette province." L. Chodźko, op. cit., p. 134.

[54] *Jan Dembowski do P. Potockiego, Paryż 9 IV 1797, nr 28*, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracya*, op. cit., p. 39.

[55] *J. Wybicki o D. Sandoz-Rollina, Paryż 1795, nr 127*, [in:] *Archiwum Wybickiego*, t. 1, red. A. Skałkowski, Gdańsk 1948, p. 208.

It is therefore visible that family relations had their weight and were developed, given the possibility. In the case of selected migrants, the family and political life were partially combined, which in some matter projected onto their actions.

Family matters were pressed during the dispute over the formation of national representation which was meant to continue the Great Diet. The projects' creators were, above all, the moderates. They intended to call the national representation in Milan to prolong the state's continuity. Ogiński, representing a stance differing from the moderates in that matter, believed that „it is unreasonable, inhumane and unworthy to call upon peaceful owners to leave their estates, separating fathers from their children, and expose them to a self-contradictory motion, uncertain, and useless in my belief."[56] Eventually, plans of limited Sejm's continuation failed. Without any doubt, difficulties regarding such a great distance and leaving families and estates in the home country did contribute to the failure.

Finances

Besides family matters, the financial status of the Polish migrants greatly affected their activity and their possibilities of action, but also caused disputes. It is worth noting that among the activists' petty nobility predominated, engaged in the country's political life in varying degrees, but not holding major offices.[57] Loss of estate due to the invaders' repressions was common among the migrants.[58] Among people in possession of somewhat more significant property, there were Piotr Franciszek Potocki, Dionizy Mniewski (who financially supported the Venetian party[59]), or Stanisław Sołtyk. Stanisław Kostka Potocki spent some time in Venice as well and had a significant estate[60] but he didn't play a great role after 1794. At least at the beginning, Michał Ogiński

[56] M. Ogiński, op. cit., p. 222.

[57] With exceptions of people like Michał Kleofas Ogiński or Piotr Potocki.

[58] Lallement to 2e Section, Venice, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 22–23; Iwaszkiewicz provides the index, mentioning among the landowners who lost their estates after the second and third partitions: Zagórski, Michał Ogiński, Józef Wybicki, Ksawery Dąbrowski, Antoni Prusiński, and Dionizy Mniewski, see: J. Iwaszkiewicz, *Wykaz dóbr ziemskich skonfiskowanych przez rządy zaborcze w latach 1773–1867*, Warszawa 1929, pp. 16–19.

[59] J. Pachoński, *Emigracja*, op.cit., p. 874.

[60] Sz. Askenazy, *Napoleon a Polska*, Warszawa–Kraków 1918, p. 88.

did possess some wealth.[61] He was rid of demesne profiting about million zlotys per year because of his refusal of returning to the estate and informed by the invader's decision that he was forbidden to return. Before his travel to Constantinople, he received 2,000 gold ducats,[62] the last money from his demesne.[63] Many didn't possess any funds during their departure from the motherland. Alojzy Sulistrowski, for example, went to Italy while indebted and probably in a significant manner, since this information was highlighted in the document.[64]

The funds were raised by any means possible. Some came from secret political organisations in the country and fundraisers (mainly from Galicia). There were also examples of financing of the Poles by the French,[65] however, one can find out about financial support provided by more opulent activists.[66]

One such example is Starost of Szczerzec Piotr Potocki, who stayed in Venice. He was able to support the refugees materially. In August 1796, Karol Prozor addressed the letter to Potocki with requests for money for a public cause, due to increasing problems,[67] just like Ogiński who was at the time in the capital of the Ottoman Empire asked him for the funds.[68] Further examples can be found by following the correspondence from that year's November. Potocki then donated 500 zlotys to Jan Henryk Dąbrowski, Wojczyński, and Tremo for their journey to Italy.[69]

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[61] J. Pachoński, *Emigracja*, op. cit., p. 873; Departing with his wife from Vienna to Venice in Autumn 1794, he had "several hundred ducats." The author mentions those funds as being insufficient for his needs and the Ogiński's estate was confiscated because he refused to return to the country, see: M. Ogiński, op. cit., pp. 56–59

[62] For second half of the eighteen century one talar had value of 7,28 Polish zlotys, one ducat—about 17,4 Polish zlotys. *Historia Polski w liczbach*, vol. 2, red. F. Kubiczek, A. Jezierski, A. Wyczański, Warszawa 2006, p. 153.

[63] He received the money on 1 November 1795 in Venice; see: ibidem, p. 85.

[64] Lallement to 2e Section, Venice, AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 22.

[65] Ogiński who persuaded Verninac into supporting financially few Poles in Istanbul, may serve as an example, see: *F. Rymkiewicz do obywateli Galicji, Konstantynopol 17 VIII 1796, nr 39*, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracya*, op. cit., p. 50.

[66] J. Pachoński, *Emigracja*, op.cit., pp. 872–873.

[67] *K. Prozor do P. Potockiego, 11 VIII 1796*, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracya*, op. cit., p. 9; also correspondence from a day later.

[68] "Have mercy, citizen, think of me and make sure that whatever money is sent to me. It is known to you that I am living on my meager fund so far." *M. Ogiński do P. Potockiego, Konstantynopol 31 VIII 1796, nr 41*, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracya*, op.cit., p. 55.

[69] J. Wybicki, *Życie moje*, Wrocław 2010, p. 234.

At the same time, Macon requested money because he didn't have anything to live on. Having received 450 talars from unknown donors and two little rings sold for 20 talars, he shared the money with Jabłonowski.[70] According to the correspondence, financial support amounting to 20 talars was granted to him by Ogiński as well.[71]

It can be questioned whether Potocki indeed administered his own finances or on behalf of the emigration powers. In 1797, he could afford the purchase a palace in Ostów around Mielnik[72] and he bought an estate around Dresden.[73]

The amounts needed by the emigrants weren't high. Relying on the relations of the Polish envoys to the Ottoman Empire, it can be deduced that monthly upkeep required around 30 ducats. A disproportion of prices is to be considered because in Italy currency's worth was different and in the Ottoman Empire prices of goods did differ from Western Europe or Poland. Potocki, having been in Venice years before, recounts that "in this city, there is a great dearth on everything."[74] In comparison, Ogiński rented an apartment in Istanbul, for which he paid 100 ducats annually and a similar amount for the furniture.[75] Sending a courier from Constantinople cost a similar price.[76]

On more than one occasion the migrants' push for the creation of armed forces aiding foreign powers can be noted (which could give them employment).[77] This conclusion concerns mostly emigrants hav-

[70] In the manuscript: "Obywatelowi Jabłon…", look: Macon [F. Rymkiewicz] to P. Potocki, Constantinople 20 XI 1796, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, ms. 40; For example, some palace antiques and wines were sold to gain funds for Tremo's and La Roche's journey to the east and to obtain money for the further existence of emigration, see: J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie*, t. 1, op. cit., p. 90.

[71] In the manuscript: "O…" (only letter).

[72] *Akt sprzedaży placu pod miastem Mielnikiem Fran. Piotrowi Potockiemu, staroście szczerzeckiemu, przez Franciszka Wyrzykowskiego 1797*, AGAD, Zbiór Anny z Potockich Ksawerowej Branickiej, ms. 605.

[73] M. Czeppe, *Potocki Franciszek Piotr*, "Polski Słownik Biograficzny" 1984–1985, t. 28, p. 131.

[74] *P. Potocki do Deputacji Spraw Zagranicznych, Wenecja 12 IX 1789, nr 28*, [in:] *Akta legacy*, t. 1, op.cit., p. 74.

[75] *F. Rymkiewicz to Weygtynowski [S. Sołtyk] obywateli Galicji, Konstantynopol 20 III 1797, nr 64*, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracya*, op. cit., p. 92.

[76] *M. Ogiński do P. Potockiego, Konstantynopol 31 VIII 1796, nr 41*, [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracya*, op. cit., p. 55.

[77] "The public cause has always been the only one for me. I have supported it not only with my sword but also with my pen. Now I am doing the latter, but wishing for the times when I can also do the former." Macon [F. Rymkiewicz] to P. Potocki, 1 X 1796, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, ms. 40.

ing a military status without a regular salary. It is obviously combined with the patriotic idea of creating Polish foreign military force, however, the improvement of one's material status became even more necessary. For example, Wojciech Turski, sent from Paris to Sublime Porte with the task of organising Turkish cavalry, received a yearly salary of 7,000 piastres, equivalent to 1,000 ducats.[78] Between 1794 and 1795 the hopes of the Poles in Constantinople were supported by the French politicians who promised financial aid[79].

It is worth noting that even in 1795, few migrants could afford to maintain their staff in Paris.[80] It is, however, difficult to assess exact costs and relations between the activists and *les hommes de confiance.*

Dealing with French politicians usually required financial effort as well—for example, a well-known method of persuading Parisian elite members were parties hosted by Poles. Often there was a plain shortage of money to buy French officials' sympathy. This was the goal for which Prozor needed so many funds. He wrote to Potocki: "While we need to communicate more closly with the French, we need to make friendships, we cannot afford to pay for dinner for a few people even if we put all our money together."[81] Before the failed Deputation's appearance before the Commission on 22 September 1795, a sumptuous dinner had been served to some of its members, which also must have jeopardized the finances of the emigration leadership.[82] The clashes caused by such issues were hardly avoidable, especially after the secession of the republican Deputation. On 3 November 1795, Franciszek Dmochowski attacked Kazimierz la Roche, accusing him that "he manages the emigration palace lavishly and for his own benefit."[83]

Undoubtedly, the poor finances halted, slowed down, or complicated political activity, for it was difficult to freely operate on such a vast area of Europe, taking into account correspondence and delegated missions, without a permanent income. It was due to that, among other reasons,

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[78] M. Ogiński, op. cit., p. 106; J. Pachoński, *Słownik biograficzny oficerów Legionów Polskich 1796–1807*, Kraków 1998–2003, p. 319.

[79] A. Kraushar, *Barss*, op. cit., p. 275

[80] AD, CP, Pologne, ms. 323, f. 77–77, 122.

[81] *K. Prozor do P. Potockiego, 11 VIII 1796, nr 10* [in:] W. Smoleński, *Emigracya*, op. cit., p. 9.

[82] Sz. Askenazy, op. cit., p. 98.

[83] The initiator of the idea of purchasing and maintaining the palace as well as organizing parties for French politics was Karol Prozor: J. Pachoński, *Legiony Polskie*, t. 1, op. cit., p. 90; Prozor cites his response to La Roche's information that there are still funds for maintaining the palace for emigrants for three months more, Rapperswil Collections, ms. 114, II, p. 30–36.

that the emigrants rushed to organise military units and sought employment in the French army.[84] This plan ultimately succeeded despite a considerable resistance on the Deputation's behalf and ultimately the Polish Legions in Italy were formed at the beginning of the year 1797.

Conclusion

As can be easily seen, besides politics, decisions of the most important leaders, and ongoing military conflicts, secondary factors, while hardly evident, had considerable importance—especially in case of emigration realities. The factors stretching across two axes, namely "vertical"—chronological—and "horizontal"—actual, caused by family and material status—collide with each other. The resultant force of those wasn't overshadowed by the primary factors, like general European politics and conflicts. It is hard to understand the detailed history of Polish emigration, especially in face of such a difficult and complicated period, without a profound analysis of all the particular circumstances. Studies are also held back by the fact that large parts of the materials have been lost or destroyed.

The above examples are not exhaustive but representative. Without a doubt, studies concerning contemporary realities of traveling, daily life and prosopography, and biographistics of the characters behind these events could allow further exploration of the matters tackled in this article. It is also necessary to state that the subject of emigration activity requires separate treatment and methods which results not only from the difficulties concerning the availability of source material but also of the necessity of understanding the contemporary political, social, and economic conditions in the context of both elites (abroad) and migrants, a social group which is difficult to describe.

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[84] Poles on the French service were numerous before 1794. Józef Miączyński, Klaudiusz Łazowski, or Józef Sułkowski, to name just a few, were the most famous ones.

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Abstract

After the fall of Kościuszko Uprising many Poles who had been actively involved in it had to leave the country. They mainly went to Venice, German cities, and Paris in order to take political action or look for refuge. However, the selection of the locations was conditioned by previous experience of the activists and the ever-changing political situation. These factors also affected other emigrants' decisions. Their

impact on the efficiency of migrants' actions may be seen in many examples. Similarly, their financial and family situation had a considerable influence which determined undertaken activity. It is important to remember that factors from outside of the political mainstream also had their toll on the migrants' decisions and outcomes of undertaken activity, and on more than one occasion they had a defining character.

Keywords: Polish emigration, France, Venice, Polish Agency, Polish Deputation, partitions of Poland, 18th century

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