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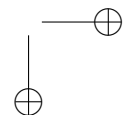
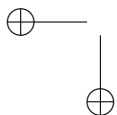
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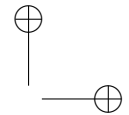
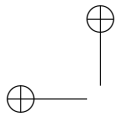
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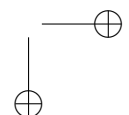
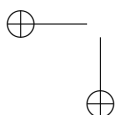
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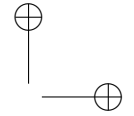
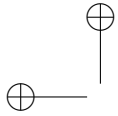
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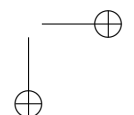
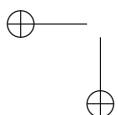
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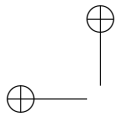
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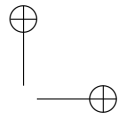
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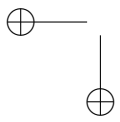


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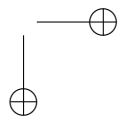


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Origins of the Housing Policy in the Czech Lands: the Austrian Housing Policy in the 1852–1918 Period

*Jan Hladík**

The subject of the submitted paper is mapping of the gradual formation of the initial framework of the housing policy in Cisleithania, primarily focusing on the Czech lands. The author asks to what degree did the decision-making sphere managed to successfully face the issues that troubled the housing market by means of its housing policy. The government's interest in resolving the situation on the housing market initially focused only on the general regulation of natural persons active on the residential property market, but the framework of the actual housing policy started to be formed a little too late, from the 1890s. However, the government's attempt to stimulate residential construction proved to be insufficient, even though it must be acknowledged that in some areas of the empire the housing shortage was actually relieved. A fund was established by law in 1907 in support of construction of housing for government employees and a housing management fund was established in 1910. With the beginning of the First World War the government intervened in the housing market much more actively than before and imposed previously unparalleled restrictions on this market in Cisleithania and Transleithania. After the Habsburg Monarchy fell in the autumn of 1918, the legal-institutional framework of its housing policy was mostly assumed by the young Czechoslovak Republic.

[Housing Policy; Social Policy; Housing Market; Rent Regulation; Austro-Hungarian Empire]

This paper is devoted to examination of the gradual formation of the government housing policy in the territory of Cisleithanian region of the Habsburg Monarchy, primarily focusing on the Czech lands. This text reveals the difficulties the housing policy of the time had to cope with and the difficult situation on the housing market it endeavoured

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to resolve. The topic and content of the analysed issue therefore remain of some significance in today's world, in which the housing difficulties affecting particularly large cities remain a tough challenge to resolve not only for the Czech decision-making sphere. Furthermore, the newly created Czechoslovakia subsequently built directly onto the legal-institutional foundation, which was created at the time of the Danubian Federation. As the following text demonstrates, the process of implementing the housing policy in Cisleithania was a much more gradual affair compared to West European states.

Debates concerning the living conditions of low-income groups, in relation to the influx of labourers to West European countries, were initiated in the 1830s. J. Gruber¹ states that in 1837 the Belgium Central Council for Public Healthcare carried out a survey of labourer's flats, and similar surveys of the living conditions of the labourer classes were carried out in the following decade in Great Britain on the basis of an impulse from Prime Minister Robert Peel. Affairs progressed from debates to specific housing policy actions in Great Britain during the 50s and 60s. The hygienic conditions in flats were legally stipulated in 1853 and the number of people that could live in the flats was also limited. In 1866 an act enabling municipalities to borrow money for construction of flats for labourers in over-populated cities was enacted in 1866.² This option was only utilised by Liverpool,³ where the first communal residential building in Great Britain, *St. Martin's Cottages*, which consisted of four-storey blocks of flats with quite good civic amenities, was built in 1869. This building's only Achilles heel was the location of the toilets in the corridor on the half-landing.⁴

In the German-speaking region public debates regarding the housing situation were initiated at the beginning of the 1870s. As Gruber states, it was only the Census in 1890 resulting in a survey of the housing situation in Austria that elicited true interest from the professionals in this issue and forced the decision-making sphere to take action.

¹ J. GRUBER, *Bytová politika v Rakousku a v republice československé*, in: *Obzor národohospodářský*, XXVII, 1922, p. 19.

² M. E. BEGGS-HUMPHREYS – H. G. HUMPHREYS – D. HUMPHREYS, *The Industrial Revolution*, Reprint, London 2006, p. 34.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ J. N. TARN, *Five Per Cent Philanthropy: an Account of Housing in Urban Areas between 1840 and 1914*, London 1973, p. 62.

Until then, the only action in the field of the government housing policy taken by the government was Imperial patent No. 253/1852 ř. z., by means of which self-help housing societies were regulated.⁵ It must be pointed out that this legal regulation can be considered very generally defined. It concerned the terms of origin and termination of societies, whereas charitable societies (i.e. housing societies) had to inform the relevant office of their origin and termination in accordance to Section 23 of Patent No. 253/1852 ř. z. The act can therefore be considered the legal framework for a housing policy executed not by the government sector, but by charitable societies.⁶ This procedure, during which the government simply set the rules, but did not otherwise intervene in the specific market as a participant, was fully in compliance with the liberal economic-political doctrine of Bach absolutism of the time.⁷

This is why the first actual action taken in the field of the Austrian state's housing policy can be identified as Act No. 37/1892 ř. z., on labourers flats dating from February 9, 1892.⁸ The act supported construction of flats for labourers indirectly – tax relief from housing tax⁹

⁵ M. ŠPILÁČKOVÁ, *Bytová krize v českých zemích v letech 1918–1948 a sociální práce jako jeden z nástrojů jejího řešení*, in: *Historica – Revue pro historii a příbuzné vědy*, 7, 2016, 1, p. 60.

⁶ *Zákonník říšský a věstník vládní pro císařství Rakouské* (hereinafter ř. z.), part LXXIV, Imperial Patent No. 253/1852, by which new provisions concerning societies dated 26 November 1852 is published, Section 23, p. 1115.

⁷ One of the figures also participating in the character of the economic policy of the Austrian Empire after the revolutionary years of 1848–1849 was Karl Ludwig von Bruck, who was initially Minister of Commerce and Public Works, and then Minister of Finance. He is credited with removing obstacles to domestic trade and also with reduction of customs obstacles to foreign trade. He also executed a liberal policy on the bank market and construction of railways was also supported. E. D. BROSE, *German History 1789–1871: From the Holy Roman Empire to the Bismarckian Reich*, New York 2013, pp. 262–263.

⁸ GRUBER, p. 20. *Zákonník říšský pro království a země v radě říšské zastoupené* (hereinafter ř. z.), part XLV, Act No. 37/1892, dated February 9, 1892, on the advantages for new buildings with labourer's flats, Sections 1–9, pp. 401–402.

⁹ The house tax was a tax imposed on real property, which was used for residential purposes. It was in the form of a rent tax or class tax. The rent tax applied to owners of buildings with rental flats and was determined on the basis of the rent. The class tax was paid by owners who did not rent anything. The tax was determined depending on the number of rooms intended for residential purposes. For more information see Z. JINDRA – I. JAKUBEC, *Hospodářský vzestup českých zemí od poloviny 18. století do konce monarchie*, Praha 2015, p. 80.

for 24 years after completion of construction.¹⁰ The act set the goal of creating cheap but sanitary flats and determined three groups of entities building the structures with the right to tax relief. The first group benefiting from the tax relief was municipalities, charitable societies and institutes for labourers, the second group was various labourer societies, which undertook to build housing for their members, and the last group was employers, who were also entitled to government support if they built housing for their labourers.¹¹ Maximum rent per square meter was determined.¹² However, the very strictly set terms for providing these advantages were a problem and can be considered the cause of failure in the endeavour to stimulate construction. Between 1892 and 1896 only around 500 labourer's houses were built on the basis of this act, which meant that the situation on the housing market did not improve much.¹³

Probably the biggest problem the housing policy of the time had to face was that the flats were overcrowded. In August 1895 the *Národní listy* periodical discussed this issue extensively in the context of Prague. At the time an overcrowded flat was defined as a flat that had three residents in each heated section. In Prague and its suburbs there were 9,276 of these flats with 60,582 residents living in them in 1890. The percentage of flats that were overcrowded out of the total number was 12.9 % in 1890. If the percentage of the population living in overcrowded buildings is examined, then it can be stated that a third of the population of Prague lived in overcrowded flats and in districts such as Žižkov and Josefov over a third of the population lived in such flats.¹⁴ The greatest numbers of overcrowded flats were located in areas where the rental form of housing predominated and also in areas with a poor population, which had a greater number of children. Health committees examining living conditions occasionally registered extreme situations. In July 1893 the committee found that

¹⁰ Ř. z., part XLV, Act No. 37/1892, dated February 9, 1892, on the advantages for new buildings with labourer's flats, Section 2, p. 402.

¹¹ Ibidem, Section 1, pp. 401–402.

¹² Ibidem, Section 5, p. 402.

¹³ GRUBER, p. 20; A. MAYER, Bytová reforma na venkově, in: *Revue zemědělské politiky*, 1, 1913, 2, p. 9.

¹⁴ About the housing situation in the royal capital city of Prague and the surrounding area, in: *Národní listy*, 35, 1895, 226, p. 1. According to M. Špiláčková about 10 % of the flats in Prague itself were overcrowded. ŠPILÁČKOVÁ, p. 60.

there were 60 people living in eleven flats in one building in Malá Strana not far from the chain bridge¹⁵ with only a single toilet available.¹⁶ Prague (excluding the suburbs) was also the second most populous city in Cisleithania, because there was one Prague resident per 78.47 square meters. The greatest population density was registered in the Viennese centre, where there was one resident per 66.94 square metres.¹⁷ On the other hand it must be mentioned that the percentage of overcrowded flats very gradually fell in 1890 compared to 1880. In Prague itself it fell by 2.4 %.¹⁸ People mainly lived in small flats with one or two rooms. This is how 57% of the population of Austrian cities lived, but for example in Košíře up to 89.49 % of the population lived like this, in Nusle this number was 87.69 % and in Vysočany it was 80.89 %. The situation improved outside Prague and its suburbs – in Kladno 74.48 % of the population lived in flats with one or two rooms, in Kolín it was 66.79 % and in Pardubice just 62.34 % of the population lived in such flats.¹⁹ The census of flats in 1900, which also covered the density of the population living in flats with one to two residential areas, also provides an interesting picture of the housing market in the period between 1890 and 1900. The results for some towns in Cisleithania are given in the table below. Two findings are apparent from the table. First of all, it is clear that industrial cities in the Czech lands (particularly Plzeň) had more overcrowded flats compared to Vienna and Linz. Secondly, the statement above that the rate of overcrowding in flats very slowly fell over time can be confirmed. This fact is apparent from the table because the percentage of one-room and two-room flats, which were occupied by multiple people (i.e. three and more people per room) fell. However, this fall in numbers was not that dramatic, and the degree of overcrowding in the flats was not actually reduced everywhere. For instance, the percentage of one-room flats occupied by three and more people increased over a ten-year period by 0.33 per cent in Plzeň, and the situation was similar in relation to two-room

¹⁵ Most Legií now stands there.

¹⁶ From the municipal council, in: *Národní listy*, 33, 1893, 228, p. 3.

¹⁷ *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1890 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern. Heft 4 Die Wohnungsverhältnisse in den grösseren Städten und ihren Vororten*, Wien 1893, pp. II–III.

¹⁸ ŠPILÁČKOVÁ, p. 60.

¹⁹ About one's own home and cheap flats for officials and labourers, in: *Národní listy*, 47, 1907, 98, p. 4.

flats. On the contract the percentage of overcrowded flats in Brno and Liberec was successfully reduced and the percentage of one-room flats occupied by three and more people fell by 13.28 per cent, or by 10.44 per cent over ten years. Liberec registered successful development in regard to the same situation in two-room flats.

Act No. 144/1902 ř. z.,²⁰ which was connected to Act No. 37/1892 ř. z., on labourers' flats, was enacted in 1902. The new legislation further expanded the options of tax relief for construction of family homes intended for labourers. This act defined labourers as persons whose annual income did not exceed the sum of 1,200 K,²¹ labour families of two to four members were able to earn a maximum income of up to 1,800 K, families with five or more members were only considered labour families if they had an annual income of less than 2,400 K.

Table 1. One-room and Two-room Flats according to the Number of Persons occupying them – Development of the over Degree of Overcrowding in Small Flats between 1890 and 1900 in selected Towns and Cities²²

Town/ city	Years	Occupation rate of one-room flats by X persons [%] $X =$					Occupation rate of two-room flats by X persons [%] $X =$				
		1	2	3-5	6-10	>10	1-2	3-5	6-10	11-20	>20
Vienna	1890	18.30	31.98	43.20	6.22	0.30	24.45	55.03	20.05	0.46	0.01
	1900	22.93	33.98	38.38	4.68	0.03	25.86	54.20	19.63	0.31	0.00
Linz	1890	25.10	29.20	38.40	7.20	0.10	36.80	48.30	14.40	0.50	0.00
	1900	28.98	28.55	35.84	6.34	0.29	32.89	50.96	15.60	0.55	0.00
Trieste	1890	19.60	30.60	41.90	7.80	0.10	25.20	55.70	18.90	0.20	0.00
	1900	24.09	30.85	38.34	6.65	0.07	27.02	55.21	17.51	0.26	0.00
Liberec ²³	1890	12.90	22.30	51.70	12.80	0.30	21.50	55.10	22.70	0.70	0.00
	1900	20.98	24.66	44.85	9.45	0.06	31.42	54.53	13.74	0.28	0.03
Plzeň	1890	5.70	16.50	54.70	22.90	0.20	16.70	47.90	34.00	1.30	0.10
	1900	4.84	17.03	56.96	20.88	0.29	15.09	49.32	34.41	1.16	0.02
Brno	1890	20.50	23.50	43.20	11.60	1.20	22.70	51.90	24.70	0.70	0.00
	1900	29.42	27.86	34.51	7.82	0.39	25.56	51.54	22.25	0.65	0.00
Krakow	1890	9.70	19.20	43.60	25.80	1.70	16.40	41.80	37.90	3.50	0.40
	1900	14.25	20.83	43.34	20.87	0.71	19.74	43.37	35.04	1.85	0.00

²⁰ T. DVOŘÁK, *Bytové družstvo: převody družstevních bytů a další aktuální otázky*, Praha 2009, p. 4.

²¹ K = symbol for Krone.

²² *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. December 1900 in den im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern. 1. Heft. Erweiterte Wohnungsaufnahme*, Wien 1904, p. XIV.

²³ Excluding suburbs.

Table 2. Technical Conditions for Allocation of Support in Act No. 144/1902 ř. z.²⁴

Family houses		Dormitories for single people	
Number of rooms in the flat	Required area [square metres]	Number of rooms in the flat	Minimum area [square metres]
1	16–25	1	8
2	20–35	2	12
3	30–80	3	20

These limits were set an eighth higher in cities with a population exceeding 50,000 and a quarter higher in Vienna.²⁵

If all the conditions stipulated by the law were met, including those set out in the table below, the builder's of the buildings were able to use construction of houses with cheap flats to obtain exemption from class house tax for a period of 24 years, i.e. for the same period as in the preceding act.

However, the previous housing policy actions were not sufficient, because the price of building materials, rent and land increased at the beginning of the century – which meant that housing became unobtainable²⁶ and there was also a lack of loan capital²⁷ for financing purchase or construction of flats. Major changes were made to the housing policy in 1907. First of all a Headquarters for Housing Reforms in Austria was established in Vienna and the Czech Provincial Association for Housing Reforms with headquarters in Prague was established for the Czech lands,²⁸ and then, at the end of the same year, Act No. 285/1907 ř. z. was enacted.²⁹ The total volume of finances

²⁴ Ibid., Sections 5–6, pp. 492–493. The law considers dormitories for single persons to be “for the accommodation of individual persons of the same sex in separate residential rooms”. Each of these rooms could usually be occupied by one person, and a maximum of three persons. Ibid., Section 6, p. 493.

²⁵ Ř. z., part LXIX, Act No. 144/1902, dated July 8, 1902, on the relief for houses with sanitary and cheap flats for labourers, Section 2, p. 491.

²⁶ A. SOLDÁT, *Bytová otázka dělnická – dějiny a přehled úkolů reformy bytové*, Praha 1905, p. 26. On one's own home and cheap flats for officials and labourers, in: *Národní listy*, 47, 1907, 98, p. 4.

²⁷ DVOŘÁK, p. 4; GRUBER, pp. 20–21.

²⁸ At the impulse of the president of the local trade licencing council, the Provincial Association for Housing Reforms in Moravia was established on 16 January 1911, with the goal of improving the housing situation in the Moravian Margravate. See: Provincial Association for Housing Reforms in Moravia, in: *Moravský živnostník*, 10, 1911, 2, pp. 2–3.

²⁹ GRUBER, pp. 20–21; ř. z., part CXXX, Act No. 285/1907 Ř. z., dated December 28,

intended by this act for expenses was 83.3 million K.³⁰ The majority of this amount (57.7 million K) was intended for construction of railways. The remaining funds were intended to cover other requirements, such as construction of the telephone network, development of hospitals, but, from the viewpoint of the government, the most important sum is the four million Crowns intended for loan assistance in relation to assuring housing for government employees – the “*Emperor Franz Josef I. Fund in memory of the ruler’s jubilee in 1908*” (the so-called jubilee fund) was established.³¹

The supreme imperial decision dated September 28, 1908 brought a new regulation on how to dispose of funds intended for assuring the housing requirements of government employees and how to distribute these funds. The new regulation concerned permission of advantageous loans provided to building co-operatives, which undertook to construct cheap but sanitary flats in their articles, in places where there was a shortage of suitable flats or their owners rented them for high prices; it was also not possible to use money from the fund to support construction work carried out by those co-operatives who did not undertake to set a ceiling on the value of their membership dividends in the sum of 4 % of the share in their articles and whose activities did not primarily focus on active government officials.³²

Government funds could be provided not only for construction of new houses with flats but, in justified cases, also for purchase of existing residential property with the goal of converting it into affordable and sanitary housing for government employees. Support from the fund was in the form of a mortgage with an interest rate of 3 %, however, the total loan for the land and the house could only cover 90 % of its estimated value, which meant that the co-operatives had to have at least 10 % of the total construction costs available. The Ministry for

1907, on additional collection of taxes and fees and also about settlement of state costs during the period from 1 January to 30 June 1908, and about submission of the central final accounts concerning the state economy of the kingdom and lands at the Imperial council of representatives for 1907, Sections 1–9, pp. 1304–1306.

³⁰ Ibidem, Section 5, p. 1304.

³¹ Ibidem.

³² The Supreme Decision by His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty dated September 28, 1908. The entire text of the approved regulation is available for example in: Fund for Providing Flats for Government Officials, in: *Brněnské noviny*, 122, 1909, p. 1.

Public Works was responsible for the administration regarding permission of loans. The regulation stipulated the first day of the first month of the calendar quarter following the date on which the permit for use of the house was issued as the date repayment of the amortisation and interest commenced. The funds for the construction were not usually provided as a lump sum, but according to the progress of the construction work itself. First of all, the builders would receive part of the funds for covering the costs related to obtaining the land, then up to 75 % of the loan would be provided during the course of construction work and the builder would receive the remaining sum after completion of the building.³³

The regulation also focused on the structure of rent for flats built with the support of the fund. The rent could not be increased arbitrarily without the consent of the Ministry for Public Works, its value had to be set so that the investors generated a profit on one hand and so that the new flats did not lose their social character on the other hand.³⁴

The actual situation concerning the housing shortage in some areas of Cisleithania can be observed in the table above. On the basis of the results of the Census dated 1910 the table above shows how many people occupied one room in a flat with one, two, three or four rooms. The table also shows how many people occupied one flat. The problem of overcrowding continued to apply mainly to small flats with one or at most two residential rooms, of which there was a marked predominance in Prague for example. The table shows that there were an average of 2.36 people occupying one flat with one residential room in Vienna and when viewing the results of the Census it is clear that flats in the Austrian lands were much less crowded than in the industrialised Czech lands, where Brno and its suburbs reached values closest to the Austrian situation, with an average of 2.58 people occupying one flat with one room. On the contrary, the most heavily crowded flats in the Czech lands were in cities with heavy industry – Ostrava with an average of 4.06 people occupying one flat with one residential room and Kladno with an average of 4.01 people occupying in one flat with one residential room. Statistical surveys also examined the

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ Ibidem.

Table 3. The Number of Persons occupying one Room depending on the Size of the Flat and per Flat according to the Census dated 1910³⁵

Place	The number of people occupying a room in a flat with 1 to 4 rooms				Per one flat
	1	2	3	4	
Vienna	2.36	1.86	1.54	1.06	4.14
Prague	3.2	2.03	1.3	1.13	4.23
Brno	2.58	2.05	1.54	1.14	4.47
Salzburg	2.15	1.63	1.3	1.05	3.98
Linz	2.39	1.83	1.37	1.05	3.79
Kladno	4.01	2.44	1.77	1.29	4.62
Ostrava	4.06	2.59	1.88	1.4	5.34
Plzeň	3.8	2.28	1.65	1.24	4.52
Drohobych ³⁶	4.48	2.91	1.9	1.48	5.41
Těšín	3.42	2.18	1.65	1.21	4.61
Jihlava	3.45	2.06	1.39	1.09	4.03
Ph. agl. ³⁷	3.57	2.12	1.42	1.05	4.26
Terst	2.44	1.82	1.6	1.29	4.59
Cheb	3.55	2.11	1.54	1.19	4.26
Pardubice	3.42	2.09	1.48	1.15	4.19
Přerov	3.49	2.23	1.64	1.13	4.67

housing situation in relatively poor areas of the Cisleithanian part of the Monarchy, these being Bukovina and Galicia. The statisticians found the highest level of overcrowding of all of Cisleithania in Galician towns, Drohobych registered the highest degree of overcrowding with an average of 4.48 people occupying one flat with one residential room and there was also a relatively high level of people in one flat in this area (regardless of the number of rooms), this being an average of

³⁵ *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910 in den im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreichen und Ländern. 2. Heft des vierten Bandes. Wohnungsaufnahme, Wien 1914, pp. 10–11, 31.*

³⁶ City in Galicia (today in Lviv Oblast, Ukraine)

³⁷ Ph. agl. = Prague suburbs. It is appropriate to mention that Prague consisted of eight city districts, the suburbs of Prague included six “suburban” towns, these being Smíchov, Královské Vinohrady, Vršovice, Nusle, Žižkov and Karlín; the suburbs also included “more distant suburban municipalities” which were Košíře, Břevnov, Střešovice, Dejvice, Bubeneč, Hlubočepy, Vysočany, Podolí, Braník, Michle and Krč. For more information see J. HAVRÁNEK, *Pražští voliči roku 1907, jejich třídní složení a politické smýšlení*, in: *Pražský sborník historický XII*, 1980, pp. 170–212. According to period statistics the population of Prague, excluding the suburbs, was 233 thousand, see *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910*, p. 46.

5.41 people, which represented the maximum measured value out of all the surveyed towns in Cisleithania (however, Ostrava came on this imaginary scale). Apart from poverty, another reason for the flats in Galicia being so overcrowded could have also been the different demographic behaviour of the population, distinguished by the greater fertility of women compared to more advanced areas of Cisleithania.³⁸ In his book A. Soldát described how some residents of Prague lived in 1905 (i.e. five years after the Census). In Josefov the authorities found a dark flat, a former workshop, with one room, which was occupied by eleven adults and four children. Small flats with 22 or 30 tenants and sub-tenants were also discovered in the same district.³⁹

The successful lobbying activities of the Austrian Headquarters for Housing Reforms and the Czech Provincial Association for Housing Reforms resulted in Act No. 242/1910 ř. z. on establishment of a housing management fund.⁴⁰

³⁸ G. B. COHEN, Ethnicity and Urban Population Growth: The Decline of The Prague Germans, 1880–1910, in: K. HITCHINS (ed.), *Studies in East European Social History*, Vol. 2, Leiden 1981, pp. 10–11. Comparison of the occupancy rate of the smallest flats (i.e. the number of persons in a 1-room flat) in 1910 and now is interesting. The data from 1910 indicates that this number ranged around 3.5 persons in the Czech lands, the approximate value of this indicator can be calculated for the Czech Republic at the present on the basis of data from the Census of people, houses and flats from 2011 – 1.66 persons to a 1-room flat and 0.93 persons per 1 room in a flat with 2 residential rooms, which is a very significant difference compared to 1910. For more information see the Census of people, houses and flats 2011: Tab. 122 Occupied flats according to the number of people in the flat and according to type of house, type of flat and number of rooms, available at https://vdb.czso.cz/vdbvo2/faces/cs/index.jsf?page=statistiky&filtr=G~F_M~F_Z~F_R~F_P~_S~_null_null_#katalog=30731 [2017-04-05] and *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910*, p. 31.

³⁹ SOLDÁT, pp. 14–15.

⁴⁰ Public housing management in this country, in: *Národní listy*, 51, 1911, 282, p. 9. J. Gruber states that organisation of the 9th international housing conference in Vienna from 29 May and 3 June in 1910 also contributed to the rising influence of the Housing Reform Headquarters and its analogue in the Czech lands. GRUBER, pp. 20–21. The elite of the time met at the conference in order to discuss the housing issues. Proposals for taxation of acquisition of land were heard (probably with the goal of restricting property speculation), as well as proposals for support of charitable construction works or decentralisation of industry. Baron Oppenheimer primarily considered the wealthy classes' sympathy with the needs of the destitute to be a solution to the housing issue. Others thought that cooperation across the classes of the population, which should be preceded by election reforms leading to greater democratisation of the system, could be a solution. Professor of statistics, H. Rauch-

Table 4. Amounts for the Housing Management Fund according to the Act on Establishment of a Housing Management Fund⁴¹

Period	Amount in Krone (total)
1911 and 1912	1,500,000
1913	1,300,000
1914	1,500,000
1915	2,200,000
1916 to 1918	7,500,000 (2.5 mil. p.a.)
1919 to 1920	7,000,000 (3.5 mil. both years)
1921	4,000,000

Act No. 242/1910 ř. z., on establishment of a housing management fund, focused on improving the living conditions of the poorer inhabitants. On the contrary to Act No. 285/1907 ř. z. it did not apply to just government employees, but to a much broader group of recipients.⁴² Act No. 242/1910 ř. z. determined the volume of funds that would be expended on financing the housing management fund. A ten-year horizon was assumed, whereas the planned volume of funds for the purpose of the housing fund would be increased over the years from 1.5 million K in 1911 and 1912 (in total) to four million K in 1921. Total costs for financing the Housing Management Fund on the basis of this Act should have risen to 25 million K over ten years.⁴³

Loan assistance from the housing management fund could be obtained by public corporations, charitable societies, construction companies and foundations, who built houses with small flats. This assistance was provided using two methods. Support using the first method, i.e. indirect loan assistance, consisted of the fund providing a

berg, stated that the essential cause of problems on the housing market was the unavailability of mortgages. He promoted the concept of the state or municipality helping builders arrange mortgages using the funds they administered and guaranteed. The opinion that the housing shortage was mainly caused by the low salaries of the labourers, which prevented them from satisfying even the most modest housing needs, was also heard. Social matters, in: *Naše doba: revue pro vědu, umění a život sociální*, 17, 1910, 9, pp. 683–684.

⁴¹ Ř. z., part CII, Act No. 242/1910, dated December 22, 1910, on establishment of a housing management fund, Section 3, p. 751.

⁴² Ibidem, Section 1, p. 751.

⁴³ Ibidem, Section 3, p. 751.

guarantee for loans and interest. The second method of support, so-called direct loan support, meant providing a loan directly to a legal entity, however, this support was conditional to at least 10 % of the costs being covered from the entity's own funds. The total volume of guarantees provided by the government could not exceed 200 million K. If the indebted legal persons had difficulty paying off the loans on individual buildings, the Housing Management Fund would acquire the title to these buildings. The definition of a small flat is interesting from today's viewpoint. According to the law at the time a small flat should have at maximum area of 80 square metres (including closets, room and kitchen).⁴⁴ Hostels, dormitories for single people⁴⁵ and boarding houses were also classified in the small flat category. The term "charitable societies" was also defined and their regulation was implemented. According to J. Gruber the method of defining small flats was a signal that the government housing policy would no longer be concerned with just the housing difficulties affecting the labourer and poorer classes, but would also focus on helping the middle classes.⁴⁶ The Housing Management Fund was used to help build 1,093 houses with 2,728 flats.⁴⁷

A year later the funds for the government housing fund were increased by two million K by means of Act No. 244/1911 ř. z.⁴⁸ Act No. 242/1911 ř. z. provided tax relief for construction and conversion of

⁴⁴ Ibidem, Section 6, p. 752. We must point here the potential discrepancies between Act No. 242/1910 ř. z., and the quoted literature GRUBER, p. 23 a ŠPILÁČKOVÁ, p. 63. Section 6 of the Act states: "The following in particular are considered small flats within the meaning of this Act: 1. family flats, if the residential area of each individual flat (rooms, closets, kitchen) does not exceed 80 square metres"; Gruber: "The fund's articles consider a small flat to be enclosed family flats with a residential area of up to 80 % (which does not include secondary rooms, such as small kitchen, bathroom, rooms for servants, etc.)." Špiláčková (quotes Gruber): "Enclosed family flats of an area of up to 80 m² (this does not include the kitchen, bathroom, secondary rooms and rooms for servants), and also hostels, dormitories for single persons and boarding houses (similar to today's lodgings) were considered small flats."

⁴⁵ According to Act No. 242/1910 ř. z., "Dormitories for single persons must be arranged so that each residential room is usually occupied by one, or a maximum of three persons. Persons of different sexes may only be housed in completely separate sections." Ř. z., part CII, Act No. 242/1910, dated December 22, 1910, on establishment of the housing management fund, Section 6, p. 752.

⁴⁶ GRUBER, p. 23.

⁴⁷ DVOŘÁK, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Ř. z., part CII, Act No. 244/1911, dated December 28, 1911, on government aid for the housing management fund, Section 1, p. 662.

houses with small flats.⁴⁹ Furthermore, according to Act No. 243/1911 ř. z., charitable societies engaged in construction, the net proceeds of which do not exceed the maximum sum of 1,200 K, are completely exempt from profit tax. Subventions provided to charitable societies and public corporations were exempt from tax by this legal standard.⁵⁰ J. Gruber pointed out the fact that by October 1913 the fund had assumed guarantees for loans of a total value of 21.37 million K and provided direct loans in the total volume of 1.25 million K, which was less than the amount that could be provided according to the law.⁵¹

In May 1912 Act No. 86/1912 ř. z. came into force,⁵² which regulated building law, along with charitable construction works.⁵³ Section 19 of this Act, which determined relief from fees during acquisition of real property, was especially important.⁵⁴ According to J. Gruber the purpose of the act was to simplify acquisition of building plots without taking on oppressive capital obligations, or in reduction of building costs and stimulation of construction of new, financially affordable flats.⁵⁵ According to Section 3 of the abovementioned act, it would be possible to build a building on a land plot belonging to another person for at least 30 and at most 80 years, for a so-called building rent (construction fee). According to Section 2 building rights could only be established on land belonging to the state and some municipalities, and this regulation could also be applied to land belonging to religious organisations and charitable co-operatives, which required a decision by the political provincial authority, which was required to consider whether such a step was in the “public interest”.⁵⁶ It is clear that the

⁴⁹ L. MUSIL, Chudoba a československý stát mezi dvěma světovými válkami, in: *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské university*, 43, 1994, G36, p. 33. Ř. z., part CII, Act No. 242/1911, dated December 28, 1911, on tax relief for new buildings, annexes, additional storeys and conversions in general and for construction of small flats in particular, see particularly appendix B and C, pp. 654–659.

⁵⁰ Ř. z., part CII, Act No. 243/1911, dated December 28, 1911, on tax and fee relief for charitable building societies, Section 1, p. 660.

⁵¹ GRUBER, p. 23.

⁵² Ř. z., part XXXIII, Act No. 86/1912, dated April 26, 1912, on building law, Sections 1–20, pp. 276–279.

⁵³ GRUBER, p. 24.

⁵⁴ Ř. z., part XXXIII, Act No. 86/1912, dated April 26, 1912, on building law, Section 19, pp. 278–279.

⁵⁵ GRUBER, p. 24.

⁵⁶ Ř. z., Part XXXIII, Act No 86/1912, dated April 26, 1912, on building law, Section 2–3,

act did not apply to private individuals, which limited the scope of this act and the success during fulfilment of its goals.⁵⁷

The building codes were also one of the causes of the difficult situation on the Cisleithanian housing markets.⁵⁸ No legal standards with central impact applied to the Building Code in Austria, apart from regulation in the constitution, and the legal regulations applying to building codes can therefore be considered quite fragmented. Each city had its own Building Code, whereas provincial codes simultaneously existed, which were intended for rural regions. Most of the codes originated during the middle of the 19th century and delegated building supervision to the municipality. One persisting problem, which some building codes suffered from, was their ambiguity. The codes determined various normative provisions, which regulated technical, safety and sanitary matters in relation to construction of buildings, but did not determine whether these provisions only applied to establishment of new districts or to all building activities.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the fairly strict stipulation of some parameters of the building codes made construction of buildings more expensive, which consequently had a negative impact on the price of the flats and the rent. And the entire issue was underscored by the high rent tax.⁶⁰ As J. Rákosník mentioned, millions of Krone were earmarked from public funds for construction of buildings with flats within the terms of emergency works, in order to moderate the impact of the housing shortages on the labourer and middle classes in Prague and Brno.⁶¹

pp. 276–277.

⁵⁷ GRUBER, p. 24.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 25.

⁵⁹ D. NOVOTNÁ, *Regulace stavby měst v historii*, in: *Urbanismus a územní rozvoj*, 8, 2005, 2, p. 9.

⁶⁰ GRUBER, pp. 190–191.

⁶¹ ŠPILÁČKOVÁ, p. 63. Emergency works were one method the state used to try to deal with unemployment. This was the predecessor of today's so-called active employment policy, the disadvantage of this method was that it was only short-term and also the fact that people qualified in other professions carried the work out. It was carried out mainly by municipalities and, as well as being financed from public funds, it was also occasionally supported by private funds. For more details on the topic of emergency works see J. RÁKOSNÍK, *Odvrácená tvář meziválečné prosperity: nezaměstnanost v Československu v letech 1918–1938*, Praha 2008, pp. 55 and 69.

The beginning of the First World War had an impact on the residential property market, as well as other markets. The impact of the war on this market can be divided into two diametrically different phases.

The first phase overlaps the beginnings of the Great War, when shortages on the housing market were controlled as a result of a great number of young people leaving home to fight on the front. Some of those who did not receive their draft notice left to live in the country with their relatives and so many flats remained empty. This fact put pressure on reduction of the prices of flats and on reduction of the rent level.⁶² This statement can be substantiated by the period daily press. Tens of adverts had the fact that they included sentences praising their interior and the low rent in common. It is also interesting that flats of various sizes were on offer – from one-room and two-room flats to those with six rooms. The *Národní listy* periodical from 31 January 1915 illustrates the surplus of flats quite well, whereas it contained seven inquiries and 95 adverts offering flats for lease.⁶³ The beginning of the war caused chaos and a slight economic slump, the pro-export sectors were affected – particularly the textile industry.⁶⁴ In spite of all expectation it became apparent that the war would last longer, which forced the decision-making sphere to restructure the Austrian economy in the winter of 1914, from a market-orientated economy to a war economy. This change initially caused economic expansion, which was supported by debt financing of the economy and allocation of manufacturing factors to non-productive sectors.⁶⁵ This boom became apparent in practice in relation the programme for emergency works for example, when only 600 municipalities out of 2,000 began emergency works. Only 6.98 % out of the total of 215 districts was affected by critical unemployment at this time.⁶⁶

The debt-financed boom did not last long however and economic difficulties soon appeared, which also affected the housing market.

⁶² GRUBER, p. 65.

⁶³ Minor announcements in: *Národní listy*, 55, 1915, 32, p. 14; the situation was similar in most issued of this time – for example Minor announcements in: *Národní listy*, 55, 1915, 40, p. 7 or Minor announcements in: *Lidové noviny*, 23, 1915, 126, p. 4. Compare the number of offers in 1915 and 1910, e. g., Minor announcements in: *Národní listy*, 50, 1910, 16, p. 19.

⁶⁴ JINDRA – JAKUBEC, p. 464; RÁKOSNÍK, p. 76.

⁶⁵ JINDRA – JAKUBEC, p. 464.

⁶⁶ RÁKOSNÍK, p. 76.

The problem of a shortage of flats and increasing rent arose once again in 1817. This precarious situation was mainly caused by the shortage of building materials and the lack of labour force to construct new buildings with affordable flats.⁶⁷

In a desperate attempt to prevent a housing crisis the state issued Ministerial Regulation No. 34/1917 ř. z. on protection of tenants, on January 26, 1917, which froze rent on the level of 1 July 1916 in its article 1(1).⁶⁸ However, the rent could be increased if the tax burden, costs for payment of the mortgage or costs for maintenance of the building increased.⁶⁹ Another more noticeable intervention by this regulation in the market structure of the housing market was the restriction of the lessor's options for giving notice to the tenant without serious reasons.⁷⁰ According to Section 3(2) the scope of this regulation was limited to flats for which a building permit was issued before 27 January 1917 and was also not valid throughout the lands but only in specific areas.⁷¹ The local scope of the regulation was specified by separate regulation No. 36/1917 ř. z. and only applied to Plzeň in the Czech lands.⁷² But if we re-examine Regulation No. 34/1917, we can notice the specific compensation for owners of rented flats included in Section 8 of the aforementioned decree, which imposed restrictions on the increase in interest on mortgages, which secured houses with rented flats. Section 9 of the same regulation made it possible to request a court of law to extend the maturity date of mortgages securing properties with rented flats, under the condition that the financial situation of the owners of the rented flats required this and also on the condition that the creditors suffered no significant harm as a result.⁷³ The legal

⁶⁷ GRUBER, p. 65.

⁶⁸ Ř. z., part XVI, All-Ministries Regulation No. 34/1917, dated January 26, 1917, on protection of tenants, Article 1(1) and Section 1, p. 93.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, Section 2, pp. 93–94.

⁷⁰ These reasons included delayed payment of rent, serious breach of the house rules and also use of the flat for the owners requirements, Section 7, p. 94.

⁷¹ Ibidem, Section 3, p. 94.

⁷² Ibidem, part XVII, Regulation by the Minister of Law, Minister of Public works and the Minister of the Interior No. 36/1917, dated January 31, 1917, on protection of tenants in Vienna, Vienna New town and the surrounding area, Saint Hippolyta and the surrounding area, in Linz, Urfahr, in Styria, Graz, Maribor, Ljubljana (police district) and in Plzeň, paragraph 1, p. 100.

⁷³ Ibidem, part XVI, All-Ministries Regulation No. 34/1917, dated January 26, 1917, on protection of tenants, Article 1, Sections 8–9, pp. 94–95.

regulations required that municipalities with a population of at least 20 thousand in the Census from 1910 establish rent offices regulating the value of rent. The decree was intended to be valid until December 31, 1918.⁷⁴

Two new ministerial decrees were enacted in the following year. Decree No. 21/1918 ř. z., on protection of tenants, which now also applied government protection to sub-tenants in its Section 2b and its jurisdiction also applied to all municipalities, on the contrary to previous regulations.⁷⁵ Another regulation, No. 114/1918, was enacted at the end of March. Its scope applied mainly to municipalities suffering or at the risk of suffering a shortage of flats, which was to be evaluated by the provincial political authority, together with the provincial committee for municipalities and districts. This regulation implemented the option of determining areas of a non-residential character as residential, under the condition that they met specific technical and hygienic rules, which was to be supervised by authorised bodies.⁷⁶ This regulation also restricted the owner's options of arbitrarily modifying the flats; according to articles 2–5 residential rooms could only be converted into non-residential and multiple flats could only be merged into a single flat in important cases, particularly in “public interest” in the first case and in order to assure joint management of several households in the second case. Before the Building Office could issue a building permit all plans had to be approved by a political authority of the first instance.⁷⁷

Transleithania experienced similar problems to Cisleithania. The first legal standard reacting to the appearance of wartime suffering on the housing market was issued here in 1916 and this concerned Regulation No. 3787/1916, on prohibition of increasing rent for flats and giving notice to tenants. This decree set the maximum rent for Bu-

⁷⁴ Ibidem, Section 12 and Article II, pp. 95, 97.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, part XII, Regulation by the Minister of Law and Minister of Social Care in accord with the involved Ministers No. 21/1918, dated January 20, 1918, on protection of tenants, Sections 2b and 22, pp. 95, 98–99.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, part LIV, Regulation by the Minister of Social Care in accord with the Minister of Internal Affairs and Law No. 114/1918, dated March 28, 1918, on housing management measures, Article 1 and Section 1, pp. 279–280.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, part II, Section 2–5, p. 280. For offences committed by violation of this legal standard a fine of 5,000 K could be imposed on the offender (a) or the offender could be imprisoned for a period of six weeks. Ibidem, part III, Section 8, p. 281.

dapest (5 thousand K), towns with a population of over 20 thousand (3 thousand K) and for small towns (2.5 thousand K) in relation to lease agreements concluded between 1 February 1914 and 1 November 1916. The second important provision concerned prohibition of owners from giving notice on the agreement. This prohibition did not apply to situations when the tenant failed to pay the rent to the owner, or if the owner himself needed somewhere to live. It is interesting that fixed-term lease agreements were transformed into unlimited agreements after they expired. This regulation did not apply to sub-tenants.⁷⁸

The regulation was amended the following year by Regulation No. 590/1917. This legislation increased the options owners of flats had when giving notice to tenants, whereas the tenant was given the option of appealing to a lease committee (*lakbérleti bizottság*), a newly established institution, which was also regulated by additional legal regulations. It was also this committee's task to deal with the housing situation of people returning from the war.⁷⁹ Ministerial Regulation No. 4180/1917, on lease of flats, resulted in some relaxation of the currently very restrictive situation because it permitted a 10% increase in rent for medium-size flats with the consent of the housing committee. The term "medium-size flat" was precisely specified in the act. In Budapest this was a flat for which the annual rent was 1,500 to 5,000 K, in municipalities with a population of over 20,000 this concerned flats with an annual rent of between 1,000 and 3,500 K and in municipalities with a population of less than 20,000 this applied to flats with an annual rent of 700 to 2,500 K. The regulation enabled an even more marked increase in rent for larger flats. On the other hand, the regulation made it more difficult to give notice to short-term tenants as a result of delayed payment of rent, if part of the rent was paid within the specified deadline.⁸⁰ Gruber considered these acts very ineffective in relation to Slovakia.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Hungarian legislation from 1916, 1917, in: *Právny obzor*, 1, 1917, 1, p. 10.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 10–12.

⁸⁰ Regulation by the Hungarian Ministries No. 4180/1917 M. E. on lease of flats, in: *Právny obzor*, 1, 1917, 2–3, pp. 44–45.

⁸¹ GRUBER, p. 66.

Conclusion

The government's intervention in the residential property market in Cisleithania was very delayed compared to West European states. The first truly relevant housing policy action was taken by the government in the 1890s and concerned an act that was intended to stimulate construction of residential housing for the poorest inhabitants by means of tax relief, in order to help resolve the difficult situation on the market, which was dominated by overcrowded and unsanitary flats. However, due to the strictly set limits, the act failed to meet expectations. In some areas of the monarchy the housing conditions very gradually improved, as the Censuses from 1900 and 1910 demonstrated, but in many places the situation did not change much or even became worse over time (for example in Plzeň).

In the new century the government's activities on the housing market were expanded further, initially by an act from 1902, which expanded upon the preceding legal regulations and determined who fell within the low-income category and what the government-supported flats should look like. The act from 1907 established a fund whose accumulated funds were intended for providing loans with a favourable interest rate for constructing housing for government employees. The Housing Management Fund was established in 1910, also thanks to the successful lobbying activities of interested groups. This act did not apply to just government employees, but also to other recipients. The fund provided selected builders with indirect assistance in the form of a guarantee for a loan for the building, up to a specific value of the construction costs. The fund's money could also be used to offer direct loan assistance.

The First World War initially brought relief to the housing market, because many people left to fight in the war on the front, but because there was no one left to build new flats and there was also no suitable building material, a housing crisis of unprecedented dimensions soon occurred. The government endeavoured to counter this by enacting various significantly restrictive laws preventing owners of flats from arbitrarily changing the rent or modifying the actual flats. Similar measures were also accepted by the Transleithanian government during the war. The housing policy framework established by the Danubian Federation was also subsequently assumed by the new Czechoslovak Republic.

Identity, Neighbourhood Cultures and the Re-definition of Social Values in Colonial Lagos

Monsuru Olalekan Muritala*

Colonial Lagos has enjoyed enormous scholarly historical interrogations and interpretations. The existing body of knowledge cut across social, political and economic history. Despite this however, there is a huge gap to be filled in the cultural and social history of Lagos. Thus, this paper examined identity neighbourhood cultures and the re-definition of social values in colonial Lagos. I argue in this paper that British socio-economic policies and political manipulations impacted greatly on the sub-structure and super-structure of the society. Besides, the heterogeneous society of Lagos experienced identity formations and dilution in cultures, which fostered re-definition of social values. The paper concludes that colonialism re-defined neighbourhood cultures by introducing new urban life and culture as well as provided the platform for the growth in crime, begging culture, destitution, prostitution and juvenile delinquency.

[Identity; Neighbourhood Cultures; Social Values; Colonial Lagos]

Introduction

Identity is a known phenomenon all over the world. People define themselves one way or another.¹ Despite the contestations and ambiguity around the concept of identity, the concept has continued to define human relations in different ways.² Identity is defined as “*the way individuals and groups defined themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language and culture*”.³ The period

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¹ I. M. ALUMONA – S. N. AZOM, Politics of Identity and the Crisis of Nation Building in Africa, in: S. O. OLORUNTOBA – T. FALOLA (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Politics, Governance and Development*, New York 2018, p. 292.

² Ibidem.

³ F. DENZ, *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in Sudan*, Washington DC 1995, p. 33.

of colonialism and its features of urbanisation and modernisation in Lagos impacted greatly on the people and their lifestyles. They experienced identity formation, dilution in cultures and social values. From the mid- nineteenth century when Lagos was ceded to the British, there emerged a new social hierarchy, with the British officials, missionaries and even traders as the aristocracy, the immigrant black elite as the middle class, and the indigenes of Lagos as the lower class.⁴ The two major immigrant groups that exerted considerable influence on the transformation of indigenous Lagos community into an urban metropolis were the Brazilian/Cuban and Sierra Leonian repatriates.⁵ There was no doubt that as they began to settle firmly in parts of the town specifically allocated to them, they acquired “foreign” lifestyles in dress, food, religion, education and language which they brought with them. These became quite noticeable and distinguished them as possessing some prestigious social attributes despite the historical experience of their previous enslavement. The Brazilian repatriates lived at Portuguese town or *Popo Aguda*; the *Saro* or “Sierra Leonians” (recaptives or liberated slaves from Sierra Leone) lived at *Olowogbowo*; while the indigenous Lagosians occupied the rest of the Island.

During the period of their sojourn in Brazil, Cuba and Sierra Leone, they had acquired considerable skills in several trades and vocations. Many of them had also acquired professional training, a very high standard of education and of cultural sophistication.⁶ Echeruo describes these “repatriates” as constituting themselves into “a unique community maintaining ties with the Yoruba homeland, and yet sharing a great deal with the small but prominent and prosperous expatriate community”. He continues: “Whether they were repatriates from Brazil and the Americas, immigrants from Sierra Leone and Liberia or simply educated migrants from England, these men were a force in setting Lagos apart as the youngest and fastest growing community on the West coast.”⁷

⁴ T. EUBA, Dress and Status in 19th Century Lagos, in: A. ADEFUYE – B. AGIRI – J. OSUNTOKUN (eds.), *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, Ikeja 1987, p. 142.

⁵ F. AKERE, Linguistic assimilation in socio-historical dimensions in urban and suburban Lagos, in: A. ADEFUYE – B. AGIRI – J. OSUNTOKUN (eds.), *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, Ikeja 1987, p. 160.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ M. J. C. ECHERUO, *Victorian Lagos: aspects of nineteenth century Lagos Life*, London 1977, p. 16.

The ego of the Sierra Leonians who wore so much clothing to compete with the King of Lagos redefined the attitudes and mode of dressing of the Lagosians in the twentieth century. Before contact with the Europeans, the common Lagosian, male or female, wore very little clothing themselves, but as late as 1933, an observer noted that: “Lagosians do not care much for clothing as a covering, but they were very fond of it for purposes of display, and on great occasions, exhibit it in great quantities, and in all colours and shades of colour. And that on ordinary occasions many people content themselves with less clothing than decency requires. The young of both sexes are very often allowed to go without clothing and when it might be expected that their own sense of propriety would lead them to seek the use of it.”⁸

Dress is an image maker and image destroyer. The phenomenon of dress in the social life of Lagos in the 19th century, both for its own sake and for the insight it gave into the cultural history of the Yoruba who formed the majority of the population of Lagos cannot be overlooked as far as the changes in social life was concerned. Of all the immigrants in Lagos, the Saros as they were popularly called were the Sierra Leonian repatriates in Lagos, who were at the forefront of the cultural dilution. The Saros wanted the better of the two worlds.⁹ They wanted to be English yet never gave up their right to be African, “to go Fantee” as they termed it. But ever mindful of their status as “black English”, they tended to be apologetic about their African impulses.¹⁰ The attitude of one contributor to the *Anglo African Times* in November 1863 was probably typical of all but the most extreme Saros: “We in Africa assume a kind of indulgence – we do not hold ourselves amenable to all the formalities and exactions of fashionable life in Europe. We can dine in frock coats or without coats, if by doing so we add to our comfort. We can smoke in the house, even in our dining rooms, and indeed when the cloth is removed, cigars are as often present as fruits and wine- and not a few of our veritable gentlemen might often, a few always, be seen in collar shirt, waistcoat and sometimes even culotte(except our loose pyjamas are dignified with the name of trousers) – so too we are not over-particular as to when we make a call, especially if it be on business, so that we do not arouse a man at

⁸ J. B. WOOD, *Historical Notices of Lagos, West Africa and on the Inhabitants of Lagos, their Character, Pursuits and Languages*, Lagos 1993, pp. 53–55.

⁹ EUBA, p. 150.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

*midnight; and many of us are all the more pleased if a visitor calls at dinner time, for them we ask him to take a chair and be welcome, and if our neighbours are well behaved and respectable we don't usually make them feel that we esteem ourselves their superiors. Such is life, in the main, amongst us Africans; and it is necessary that it should be so far, far more than it can be at home, we are dependent upon each other."*¹¹

The above remark reveals the attitudes of the Saros to the Lagosians and other groups in Lagos. These translated into the need to carve for themselves unique identities. Thus, the expression of unique identities in dress and fashion became a popular culture amongst the Saros, Brazillian returnees, Yoruba Lagosians, and Hausa immigrants from the hinterland as well as other groups. Subsequently, the process of cultural dilution and assimilation became entrenched in the city of Lagos.

Islam and Christianity played important roles in the redefinition of social values and the cultural dilution of the society in the nineteenth and twentieth century Lagos. For instance, the Islamic religion was already quite prominent in Lagos during the latter half of the nineteenth century. By the 1870s, a sizeable number of indigenous Lagosians had already embraced "Mohamedanism".¹² The assimilatory influences of the Islamic religion on the cultural life of the people of Lagos are evident in the use of Muslim names like *Lateef, Nojeem, Akeem, Monsur, Kassim, Nurudeen, Ibrahim, Bashir*, and so on as first names.¹³ These Muslim names are usually used in conjunction with indigenous Yoruba personal or family names as *Lateef Kosoko, Sultan Ladega Adele, Rabiātu Ajala, Kudirat Oyekan*, and so on.¹⁴ In fact, among the non-literate members of the community, some of these Muslim names had been assimilated into the phonological structure of the Yoruba language, for example *Latifu, Rabiātu, Kudiratu* and so on. Besides, Islamic religion created initially seasonal means of livelihood, which later translated to full-fledged occupation on the entertainment platform. This seasonal means of livelihood according to Mabinuori, was in the form of those Muslims who moved around the town in the early morning during the month of Ramadan to wake up their

¹¹ *Anglo African Times*, 14/11/1883, p. 2.

¹² AKERE, p. 173.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

brethren for prayers by beating of pans, drums and sticks in return for money from the Islamic faithful. For years, this practice, popularly known as were, and the youth involved known as *ajiwere* continued undisturbed, and the number of youths engaged in it increased on yearly basis.¹⁵ In fact, by the late 1950s, it transformed into what is today known as Fuji music and was no longer a seasonal means of livelihood but a fully-fledged occupation.¹⁶

Apart from the impact of Islamic religion on the social space of Lagos during the period of study, Christian missionaries also impacted greatly on Lagos. They recognized the importance of music and entertainment in Lagos life, as the Methodist movement opined that the new urban community in Lagos desired entertainment whether holy or profane.¹⁷ As implied in the comment of August 1888, by *Observer* newspaper, if Lagos did not have music in their churches, the pews would become vacant, and the music halls and entertainment houses would flourish in consequence. This observation was targeted at discouraging the growth and patronage of entertainment houses and music halls for the Christian missionaries to sustain the loyalty and steadfastness of the Christian faithful. During the Emancipation celebrations in Lagos in October 1888, the principal sermon was devoted to a condemnation of the concert.¹⁸ The preacher “condemned the tendencies of the rising generation for Balls and concerts with other kindred pleasures to the detriment of those by which man is elevated”.¹⁹ Ironically, the report ended with a listing of the rest of the day’s programme of events, including “A Grand Ball at the Glover Memorial Hall, A Dramatic Entertainment at the Roman Catholic School Room, A musical Party at the Glover Memorial Hall, a Carnival Procession through the town, and a fancy Dress Ball at the Glover Memorial Hall”.²⁰

Apparently, concerts, music and similar entertainments introduced by the settler population (Brazilian and Sierra Leonian returnees) were satisfying the cultural and the social needs of the people to the

¹⁵ Oral Interviews held with Mabinuori Kudirat, 68 years, trader at 9, Pashi Street, near Alli street, Lagos Island on 1/08/2012.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ ECHERUO, p. 72.

¹⁸ *Observer*, Comment on Emancipation Celebration in Lagos, 13/08/1888.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ ECHERUO, p. 73.

disadvantage of missionary activities. This was in addition to the traditional music popularized by Brimah Danmale and Oranyan in the early nineteenth century Lagos. Subsequently, the missionaries had no choice but to adopt entertainment in their styles of evangelism. The *Observer* in 1888, praised *keri keri* dance as “the real thing” and when the new C. M. S. Yoruba Hymnbook was published in 1888, the *Observer* was quite enthusiastic: “*The Yoruba Nation at least is a nation of poets. Without music, they are inert; without poetry, they are inane [. . .] Take away singing from the Churches of Lagos today, and the pews will be vacant and innumerable music halls and entertainment houses will sprout up.*”²¹

Corroborating this view, Echeruo opines that traditionally, Lagos was a city of drummers and singers. Similarly, in a report of April 15, 1865, the *Anglo-African* remarked on this assertion, arguing that: “*Native women were apt at song-making. Every event of interest was, as it were, recorded on the memory of these people in this way; and one could almost produce a history of any locality by compiling the many songs which, from day-to-day, are on the lips of women and children.*”²²

The point being made here is that apart from the traditional music and dancing, entertainment had been part of pre-colonial Lagos, this became re-defined in the city as a result of the influence of immigrants from the hinterland, the British colonialists, and influence of Islam and Christianity as well as the activity of the Sierra Leoneans and Brazilian repatriates.

Educated Elite, Urban Life and Identity in Lagos

The first generation educated elite were not a product of the Nigerian situation: they were slaves, or children of such slaves who, it was believed by society, were a happy riddance banished for ever from Nigeria.²³ Ironically however, in the modern history of Nigeria the banished slaves and their offspring that were hitherto rejected stone was to become the corner – stone of the Nigerian edifice. For when they returned to Nigeria the *Saro*, as the first generation Western – style educated elite came to be widely known, had been metamorphosed in such a way that they began to see themselves as leaders who should be

²¹ *Observer*, Editorial comments, 11/08/1888 and 18/08/1888.

²² *Anglo Africa*, “Music in Lagos”, 15/04/1865, p. 1.

²³ E. A. AYANDELE, *The Educated Elite in the Nigerian Society*, Ibadan 1974, p. 9.

followed by the rest of the Nigerian society.²⁴ They returned with a different conception of man, his world – view, his religion, his life – style, his value system, the attributes a leader should have and the course of history society should chart.²⁵ These educated elite took the entertainment and theatre industry in Lagos like a colossus and improved it by setting up dramatic companies as well as organised concerts of various kinds.

Outside the missions, favourable to the growth of the concerts in Lagos was a small, well-educated and “cultured” elite made up mainly of the expatriate colonial Civil Servants and the Missionaries, the Brazilian Community which increased in number after the emancipation (1888), Sierra Leonians who came out as professionals with the Mission, in the Government Service, or on their own, and a number of ‘educated’ Lagosians.²⁶ In spite of the mixed culture of the community, concert and entertainment industry assumed an “international character”, which in turn gave an impetus to the growth of indigenous participation as a result of the activities of these educated elite. For instance, the Brazilian Dramatic Company, under the patronage of the German Consul, Heinrich Bey, performed a “Grand Theatre” in honour of Queen Victoria’s jubilee on May 23, 1882. This concert, according to Echeruo, was so humorous, dramatic and eventful that there were requests for repeat performances.

Entertainment, Popular Cultures and Livelihood in Colonial Lagos

Drumming, singing, concert organizing, stage theatre and cinema business provided employment for the residents of Lagos during the colonial period.²⁷ Besides, Lagos had well-established drama festivals and masquerades which provided regular entertainment of near professional quality. Apart from *keri keri* and *Batakoto* that were indigenous to Lagos, the returnees in Lagos from Sierra Leone and South America featured new forms of entertainment in which many people were engaged.²⁸

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ ECHERUO, p. 75.

²⁷ Oral Interview held with Muritala Isiwatu, 70 years, trader at 70, Are-Ago street, Agbado-Ijaiye, Lagos on 2/08/2012.

²⁸ *Keri Keri* and *Batakoto* were so popular that women often followed its musicians for

Ade – Ajayi in his study of Christian missions in Nigeria has drawn attention to the skills of the slaves from America in theatre and singing as emanating from their experiences before emancipation.²⁹ When these Brazilians came back to Lagos, they brought back their great love for song, and made it more elaborate by the addition of many refinement of European musical practice.³⁰ Names like J. J. da Costa, J. A. Campos, L. G. Barboza and P. Z. Silva (for a long time stage manager of the Brazilian Dramatic Company) were well known in Lagos concert circles.³¹ Besides, the Syrian businessmen operated cinema houses, Corona Cinema at Alli Street; Rialto Cinema at Offin Street and Casino Cinema at Broad Street were the popular spots.³² These increased cinema outlets impacted greatly on the entertainment space of Lagos by providing the residents new relaxation spaces, which hitherto were unknown to the people before these periods.

By the middle of the twentieth century, the migrants from the hinterland – the remote and underdeveloped regions outside Lagos had introduced different kinds of music to boost the entertainment industry. Theatre plays by the late Hubert Ogunde Company were staged at Glover Hall along Victoria Street.³³ Quite dominant were also the social activities that went on most weekends, parties by families naming the new-born, or celebrating marriages or burying the dead. These were the regular platforms for musicians and musical outfits like Ayinde Bakare, Tunde Nightingale and Yusuf Olatunji.³⁴ Thus, an appreciable number of migrants found survival in the entertainment industry in the course of their sojourn in Lagos as singers, dancers, drummers and theatre artistes. Drumming and singing, for example, had been regular (almost daily) features of Lagos life. On several occasions, the chiefs, the police and the government were in open conflict. The introduction of ordinance prohibiting drumming on the streets of Lagos in 1903 generated grievances and sharp responses from the res-

days without going back to their houses. See M. J. C. ECHERUO, *Victorian Lagos*, London 1978, p. 74.

²⁹ See for details J. F. A. AJAYI, *Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841–1891: the Making of New Elite*, London 1965, p. 43.

³⁰ See for details *ibidem*.

³¹ See for details *ibidem*, p. 44.

³² W. AKIN, *The Lagos we lost*, www.vilagesquare/forum [2019–01–27].

³³ *Ibidem*.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

idents, particularly the chiefs. The chiefs met with the governor and the police over the matter. Out of the report of this meeting (published in weekly Record of January 2, 1904), the responses of Chief Kasumu Giwa and Chief Aromire are worth quoting in *extenso*, because their responses reinforced the challenges such decision posed to the livelihood of those engaged in singing and drumming for survival: *"This is almost strange in the land. If people are drumming in connection with marriage ceremonies, they are prevented from doing so. If those who are drummers by trade go about from house to house to beat for hire, they are also prevented from doing so. A town without a sound of the drum is like a city of the dead. Even those who go about in the early morning during the month of Ramadan to wake up their brethren for prayer by beating of pans were also prevented from doing this religious act. We have never been dealt with this manner, and we have therefore decided to bring the matter to the notice of the Governor."*³⁵

Similarly, more concern for drummer's predicament was obvious in Chief Aromire's response: *"It works hardship on the town to stop drumming, and besides this, the drummers would starve. Drumming was their only trade. When they sang the praises of our fathers and their brave deeds we are glad to give them 2nd or 3rd and so they got something from house to house and make their living."*³⁶

The above comments by the chiefs were meant to persuade the government on what could be the aftermath of prohibiting drumming on the streets of Lagos. Subsequently, the Governor instructed the Commissioner to reduce the hours of drumming to 6 in the evening, but still insisted that there should be no night drumming.³⁷ These regulations culminated in the loss of jobs for drummers in Lagos, especially in the Island. Consequently, those who could not find other alternative means of livelihood took to crime in order to survive. A veritable example was Salami Bello Jaguda, who was a famous drummer in Lagos. His drumming career shall be discussed in the next section under crime and criminality in Lagos.

Entertainment brought about the emergence of new neighbourhood cultures in colonial Lagos. Behind Marina, Brazillian emigrants settled

³⁵ This was Chief Kasumu Giwa's response at the meeting held on "the drumming question" in Lagos published in the *Weekly Record* of 2/1/1904.

³⁶ This was Chief Aromire's response at the meeting held on "the drumming question" in Lagos published in the *Weekly Record* of 2/1/1904.

³⁷ See The Editorial, *Weekly Record*, 1904.

in the east around campus square, with Sierra Leonians, or “Saro”, in the west at Olowogbowo.³⁸ There was great rivalry between these groups from the beginning, and in terms of their young people, this was symbolically marked every Christmas and Easter when boys from Campus and Olowogbowo carried masquerades – the *carreta* – and paraded round the town dressed in brightly coloured clothes, some riding on horseback.³⁹ Members of each group carried horsewhips and, wherever the two groups met, they engaged in merciless, ferocious and whipping of each other: “the notorious ‘Campus Square boys,’ the ‘Lafiaji Boys,’ the ‘Agarawu Boys’. Each of such group of youths had taken their identities from the localities in which they lived and which they concentrated their acts of thuggery during festivals like ‘Egungun,’ ‘Eyo,’ ‘Igunnu’ and other masquerades’ outings. They had readily served as the whip wielding vanguards of such masquerades who taunted opposing masquerades and spectators, so as to ferment and undertake a free-for-all looting of shops and houses.”⁴⁰

Youths divided Lagos Island into two districts: those living north and northeast of Tinubu Square were eligible for the “Olowogbowo Alkali Society,” with the remainder of the island under the “Lafiaji Alkali Society.”⁴¹ It seemed as though the societies interpreted Boxing Day to mean the day when youths were exempted from criminal responsibility for assault: “Each society recruited fighting squads, and generally on December 26 of each year met each other in inter-district group fighting which, in actuality, were something bordering on internecine warfare. [...] The equipment included paper headgear, mask for the face, boxing ring, ‘hippo-rod’ or the cat (o’ nine tails) fitted with a number of nails and sharp-edged blades, daggers and any amount of charms calculated to render the combatant invisible.”⁴²

It is from this act of hooliganism and bravery that the Agarawu area of Lagos derived a song composed in its praise, which is very popular among musicians and the people of the island:

³⁸ L. LINDSAY, To Return to the Bossom of their fatherland: Brazillian Immigrants in Nineteenth Century Lagos, in: *Slavery and Abolition*, 15, 1994, pp. 22–50.

³⁹ B. LAOTAN, The Brazillian Influence on Lagos, in: *Nigeria Magazine*, 69, 1961, p. 165.

⁴⁰ S. HEAP, Their days are spent in Gambling and Loafing, Pimping for Prostitutes, and Picking Pockets: Male Juvenile Delinquents on Lagos Island, 1920s–1960s, in: *Journal of Family History*, 35, 2010, p. 55.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² *Ibidem*.

<i>Agarawu eriaa</i>	-	Agarawu area
<i>Bi won ti kere mo to yen</i>	-	As compact as it is
<i>Awon ti owa nibe, awo ni won oo</i>	-	The residents are highly respected. ⁴³

Therefore, it can be said that Agarawu area was known for boldness and fearless confrontation against external aggression. It could be concluded that colonialism introduced new sub-cultures in entertainment and lifestyles of Lagosians. It also reinforced the existing youthful exuberance commonly associated with celebration of masquerades such as *Adamuorisha-Eyo* and the notorious *Bamgbose* masquerades in the city of Lagos.

Begging Culture, Destitution and Juvenile Delinquency in Colonial Lagos

Between 1930 and 1950, Lagos witnessed phenomenal growth in population. This resulted from the economic crisis, which provoked an unparalleled development of unemployment in contrast to previous decades of relative scarcity of labour.⁴⁴ According to the commissioner of police in charge of a report on unemployment in Lagos, in 1927, there were probably 1,000 or more unemployed persons in Lagos, even if it was difficult to know the exact figure on account of the movement into and out of the town.⁴⁵ Before this time, precisely in 1915, a Lagos newspaper had to decry the ease with which people migrated into the city and forewarned of its consequences. It noted that many of these people were "*indigent persons [...] without feasible means of support and without friends*" the newspaper declared that "*if some means are not devised to stem the flow of these undesirables, a serious problem will confront the administration, which will entail a good deal of handling, careful handling*".⁴⁶

Several years later, the same newspaper observed that Lagos had "outgrown herself" in 1927, it described the city as the "*dumping*

⁴³ Oral interview with Mrs Oluwole Comfort, 72 years, pensioner at 2 Alli street, Lagos Island on 2/8/2012.

⁴⁴ A. OLUKOJU, The Travails of Migrant and Wage Labour in the Lagos Metropolitan Area in the Inter-war Years, in: *Labour History Review*, 61, 1996, pp. 62–63.

⁴⁵ National Archives Ibadan (hereinafter NAI), Commissioner of colonies (hereinafter Comcol) 1, file 69, Report by the Commissioner of Police of Lagos, September 2, 1927.

⁴⁶ *Nigerian Pioneer*, 1/7/1915: "Random notes and News".

ground for all sorts and conditions of the poor and the maimed (sic) from everywhere, even from the neighbouring Colony of Dahomey". The uncontrolled movement of the migration is attributable to the loose transport system of the period, especially the railway system. Also, it is important to note that the experience of Alhaji Sherifdeen Abubakar Namama, who travelled to Lagos from the far North in 1947 on board a passenger train from Nguru (Northern Nigeria) in company of his kinsmen numbering fifteen, aged between 10 and 20 to Lagos, without any job and definitely with no plan on what to do, was just one of the numerous ways through which the city became flooded with the beggars and destitute.⁴⁷ He emphasised that, for ten years, he slept at the railway terminus in the absence of any worthwhile accommodation. In addition, hundreds of boys between ten and fourteen, commonly known as *alaaru* (porter) worked as carriers at the train station and in large markets of the township. They came in bands from Oyo and Ilorin and lived together, twenty, or thirty in a room.⁴⁸ "They lived in the slum districts of Lagos Township, kept on their person the same dirty clothes for several days, sleeping in them and without a bath for days in succession. [...] Their death rate is said to be very high."⁴⁹ They generally sent money to their indigent families in the country. This uncontrolled movement of immigrants, and their search for livelihood culminated in the increase of destitute and beggars in the city of Lagos.

Besides juvenile destitution, begging was also used by the poor as a strategy for survival in colonial Lagos. What appeared confusing was whether begging had been part of the culture of the indigenes, or a redefined cultural practice. According to Iliffe, the Yoruba were few compared to the number of Hausa beggars who flooded Yorubaland during the twentieth century.⁵⁰ As earlier mentioned the beggars invaded the streets of Lagos and became problems to the colonial authorities. Subsequently, steps were taken, and the police found 153 beggars in 1944, but the real number was probably much greater.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Oral interview with Sherifdeen Abubakar Namama, 74 years at Yisa street, Isale Oja, Agege, Lagos on 26/9/2009.

⁴⁸ NAI, Comcol 1, file 2600, D. E. Faulkner, Report on Juvenile Welfare in the colonies, 15/07/1943.

⁴⁹ NAI, Comcol 1, file 2600, *Alaaru* question in Lagos, 26/8/1943.

⁵⁰ J. LLIFFE, *The African Poor: a History*, Cambridge 1987, p. 192.

⁵¹ NAI, Oyo Prof, file No. 1176, Resident Oyo Province to District Officer, Ibadan,

According to the census carried out on beggars, they were said to be mostly Muslim and Hausa (90 %), they were often married (65 %), and they were very often blind (77 %).⁵² Their “profession” was so entrenched in the city that by 1921, the beggars in Lagos elected the leader with the title “Head of the Blind”.⁵³ The fact that most of the beggars were disabled supports the view that they probably came to Lagos as professional beggars from the North in order to earn a living. The opinion of the long - time residents of Lagos interviewed is that begging was not part of the Lagos culture; rather, it can be said to be one of the redefined neighbourhood cultures introduced by migrants. In fact, Fausat Thomas and Raji Risikatu asserted that an average Lagosian is so proud that he or she could embark on the street begging when in need; instead, he or she would prefer to depend on family and friends for survival. In spite of this argument, this redefined culture became so entrenched in Lagos that even in the post-independence period, it was modified by the street urchins, popularly known as the “area boys” most of whom were young men of Yoruba background, perhaps those that grew up in Lagos from the 1950s.

Juvenile Delinquents and Livelihood in Lagos

Apart from the beggars and the destitute, juvenile delinquents were obsessions of the late colonial period. Vagrant youths were nothing new.⁵⁴ In the nineteenth century they had joined East African war bands or the “swarms of ragamuffins” around the Freetown docks.⁵⁵ Lagos and Freetown had youth gangs in the 1920s, Dares Salaam in the 1930s.⁵⁶ Although mention had been made of the activities of Jaguda Boys and their pickpocket activities in the preceding section under crime and criminality, the Boma Boys, Cowboys, Alkali Boys, the teenage female sex hawkers, and the under aged street hawkers constituted formidable set of juvenile offenders that cannot be overlooked.

According to a 1948 report on juvenile delinquency in the British Empire, continually increasing numbers of juvenile delinquents were

7/1/1935.

⁵² NAI, Comcol 1, 791/1, Vol. 2, Census of Beggars in Lagos, 1944.

⁵³ LLIFFE, p. 192.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, p. 187.

⁵⁵ Ibidem.

⁵⁶ Ibidem.

evident in Nigeria, Kenya, and Northern Rhodesia. The report saw it as a specifically urban phenomenon.⁵⁷ The 1930s and the 1940s saw an increase in the number of juvenile offenders and the appearance of organized juvenile groups.⁵⁸ There were 50 to 100 cases of juvenile offenders brought before courts in southern Nigeria a year between 1923 and 1929 and around 1,000 cases a year for all Nigeria between 1945 and 1947.⁵⁹ Donald Faulkner in his report on vagrant boys of Lagos in 1941 found hundreds of them sleeping in gutters, parks, railway yards, markets, mosques and graveyards: *“Here at night come stealthy figures. Small and agile, they scale the walls quickly and dropping lightly on the other side, disappeared into the gloom. Some carry fowls under their arms, some yams, while others come swaggering, smoking cigarettes, with money chinking in their pockets. They are desperadoes of 12–14 years of age who make this graveyard their home, stealing food from the market places, cooking and eating it communally in the evening, later sleeping under the stars. Their days are spent in gambling and loafing, pimping for prostitutes, and picking pockets. Criminal- because that is the way to live, carelessly, irresponsibly, among good companions.”*⁶⁰

— One boy in three had a home in Lagos. Those under twelve *“have been left stranded in Lagos, are orphaned, and truants from school or run-aways from home”*.⁶¹ They lived by begging and petty theft. Older youths fell into three groups: newly arrived, inexperienced boys who found themselves destitute and lived rough; boys entirely adapted to a vagrant life of petty theft; and older, generally unemployed ‘Boma Boys’ who acted as guides or touts for brothels.⁶²

Ugboajah argues that, between 1920 and 1950, three important features shaped juvenile delinquency: the increase in the number of young offenders, the affirmation of the existence of male offender youth groups, and the emergence of an organized network of juve-

⁵⁷ L. FOURCHARD, *Urban Poverty, Urban Crime, and Crime Control: The Lagos and Ibadan Cases, 1929–45*, in: S. J. ŠALM – T. FALOLA (eds.), *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*, Rochester 2005, p. 297.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁹ Police prosecution records on juvenile offenders in Nigeria, *Police Annual Report, 1945–1947*.

⁶⁰ NAI, D. E. Faulkner, *Social Welfare Report on Lagos*, p. 1.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

nile prostitution.⁶³ He classified the young offenders as those involved in petty theft of less than five pounds; which comprised half of the cases brought before the Juvenile Court of Lagos in 1945–1947 and in the 1950s.⁶⁴ The second feature of the period, according to Ugboajah was the emergence of youth criminal groups. Prominent among these groups were Jaguda Boys, who were synonymous with pickpocket activity and stealing. Alkali boys and the Cowboys also belonged to these youth criminal groups. Unlike Jaguda Boys and Boma Boys, they were known for molestation and hooliganism. The Inspector – General of Police gave a vivid description of them: “Cowboys clad themselves in cowboy’s dresses, armed themselves with horsewhips, cudgels and sticks, and some dangerous weapons during Xmas and New Year festivities, and parade the township with their banners and flags singing native songs and when anyone comes on their way he will be whipped, beaten and cudgelle.”⁶⁵

The last of the features identified by Ugboajah is the emergence of an organized network of juvenile prostitution. He avers that child prostitution, the commercial provision of heterosexual labour by female juveniles occupied the most strategic position among the numerous social questions of this period. Child prostitution was prevalent, especially among the immigrants from the hinterland. This study also argues that this practice redefined the cultural lifestyle of the young girls in the neighbourhood from the hardworking teenagers providing economic support to their families as street hawkers and traders to teenage sex hawkers, and instrument of exploitation in the hands of the greedy adults.

The term “Boma” was brought down to the West Coast of Africa from America, where “bum” means a vagrant good-for-nothing.⁶⁶ It is also claimed that Boma Boys were repatriated Nigerian stowaways from Freetown in Sierra Leone, where “bom” meant to beg.⁶⁷ The important point, however, is that the term “Boma” was foreign, and can be said to be a creation of the colonial capitalist formation in the

⁶³ P.K.N. UGBOAJAH, *Juvenile Delinquency and Its Control in Colonial Lagos, 1861–1960*. Ph. D. thesis (unpublished), Department of History, University of Ibadan 2010, p. 130.

⁶⁴ Ibidem.

⁶⁵ NAI, Comcol 1/2403, Inspector-General of Police versus O. David, K. Oneman, A. Jonathan, A. Labayiwa, Lagos Magistrate Court, 01/06/1953.

⁶⁶ “Boma Boys”, *West African Pilot*, 16/11/1940.

⁶⁷ Ibidem.

Lagos urban domain. Thus, a Boma Boy is defined as one who acts as a guide or a tout for houses of ill-fame.⁶⁸ Initiation into the Boma Boys way of life took different stages of development. At the first stage, he was a simple unsophisticated out-of-work boy introduced to the trade by a friend, a casual guide without an arrangement with a particular house. He had not the experience to make the work very remunerative, so he still slept outside and led rather a meagre existence.⁶⁹ When he became more experienced and by his glib tongue and polite manner could get more customers, he lived in a house, dressed well and fed well. He might earn upwards of £2 per month. He probably had a definite arrangement with special harlots or particular houses.⁷⁰ Further, he was gradually deteriorating morally and eventually became a sophisticated cynical youth, up to all the tricks of the trade, lazy and immoral, perhaps acting as a master to a group of younger Boma Boys. Lastly, he became mature to the stage of working on a percentage basis as an important partner of an organised trade.⁷¹

Many Boma Boys were not initially inclined to commit crimes; guiding sailors and seamen was a convenient means of livelihood, particularly those who had reached a high standard of elementary education. They were ashamed of the work but regarded it as the only means of supporting themselves.⁷² With no ships in harbour, Boma Boys took to gambling on the sandy patch on Marina in front of the Kingsway Store. When ships docked, Boma Boys sprang into action: *"cheeky ragamuffins who force their loathsome services on seamen and voyaging tourists at the Marina."*⁷³ Indeed, Boma Boys filled a necessary economic function: proprietors of hotels and bars wanted hard drinking, free-spending customers, and sailors needed guides. Boma Boys guided many unwary sailors and seamen to brothels, *"sordid and disreputable places, and even when the victims are drunk they 'bomb' them by relieving them of what money they have in their pockets"*.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ NAI, Comcol 1, file No. 2471, Boma Boys in Lagos, p. 3.

⁶⁹ Ibidem.

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

⁷¹ Ibidem.

⁷² Ibidem.

⁷³ HEAP, p. 59.

⁷⁴ "The 'Boma Boy' Problem", *African Mirror*, 14/08/1940.

The menace of Boma Boys had negative effects on social values. These are explicable in two ways. Firstly, Boma Boys succeeded in changing the orientation of the youths, by treating local boys to glamorous stories that fired their imagination; ambition to see “life” abroad was usually all that was required for entrapment. Because of the Boma Boys relationships with the seamen, the stories had always been that, if the boys could find some money, they would be introduced to someone on board a ship who would take them to Europe or America as a stowaway.⁷⁵ Consequently, youngsters who were duped in the process by Boma Boys, mostly of their school fees, discovered they had been deceived, became afraid to go home and face the punishment and began to loiter about, gradually degenerating into Boma Boys themselves.⁷⁶

Secondly, Boma Boys occupation as unlicensed tourist guides promoted juvenile prostitution in Lagos. For instance, European seamen were persistently accused by the public for helping child prostitution to thrive. Constable Ajani, a policeman who was sent on a fact-finding mission to Apapa reported that European seamen had strong “love” for girls in their teens.⁷⁷ Child prostitution during this period flourished on the activities of the Boma Boys, especially their intricate network with taxi drivers, sailors and seamen as well as the owners of brothels, nightclubs and long chains of greedy adults, who found livelihood means in bringing young girls from the hinterland for the purpose of prostitution, and, in some cases, hawking. Child prostitution was a well-entrenched, social, sexual and economic relation.⁷⁸ The significant indices include the presence of brothels, and other places where child prostitutes solicited, the method employed in procuring them, and the entire conditions that facilitated demand and supply.⁷⁹ Child prostitution was an aspect of urban subculture that was widely known as an “inevitable” social and sexual network in the culturally heterogeneous domain of colonial Lagos.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ HEAP, pp. 59–60.

⁷⁶ Ibidem.

⁷⁷ NAI, Comcol 1, file No. 2844, Officer Alani’s Report on Prostitution in Lagos.

⁷⁸ S. ADERINTO, The Girls in Moral Danger: Child Prostitution and Sexuality in Colonial Lagos, Nigeria, 1930s–1950, in: *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 2, 2007, p. 3.

⁷⁹ Ibidem.

⁸⁰ Ibidem.

Most of the available evidences relating to the place of birth of child prostitutes indicate that they came from places outside Lagos and were brought to the city as child prostitutes or became child prostitutes after they had worked as girl hawkers, traversing the major streets of Lagos, selling wares, or placed under poor parental control.⁸¹ The experience narrated in a petition written by Rose Ojenughe, a child prostitute, in establishing criminal charges against her procurer, Alice Etovsodia, of child prostitutes in Lagos illuminates the fact that various unscrupulous means of making livelihood out of child prostitution were devised by the parties involved: *"In the year 1945, she asked me to follow her to Ikeja where I shall be better trained. We arrived Ikeja early in 1945 when I was given to a certain army who took my virgin and he paid £3 to this woman, from there I was forced by her to become a harlot. Sir, all the money that I have been gathering from this harlot trade from 1945 is with this woman [...] I do not claim for all the pounds that I have foolishly worked for her. I want £10 only from her and the £3 my virgin fee all £13... please sir, ask me and I will tell you how I, a little girl like this will be forced to keep three over-sea soldiers at a time."*⁸²

This petition was later accepted as evidence in a Lagos court on the 21st of December that same year, 1945. Alice was sentenced to two years in prison for violating sections 222B and 223 subsections 1, 2, 3 and 4, of the Criminal Code Ordinance (1944 Amendment) of Nigeria. These sections of the Criminal Code Ordinance prohibit the procurement, defilement, illegal guardianship and allowing an "underage" girl to live and work as a prostitute in a brothel.⁸³

The above example represents one of the numerous strategies adopted by those who made procuring child for prostitution their livelihood. Excerpts from archival materials identified the network of those involved in child prostitution to include aunts; cousins; uncles; relatives of an orphan; Boma Boys and other agents. The modes of operations are described as follows: *"In the case of child marriage, a girl of 15 from Owerri said that a woman came to her village and paid dowry for her to marry her son. She was brought to Lagos and told by the woman that the son was still too young for intercourse, so these other men were provided."*⁸⁴

⁸¹ Ibidem, p. 9.

⁸² NAI, Comcol 1, file No. 2844, Child Prostitution in Lagos, 1942–1944.

⁸³ Ibidem.

⁸⁴ Ibidem.

The above reveal that the usual practice was for women to go up-country and bring girls as wives ostensibly to train them, actually for prostitution. Another strategy employed by parties involved in child prostitution is succinctly described below: *“At twelve midnight, the Europeans were standing around Tinubu Police Station. There were several stationary taxis around, and the drivers began offering to take them to girls. The Europeans stated that no man would have any difficulty in being provided with a girl of any age, virgin if desired. The young girls would undress to show the men their breasts to prove their age. Some of the girls appeared passive: others enjoyed themselves and were evidently being used to being given money and cigarettes. The usual price appeared to be about 10/-, and more for a virgin. These places are patronised by European seamen.”*⁸⁵

The above explains the role of taxi-drivers who acted as touts; scouting for drunken seamen that they conveyed to clubs, hotels and other places notorious for prostitution. Available evidences also buttressed the fact that child hawkers were vulnerable to prostitution. Elderly men, especially, enticed young hawkers into their homes, gave them money to cover their goods, and then engaged them in intercourse. Also, girls’ hawkers were often sent out late at night to solicit and lead men to adult prostitutes.⁸⁶

Child prostitution redefined the lifestyles of girls in Lagos, particularly the child hawkers as a result of the prevailing moral dangers in the community. This became a matter of serious concern to the residents of Lagos and the British administrators. As a follow – up to the police investigation report, it was suggested that:

- (A) there was need for ordinance to prevent the dangers of child hawking,
- (B) which would enable action to be taken against the procurers and seducers, give the means and opportunities for rehabilitating the children through boarding;
- (C) making registration of girls entering or leaving Lagos compulsory would help this department to check the girls who are married as children; and

⁸⁵ Ibidem.

⁸⁶ NAI, Comcol 1, file No. 2844, Police investigation Report on child prostitution in Lagos, 1944.

(D) police could be asked to take more frequent actions against brothel-keepers and be asked to bring in more girls suspected as being in danger.⁸⁷

These suggestions, particularly the prohibition of street hawking in Lagos, generated reactions from the women's party led by Oyinkan Abayomi, Tinuola Dedeke and Iyalode Rabiatu Alaso Oke. In a letter to the Editor of *Nigerian Daily Times*, the women movement condemned and described the thought to prohibit street hawking as prejudice, ignorance and hypocrisy.⁸⁸

Despite the position of the women, it is important to point out the fact that hawking by children evolved under the peculiar circumstance of life and trade in a metropolitan area. Therefore, the vulnerability of the girls to immorality and prostitution is explicable not in the context of custom as the women would want us to believe. Rather, it was an informal means of livelihood for all the parties involved, which impacted negatively on the existing culture and redefined the social values.

Conclusion

The main argument of this paper is that colonial Lagos witnessed dilution in cultures and re-definition of social values. It is glaring from the above narratives and analysis that identity formations which characterised the early colonial Lagos cultural landscape emerged not due to colonialism but rather through the existence and influence of the Brazilian repatriates and Sierra Leonean returnees. However, the values entrenched by these repatriates and returnees as well as the indigenes of Lagos became re-defined during the colonial era. The British socio-economic policies and enunciation of ordinances threw up new urban lifestyles, culture and livelihood challenges; which to a very large extent cannot be isolated from the British socio-economic aspirations. Thus, in response to these challenges, the heterogeneous society construed in Lagos witnessed the growth in crime, begging culture, pimping, hooliganism, destitution, prostitution and juvenile delinquency.

⁸⁷ Ibidem.

⁸⁸ *Nigerian Daily Times*, Moral dangers in the community, 24/11/1944.

The Aspect of Water Supplies in the British Policy towards Egypt and Sudan: the Role of the Nile in Relations between Great Britain and France at the End of the 19th Century

Jakub Mazanec*

The goal of this article is to analyse the “blue thread” of the need to secure supplies of water for Egypt, which pervades the British imperial policy and also impacts international relations from the end of the 1880s, particularly in relation to France. This article works with Terje Tved's theory about the importance of the irrigation water for British interests in Egypt and about the motivation of British to invade Sudan when Egypt reached its water limits. Another problem which is discussed in this article is the possible role of Nile waters in the Fashoda Incident (1898) which is frequently considered as a symbol of British-French competition in North-East Africa and also the French plans on the Nile in general.

[Nile; Egyptian Irrigation; British Interests in Egypt; Egyptian Cotton; Fashoda Incident; Occupation of Sudan]

“When¹ eventually, the waters of the Nile, from the Lakes to the sea, are brought fully under control, it will be possible to boast that Man, in this case the Englishman, has turned the gifts of Nature to the best possible advantage.”² This observation by Evelyn Baring, British Consul General and Agent in Egypt during the 1883–1907 period, from his book *Modern Egypt*, indicates to what extent the British understood the Nile's

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² CROMER (E. BARING), *Modern Egypt*, Vol. 2, London 1908, p. 461.

important to Egypt and also the importance of the river's role in their concept of the empire.

Securing supplies of water for Egypt gradually became a key element of the British policy – but why and when did this occur? Were the ideas regarding utilisation of the enormous potential of the water in the Nile on one hand and the limits of its use in Egypt on the other hand one of the main reasons why the British occupied Sudan, as Norwegian historian and geographer Terje Tvedt states, to the contrary of the “mainstream” theory that this occupation was the result of British “concerns about borders” arising as a result of competition between European powers in the region?³

The goal of this article is to analyse the “blue thread” of the need to secure supplies of water for Egypt, which pervades the British imperial policy and also impacts international relations from the end of the 1880s, particularly in relation to France. The Fashoda Incident in 1898 is frequently considered a symbol of British-French competition in North-East Africa, but does this episode, written by an expedition led by ambitious Major Marchand also have a “water aspect”?

In the case of Egypt, water, as an irreplaceable material, was a key requirements for the survival of its population and the key to prosperity. At the end of the 19th century the Nile River also became a keystone of the imperial interests of Great Britain in Africa, and therefore also found itself the focus of attention in Paris. This article endeavours not to be, in the words of Terje Tvedt, “blind to water”,⁴ to consider the Nile an important element of policies and international relations and to utilise and process other types of material, such as technical, hydrological reports, projects, etc. to view British (and French) involvement in the Nile basin from an alternative viewpoint.

³ T. TVEDT, Hydrology and Empire: The Nile, Water Imperialism and the Partition of Africa, in: *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 39, 2, 2011, pp. 173–194. The “Blind to Water” mainstream historiography may be represented by the influential monograph about Victorian imperialism: R. ROBINSON – J. GALLAGHER, *Africa and the Victorians. The Official Mind of Imperialism*. London 1961.

⁴ T. TVEDT, *The Nile in the Age of the British, Political Ecology and the Quest for Economic Power*, London 2016, p. 20.

The Beginnings of the “Blue Thread” – the Roots of British Interest on the Nile

During the 19th century the British considered the Nile, and sufficient water in the river, to be important for several reasons. The first reason was their economic interest, chiefly in relation to production of high-quality long-staple cotton, which was increasingly becoming an irreplaceable raw material for the English textile industry.⁵ Another reason was support of the Egyptian economy, so that the country would be capable of repaying its loans to foreign creditors, particularly English banks. And finally, the British considered the overall stability of a country, which provided a connection to the “*jewel of the imperial crown*” – India – to be important. The importance of Egypt as a transit node increased after the Suez Canal was opened in 1869. All these reasons were closely related to the water in the Nile, assurance of which logically became a keystone in the British Empire’s policy towards Egypt and gradually de facto towards the basin of the longest African river.

British merchants had played first violin in Egypt since the first half of the 19th century. For example, 187 British ships docked in the harbour at Alexandria in 1845 transporting 46,220 tons of goods in a total value of £869,947, which is significantly more than French merchants managed (68 ships, 11,719 tons worth £364,898).⁶ Cotton gradually became export article number one. Muhammad Ali (1805–1849) started large-scale cotton production in Egypt. The beginnings of mechanisation and development of cotton production in Egypt was linked to British merchants from 1820 and their numbers increasingly dominated this sector.⁷

The textile industry in Lancashire in England was dependent on supplies of cotton. At the beginning of the 1860s 80 % of all cotton in

⁵ Long-staple cotton spread in Egypt after 1821 thanks to French textile engineer Louis Alexis Jumel. It replaced the previously widespread, but poorer quality short-staple cotton and also quickly replaced wheat as the most important Egyptian export crop.

⁶ The National Archives London-Kew (hereinafter TNA), Foreign Office (hereinafter FO) 881/44 – Stoddart to Palmerston, On Egypt and on the Policy of Great Britain in that Country, February 1847.

⁷ W. BEINART – L. HUGHES, *Environment and Empire*, Oxford 2007, p. 142; G. ALLEAUME, An Industrial Revolution in Agriculture? Some Observation on the Evolution of Rural Egypt in the Nineteenth Century, in: A. BOWMAN – E. ROGAN (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt*, Oxford 1999, p. 341.

the warehouses of the local textile factories came from plantations in the southern states of the USA. After the Civil War erupted in 1861, this “cotton dependency” was revealed as very problematic, because the price of the raw material increased significantly as the conflict progressed. Egypt became one of the main alternative suppliers due to easy access and the high quality of local cotton.⁸ While 596,200 kantars of cotton were exported from Egypt in 1861, 721,052 kantars were exported a year later and 1,181,888 kantars were exported in 1863.⁹ With regard to British imports of Egyptian cotton, in 1861 Britain imported 365,108 kantars worth 1,546,898 pounds, a year later it imported 526,897 kantars worth 3,723,440 pounds and in 1863 a total of 835,289 kantars worth a total 8,841,557 pounds was imported. In subsequent years the volume of exported cotton remained above one million kantars and the price above 12 million pounds.¹⁰ The rising volume of exports resulted in increasing production, during the 1885–1889 period nearly 3 million kantars of cotton was produced on average per year, and during the last decade of the 19th century the average volume of production was 6 million kantars.¹¹ However, long-staple cotton (*Gossypium barbadense*) is a plant that requires regular and abundant moisture, so you could say that one end of the highly profitable cotton fibre stretching between Manchester and Cairo began in the waters of the Nile.

Under the rulers Abbas I. (1849–1854), Said (1854–1863) and Ismail (1863–1879) the Egyptian economy found itself in great difficulty thanks to a policy of enormous loans and credit. The creditors were frequently British banking houses, for instance in 1864 Khedive Ismail obtained a loan from the English banking house of *Fruhling & Goschen* in the value of 5,704,200 Egyptian Pounds and another loan in the sum of 3,000,000 Egyptian Pounds from the same bank two years

⁸ “kantar” – unit of weight; its size varied, 1 kantar is approximately equal to 50 kg; R. OWEN, *Cotton and Egyptian Economy 1820–1914. A Study in Trade and Development*, Oxford 1969, pp. 89–90; Ch. ISSAWI, *An Economic History of the Middle East and North Africa*, New York 1982, pp. 30–31.

⁹ A. E. CROUCHLEY, *The Economic Development of Modern Egypt*, London 1938, p. 263; BEINART – HUGHES, p. 142; J. VALKOUN, Egypt under Khedive Ismail, in: *Prague Papers on the History of International Relations*, 2, 2010, pp. 84–85.

¹⁰ OWEN, p. 90.

¹¹ R. OWEN, A Long Look at Nearly Two Centuries of Long Staple Cotton, in: A. BOWMAN – E. ROGAN (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt*, Oxford 1999, p. 349.

later, in 1867 he obtained a loan of 11,890,000 Egyptian Pounds from the *English Bank of Oppenheim, Nephew & Co.* and a number of other private and public loans from other creditors.¹² George J. Goschen (1831–1907), a member of Russell’s government and the director of the *Bank of England*, whose authority the Khedive’s administration had the take into account, personally protected the interests of English holders of government bonds in Cairo in 1876.¹³ In 1882 Egypt’s foreign debt reached the sum of £100,000,000 with an annual debt service of £5,000,000, most of which ended up in Britain.¹⁴ In any case, it was in the interests of British creditors to support Egypt’s ability to repay its debts and this ability was dependent on water in the case of a country whose main economic sector was agriculture. The equation was simple, especially when the most lucrative export commodity was “thirsty” cotton and sugar cane: if there is no water – there will be no harvest, if there is no harvest – there will be nothing to repay the debts with.¹⁵

After control over Egypt was actually assumed following the Urabi Revolution in 1882, securing sources of water by sufficient use of the Nile became a key priority for the Brits. Reformation of the Egyptian irrigation system had been commenced with the participation of French experts during the rule of Muhammad Ali (1805–1849), but many projects had not been completed and others were damaged at the turn of the eighteen seventies and eighteen eighties. During the Urabi Revolution, Egyptian nationalists sabotaged a number of water works, because they realised their importance to the Khedive’s pro-European administration and to the economic interests of foreign powers.¹⁶ Henry Villiers Stuart (1827–1895), who carried out an

¹² A. C. TUNÇER, *Sovereign Debt and International Financial Control, The Middle East and the Balkan 1870–1914*, London 2015, p. 32. Other creditors included for example the Anglo-Egyptien Bank or the Imperial Ottoman Bank, in which British financiers had significant interest. More about Egyptian foreign loans: R. OWEN, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800–1914*, London 1993, p. 127; CROUCHLEY, pp. 119–120.

¹³ TNA, FO 407/9, Correspondence respecting the Finances of Egypt, 1877, Nos. 141, 142, 143, 144.

¹⁴ TVEDT, *The Nile in the Age*, p. 21; CROUCHLEY, p. 145.

¹⁵ The volume of exports of sugar cane could not compete with cotton, in spite of the fact that it became a sought-after export commodity, particularly at the end of the sixties.

¹⁶ TVEDT, *The Nile in the Age*, p. 20; N. SMITH, *A History of Dams*, London 1971, p. 188.

inspection trip through Lower and Upper Egypt, mentions the possibility of an “enormous increase in yields (of cotton) in the Delta, if irrigation is assured” in his report, he also believed that there was great potential in the event of sufficient irrigation of the area of Upper Egypt.¹⁷

At the initiative of Evelyn Baring, British Consul General and Agent in Egypt, royal engineers who had extensive experience from irrigation projects in India were invited to the country in order to reinforce the *Egyptian Irrigation Department and Works* operating under the *Ministry of Public Works*.¹⁸ These engineers, led by Colin Scott-Moncrieff (1836–1916), started systematic work on the Nile and the country’s irrigation system.¹⁹ One of the first issues that these British engineers had to deal with was the *Delta Barrage*, a non-functional project by Muhammad Ali dating from the eighteen thirties, which Frenchmen Maurice Linant de Bellefonds (1798–1883) and Eugène Mougel (1808 to 1890) were involved in. As a result of damming the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile, this project should have raised the level of the river and therefore the level of the water in the canal system, which could have been made shallower as a result.²⁰ Partial modifications to the dam in 1884 contributed to increasing yields from the harvest (particularly cotton), and overall revitalisation of irrigation, the most important element of which was naturally repairs to the Barrage, contributed to an enormous increase in the area of usable soil, which led to the volume of cotton production doubling during the period from 1888 to 1892.²¹ In addition to renovation of the Barrage,

¹⁷ TNA, FO 633/49, Reports by Mr Villiers Stuart, M.P., respecting Reorganization in Egypt, 1883.

¹⁸ William Willcocks (1852–1932), Robert Hanbury Brown (1849–1926), Justin C. Ross, William Ried etc. For more detail see C. ANDERSEN, *British Engineers and Africa 1875–1914*, Cambridge 2011; E. SANDES, *The Royal Engineers in Egypt and the Sudan*, Chatham 1937.

¹⁹ Egypt was divided into 5 “district” for easier organisation for the purpose of maintenance and establishment of irrigation. The head of each district was the head engineer. TNA, FO 633/49 – Further Correspondence respecting Reorganization in Egypt, Dufferin to Granville, No. 43, February 1883.

²⁰ More about the Delta Barrage: J. MAZANEC, *The Delta Barrage – the Most Expensive Bridge of Its Time? The First Attempts at Taming the Nile*, in: *Prague Papers on the History of International Relations*, 2, 2017, pp. 21–31; R. H. BROWN, *History of The Barrage at The Head of Delta of Egypt*, Cairo 1896; R. H. BROWN, *The Delta Barrage of Lower Egypt*, Cairo 1902.

²¹ CROUCHLEY, p. 148; In 1879, i.e. before the barrage was repaired, cotton production

the Rosetta canal was also completed, the Ismail and Ibrahim canals were made deeper, several pumping stations were established, modifications were made at the Faiyum Oasis and tens of smaller projects were also realised.²² The British essentially realised that the wealth of Egypt is dependent on water and its irrigation system.²³

It may seem that the British held a monopoly over all the innovations in relation to the Nile in Egypt in the eighteen eighties, but this was not completely true. For instance in 1880 the Frenchman de la Motte proposed construction of a dam at a site called Gebel Silsila.²⁴ Two years later American Cope Whitehouse designed a dam at Wadi Rayan, which he vainly strove to have realised for several years – against the negative standpoint of the British-Egyptian administration.²⁵ A number of similar projects also existed “on paper”.²⁶

The turn of the eighteen eighties and eighteen nineties revealed several weak points in the British efforts on the Nile. The rising volume of profitable cotton production was paradoxically one of these weak points – in 1886 cotton was grown over 866,000 feddan, in 1893 this area increased to 966,000 feddan and a year later to nearly 1,100,000 feddan, which increased demands for irrigation at specific times of the year significantly.²⁷ Another concern for members of the British administration was the population boom – in 1873 there were 5.3 million people living in Egypt.²⁸ By 1882 the population had risen to 7.9 million and at the end of the century in 1897 there was a population of approximately 9.7 million living in Egypt.²⁹ The increasing number of

achieved 3,186,060 kantars, in 1884 this volume was 3,630,000 kantars, i.e., nearly half a million kantar more, OWEN, *Cotton and Egyptian Economy*, p. 197.

²² J. ROSS, *Report of the Administration of the Department of Irrigation for the year 1890*, Cairo 1891; J. ROSS, *Report of the Administration of the Department of Irrigation for the year 1889*, Cairo 1890; C. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, *Irrigation Report for the year 1888*, Cairo 1889; SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, *Irrigation Report for the year 1887*, Cairo 1888.

²³ R. TIGNOR, *Modernization and British Colonial Rule in Egypt, 1882–1914*, Princeton 1966, p. 112.

²⁴ Central Archives Diplomatique du Nantes (hereinafter referred to as CADN), 353 PO – 2/273, Note relative au projet de Monsieur de la Motte.

²⁵ C. COOKSON-HILLS, *Engineering the Nile: Irrigation and the British Empire in Egypt, 1882–1914*, Ph.D. thesis, Queen’s University, Kingston 2013, pp. 255–266.

²⁶ TVEDT, *The Nile in the Age*, p. 22.

²⁷ OWEN, *The Middle East*, p. 218.

²⁸ Ministre de L’Intérieur, *Statistique de L’Égypte Année 1873*, Caire 1873, p. 13.

²⁹ OWEN, *The Middle East*, p. 217; J. WATERBURY, *Hydropolitics of The Nile Valley*, Syra-

people naturally required more water. The weak floods in 1888–1889, when the fields in some areas could not be irrigated at all, demonstrated the destructive power of drought, however, excessively powerful, uncontrollable flooding was just as dangerous.³⁰ At the beginning of the nineties the demand for water in Egypt slowly began to reach the limits of the available capacity and the gentlemen in Cairo and London were forced to consider what should be done next. With regard to the need to retain more and more water, it seemed that construction of more dams would be inevitable, the pressure of various groups of society and the circumstances could no longer be overlooked if the British wished to maintain their position on the Nile and protect their interests. Nubar Pasha (1825–1899), the Egyptian Prime Minister, concisely summarised the position of Egypt in his well-known quote: “*The Egyptian question is the irrigation question.*”³¹ Egypt’s water capacity was nearly exhausted, however the water capacity of the Nile offered much greater potential. The logical way to acquire more water and protect against the uncontrollable flood wave lay further up the river, which people in London and Cairo, who were familiar with Nile hydrology, were most probably well aware of, and so their attention was directed towards Aswan and further south – to Sudan.

Up River – the British Journey to Sudan

The report dating from 1894, executed by engineers from the Ministry of Public Works under the leadership of William Willcocks, provided hard data. It would be necessary to store 1,500,000,000 m³ of water every year for future agricultural requirements in Lower Egypt. Upper Egypt, with a less developed irrigation system, would require a supply of 950,000,000 m³ of water every year to the north of Asyut and a supply of 1,160,000,000 m³ every year was estimated for the area to the south of Asyut.³² If storage of this volume of 3,610,000,000 m³ of water could be achieved, then the area of farmland in Egypt would be increased from 4,955,000 acres to 5,555,000 acres and revenue could increase from 32,315,000 Egyptian Pounds to 38,540,000

cuse 1979, p. 36.

³⁰ W. WILLCOCKS, *Report on Perennial Irrigation and Flood Protection of Egypt*, Cairo 1894, p. 8. Willcocks also considers the period of 1877–1878 to be similarly critical.

³¹ TVEDT, *Hydrology and Empire*, p. 176.

³² WILLCOCKS, p. 9.

Egyptian Pounds.³³ The question was, where to get this water, or more precisely, where to store it.

William Willcocks came up with a solution in 1894, when he proposed construction of a dam on the first Nile cataract at Aswan.³⁴ The original plan was to make a reservoir, which would contain 3,700,000,000 m³ of water.³⁵ Even though this was a project for the “largest dam in the world” it started to become evident that, from the long-term aspect, it would be unable to meet the demands of the thirsty Egyptian agriculture, because for technical reasons (chiefly due to the amount of sediment carried down from the Ethiopian highlands) the dam could only offer the capacity for storage of just 2,500,000,000 m³ of water.³⁶ However, this estimated capacity was reduced even further, because it originally assumed the flooding of ancient temples on Philae Island, which resulted in a wave of outrage across Europe.³⁷ British and French archaeologists protested, as well as for example M. E. Boulé, a French member of the international Technical Commission, which evaluated Willcocks’ project: “[...] I said, and I insist, that I absolutely refuse to be linked to such a proposal. If I agreed (with Willcocks’ proposal) I would deserve to be condemned by the public opinion of all of Europe.”³⁸ Robert Collins calls reduction of the capacity of the dam, which was actually initiated by Sir Benjamin Baker (1840–1907), to be a foolish effort to gain the support of the French – the temples in Philae were described in the famous *Description de l’Egypte*, which was very popular in France.³⁹ Reduction of the capacity of the planned

³³ Ibidem, p. 5.

³⁴ There had been speculation about construction of a reservoir at this site since 1891, when Willcocks was appointed *Director of Reservoir Studies*, however, a specific plan only arose from the report dated 1894. R. OWEN, *Lord Cromer, Victorian Imperialist, Edwardian Proconsul*, Oxford 2004, p. 287.

³⁵ W. WILLCOCKS, *Egyptian Irrigation*, Vol. 2, London 1913, p. 686.

³⁶ M. ABBAS, *The Sudan Question, The Dispute over the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium 1884–1951*, New York 1952, pp. 77–78.

³⁷ The final project of Aswan dam could only store 1,065,000,000 m³ of water; WILLCOCKS, *Egyptian Irrigation*, p. 686.

³⁸ CADN, 353 PO – 2/274, *Rapport de la Commission technique désigné pour examiner les projets de réservoir du Nil*, Le Caire, le 10 avril 1894. *Rapport de M. Boulé, Inspecteur général, Membre du Conseil général des Ponts et Chaussées à Paris*, Le Caire, le 18 avril 1894. More about the “Philae case” see ANDERSEN, pp. 137–160.

³⁹ R. COLLINS, *The Nile*, London 2002, p. 144; *Description de l’Egypte*, Vol. 1, Planche 26, Paris 1809.

dam by over half would save the monuments on Philae Island, but this would mean that Egypt would still need 2,610,000,000 m³ of water, which had to be found somewhere. Due to the sediment carried by the water from the Ethiopian Highlands, this had to be somewhere above the of tributary of the Atbara River, in front of which a solid dam of the usual type could not be built, because it would be at risk of breaking due to the build-up of sediment.⁴⁰ British “Nile tamers” logically started to focus their attention even higher up the river – because their success in Egypt depended on sufficient supplies of water!

Because long-term assurance of supplies of water in Egypt was impossible without development of the Upper Nile, the Brits decided to occupy Sudan. But where did the idea to control and utilise the Upper Nile originate?

Explorer Samuel Baker (1821–1893), who set out on an expedition to the source of the Nile in the eighteen sixties, which provided extensive knowledge about its hydrology, wrote the following in 1867: “*From immemorial, the rise of the Nile has been watched with intense interest at the usual season, but no attempt has been made to insure a supply of water to Egypt during all seasons. . .*” Baker speaks of the possibility of creating “*great reservoirs on various levels of Egypt, from Khartoum to the Mediterranean,*” he mentions a “*series of dams or weirs on the Nile, which could raise the level of the river (to the level necessary for irrigation)*”.⁴¹ William Garstin (1849–1925) wrote in his report about the planned Aswan Dam in 1894: “*I think, then, we may confidently predict that, if a reservoir be successfully constructed, it will only one of a chain which will eventually extend from the first Cataract to the junction of the White and the Blue Niles in Khartoum.*”⁴² He also assumed that when the Aswan Dam was completed and people realised its benefits, construction of another dam to the south would simply be a matter of time.⁴³ A year later, on 24 January 1895, Colin Scott-Moncrieff asked a rhetorical question at the end of his speech at the meeting of the Royal Institution of Great Britain in

⁴⁰ TVEDT, *Hydrology and Empire*, p. 180.

⁴¹ S. BAKER, *The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia and The Sword Hunters of The Hamran Arabs*, London 1867, pp. 566–568. Baker was also the first to mention the possibility of constructing a dam on the first Nile cataract at Aswan (p. 567).

⁴² *Reservoirs in The Valley of The Nile – prepared for The Committee of The Society for The Preservation of The Monuments of Ancient Egypt*, London 1894, pp. 10–11.

⁴³ TNA, FO 407/131, Lord Cromer to Earl of Kimberley, Annual Report, Inclosure 3 in No. 51, *Note upon the Public Works Department for the year 1894*.

London: "is it not evident, that the Nile from Lake Victoria Nyanza to the Mediterranean should be under one rule?"⁴⁴

After the death of Gordon in the eighteen eighties, Lord Cromer, a pivotal figure of the British establishment in Egypt, expressed his opinion against occupation of Sudan – "all the authorities here (in Cairo) except myself are in favour of an advance on Dongola. The Egyptian authorities favour the idea, because they regard it as the first step towards the reconquest of the Sudan."⁴⁵ Cromer believed that Britain was not materially prepared for occupation of the country and that the circumstances were not in its favour. However, Cromer changed his opinion at the beginning of the nineties and started to write about North-Sudanese Dongola as just a springboard for further progress in the direction of Berber and Khartoum.⁴⁶ The water management situation in Egypt certainly played a role in this, whereas during the eighties many projects were realised and there was "room for improvement" in the field of securing supplies of water, but Egypt started to reach its limits after 1890.

From 1885 the Mahdist state in Sudan also represented an obstacle to discovering the hydrology of the Nile – in the nineties the river was still mostly unexplored and shrouded in mystery.⁴⁷ Another issue was the loss of access to data from the nilometers in Khartoum, from which daily telegraphic reports about the water level in the river were sent to Egypt from 1885. The water managers were able to regulate the system more accurately thanks to this data.⁴⁸

The goal of the British was to launch a campaign against Sudan not only under the flag of the Union, but under the flag of Egypt

⁴⁴ C. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, *The Nile. Notices of the Proceedings at the Meetings of the Members of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, with Abstracts and Discourses delivered at the Evening Meetings*. Vol. XIV. 1893–1895, London 1896, p. 418.

⁴⁵ TNA, FO 633/6, Lord Cromer to Lord Rosebery, No. 50, February 23, 1886. General Charles Gordon (1833–1885) was killed by the Mahdists during the fall of Khartoum in 1885. His death became a symbol, which was subsequently used as propaganda during the Sudan campaign.

⁴⁶ TVEDT, *Hydrology and Empire*, p. 183.

⁴⁷ In 1895 Colin Scott-Moncrieff himself, one of Cromer's chief water management engineers, marked the southern-most point of the Nile that he had personally visited. This was Philae Island, he only knew about the rest from the travelogues and reports of Baker, Speke and others. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, *The Nile*, p. 405.

⁴⁸ There was another functional nilometer at Dakle in 1875 on the Nile tributary of the Atbara River. TVEDT, *The Nile in the Age*, p. 26.

(or under both flags at once), for political and economic reasons. Another challenge was acquiring the necessary funds. The Egyptian government finally requested release of 500,000 Egyptian Pounds from the reserve fund, which was successfully achieved on the soil of the International *Caisse de la Dette* Commission, which supervised Egyptian funds, thanks to British diplomatic support. As a result, Egyptian soldiers were deployed using Egyptian funds.⁴⁹ In 1897 Cromer asked London for financial support, also in part because he was concerned that the Egyptian budget would be unable to cover the expensive Sudanese campaign and the costly investment into construction of the dam in Aswan, which he considered crucial: “*we have all of us here been working at this reservoir plan for several years, and I confess that, now that we have so nearly attained success, I am very unwilling to let the opportunity slip by.*” He considered the most logical route to be first of all to complete the dam and then to launch the campaign against Sudan, however “*one cannot always choose in advance,*” and it was too late to cry over spilt milk.⁵⁰ The financiers in London decided to support the dam project and the Sudanese campaign was financed from the Egyptian budget.⁵¹

And what does this all mean? The Brits only entered Sudan when Egypt’s water potential had been exhausted. The campaign to conquer Sudan was launched under the command of Horatio Kitchener (1850–1916), Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, in 1896. The campaign was subsequently renamed *The River War* by a young soldier and news reporter called Winston Churchill. The primary goal of this campaign was to secure a sufficient supply of water for Egypt and its cotton plantations by controlling the Upper Nile. As Churchill said: “*In the account of the River War the Nile is naturally supreme. It is the great melody that recurs throughout the whole opera. The general purposing military operations, the statesman who would decide upon grave policies, and the reader desirous of studying the course and results of either, must think of the Nile.*”⁵²

⁴⁹ TVEDT, *Hydrology and Empire*, p. 184.

⁵⁰ TNA, Cabinet papers (hereinafter CAB) 37/44/27, Lord Cromer to Marquess of Salisbury, June 5, 1897.

⁵¹ TNA, CAB 37/44/29 Treasury to Foreign Office, No. 3, June 2, 1897.

“The Nile – a Great Melody that recurs throughout the Whole Opera” and Many Potential Conductors in the Hall

The Brits had considered the entire Nile Valley under their sphere of influence and under their control since the beginning of the eighteenth century. Control over the river became a crucial matter. Regarding the enormous area of the region it could be presumed that London, or more precisely Cairo, would not be the only players in the game. Concerns about occupation of strategic areas on the Upper Nile and the possibility of harming Egypt through regulation of the river did arise, but was there any actual risk of danger?

In his work about nilometers, which was published in January 1889, Colonel Ardagh (1840–1907) mentions the hypothetical possibility of the rulers of Ethiopia cutting Egypt off from the water supply. Although he admits that there are no indications that something like this would happen, in the same breath he adds that Egypt would be subject to the whims of any advanced civilisation that would expertly control the Atbara, White and Blue Nile and the Bahr al-Ghazal rivers. According to Ardagh the interests of Egypt and Sudan are inseparable.⁵³ In December of the same year Evelyn Baring wrote to Salisbury about the activities of the Italians, who, in his words: *“perhaps find Abyssinia rather too hard a nut to crack. Anyhow they are now evidently making serious advances towards the Sudan. If they are allowed to do this they will soon clash with our Egyptian policy. If they succeeded they will do permanent harm to Egypt and to us [...]. I hope you will say ‘Hands off’ to them as regards Kassala and the Nile Valley [...]. The matter is really one of great importance.”*⁵⁴ The Anglo-Italian protocol was signed on 15 April 1891, whereas the Italian government pledged to refrain from executing any water management project on the Atbara River, which would markedly influence the flow of water into the Nile in Article III of this protocol.⁵⁵ The Italians did not represent a real threat to British plans in the Nile Valley

⁵² W. CHURCHILL, *The River War, An Account of the Reconquest of the Sudan*, New York 2006, p. 4.

⁵³ TNA, PRO 30/40/9/6, J. C. ARDAGH, Nilometers, in: *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, January No., 1889.

⁵⁴ TNA, FO 633/6, Evelyn Baring to Lord Salisbury, No. 150, December 15, 1889. Kassala is a Sudanese town on the Mareb River near the borders with Eritrea – it can be considered an access point to the area of the Atbara River, a major tributary of the Nile.

⁵⁵ TVEDT, *The Nile in the Age*, p. 40.

in the nineties. In his speech on 24 January 1895 Colin Scott-Moncrieff actually describes them as a “*nation that is consistantly the most friendly towards us (the British)*”.⁵⁶ With regard to Ethiopia, a treaty of friendship and business relations was concluded with Emperor Menelik II on 14 May 1897. Thanks to skilful diplomacy, the Brits were able to resolve a potential headache and acquire another safeguard against the Italians.⁵⁷

From the aspect of controlling the White Nile, it was strategic to acquire control of its source and therefore the region of Buganda, which was the site of the outflow from Lake Victoria Nyanza. The Brits declared a protectorate here in 1894.⁵⁸

The treaties concluded with Germany (24 June and 1 July 1890) and the Belgian King Leopold II in 1894 could be considered another victory achieved without practically any shots being fired. For the price of several concessions these documents confirmed the Nile Valley to be a British sphere of influence.⁵⁹ After conclusion of these treaties only the French remained in the Nile Valley, as the only other “potential conductor” in addition to the Brits. Were the interests of Paris a threat to the British-Egyptian plans in North-East Africa?

French interests in the area of the Upper Nile were marginal. The area of the Egyptian issue, which continued to incite a feeling of injustice and nostalgia in relation to the times of Muhammad Ali, when France played “first violin” in Egypt, in the French, was only unified by events in the nineties. The Anglo-German treaty dating from 1890 resulted in noisy protests in Paris and the so-called Grey Declaration dating from 1895, when, during his speech before the chamber of deputies, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs

⁵⁶ SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, *The Nile*, p. 418.

⁵⁷ TNA, WO 106/219, Précis of Events on the Upper Nile and Adjacent Territories, Appendix F. Another agreement was subsequently concluded with Menelik II in 1902, in which the emperor pledged to refrain from building or permitting construction of any works on the Blue Nile, Sobata or Lake Tana, which would stop the flow of Nile waters, without an agreement with the government of His British Majesty and the government of Sudan. This agreement continues to influence events in the Nile Basin to this day, for instance in relation to the dispute regarding construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD).

⁵⁸ TNA, WO 106/220, Short History of Events on the Upper Nile, 1899, pp. 2–3.

⁵⁹ TVEDT, *The Nile in the Age*, p. 43; ROBINSON – GALLAGHER, p. 293. One of the concessions to Germany was withdrawal from Helgoland Island in the North Sea for example.

Sir Edward Grey (1862–1933) informed the French that “*Any interference in the Nile Valley could be considered an unfriendly act and would be so viewed by England*”, caused even more outrage.⁶⁰ He de facto bluntly declared the Nile Valley a British sphere of influence.

The French position in the Nile area was not considered strong and this is also demonstrated by Cromer’s letter to Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Lord Kimberley (1826–1902) dated June 1894, in which he writes that he will be vigilant if the French start moving in Africa. “*I can probably counter them here,*” and he also adds that he personally has no problem ceding large territories in the interior but that he considers the coast with the water ways to be important – and the Nile the most important of these. “*I think that the French should be kept outside of the Nile Valley.*”⁶¹

France (on the contrary to Britain) had no complex concept encompassing utilisation and development of the Nile’s water supply. Despite this there is a theory for use of the Nile by the French as a sort of “water weapon” against the British and their interests down river. This theory work with the concept of constructing a dam higher up the Nile and possibly opening it suddenly and flooding everything below it, particularly Egypt. The Nile is linked to the so-called Fashoda Crisis in 1898 in relation to this idea. Can the “blue thread” be discovered here?⁶² Was this crisis a true reason for concerns in London and Cairo? The goal of this article is not a complete analysis of the Fashoda Crisis, rather it is concerned with the water aspect.⁶³

The chimeric Fashoda theory as a key to controlling the Nile can be described as follows. Between 1892 and 1893 the French decided to

⁶⁰ TNA, WO 106/219, p. 14; R. BROWN, *Fashoda Reconsidered, The Impact of Domestic Politics on French Policy in Africa 1893–1898*, London 1970, pp. 34–35; G. N. SANDERSON, *England, Europe and The Upper Nile 1882–1899*, Edinburgh 1966, pp. 114–115.

⁶¹ TNA, FO 633/6, Lord Cromer to Lord Kimberley, No. 217, June 2, 1894. The report also proves that the Brits were interested in Sudan chiefly because of the Nile, the remainder (particularly the southern area of the country) was worthless to them, in the words of Lord Salisbury, it was “*wretched stuff*”. TNA, PRO 78/5051, Minute on a report, October 20, 1898.

⁶² Fashoda is a town on the White Nile in the northeast of South Sudan, now called Kodok.

⁶³ Details regarding the issue of the Fashoda Crisis J. VALKOUN, *Fašodská krize 1898: vyvrcholení britsko-francouzského soupeření v oblasti horního Nilu*, in: *Historický obzor*, 21, 7/8, 2010, pp. 146–153; D. BATES, *The Fashoda Incident of 1898: Encounter on the Nile*, Oxford 1984.

expand from Lake Chad in the direction of Bahr al-Ghazal and into the valley of the Upper Nile. The Fashoda Fortress located by the source of the Nile was the strategic centre of this region.⁶⁴ The French believed that construction of a dam at the site of the source of the Nile could weaken the British position in Egypt.⁶⁵ The name of French engineer Victor Prompt is frequently mentioned in relation to this idea. He allegedly expressed the idea of damming the Nile at Fashoda for the purpose of exposing Egypt to the threat of drought or sudden flooding within the terms of his speech “*Soudan Nilotique*”, held on 20 January 1893 at the Cairo *Institut Égyptien*. His words influenced French Minister of Foreign Affairs Théophile Delcassé (1852–1923) who disseminated them in imperialistic circles in Paris.⁶⁶ Prompt’s speech allegedly also convinced the Brits that it was essential to occupy the upper reaches of the river in order to prevent the French from constructing a potential dam.

Terje Tvedt refutes this theory. Victor Prompt never mentioned the words historians Brown, Lewis and others attribute to him in his speech. In his speeches, of which there were several, Prompt spoke about the waning flow of the Nile as a result of climatic changes or reduction of water supplies, of the fact that Egypt should quickly occupy Sudan in order to secure water supplies, which could not be secured within its own territory, or about potential construction of three new dams between Khartoum and Aswan. He also discussed use of the Blue Nile for irrigation of Sudan, which, as he believed, would not impact Egyptian agriculture.⁶⁷ In his speech in January 1893, (which was mainly intended for an Egyptian auditorium) he again emphasised occupation of Sudan and also spoke about a potential dam in Uganda, from which Egypt could profit.⁶⁸ He did not support the Brits in their ambitions on the Nile (and Cromer does not mention him in his correspondence with FO), on the contrary he pointed out the potential risks

⁶⁴ BROWN, *Fashoda Reconsidered*, pp. 23–24.

⁶⁵ D. L. LEWIS, *The Race to Fashoda, European Colonialism and African Resistance in The Scramble for Africa*, London 1988, p. 48.

⁶⁶ BROWN, *Fashoda Reconsidered*, p. 33; LEWIS, p. 48, etc.

⁶⁷ See Prompt’s speeches at the Institut Égyptien dated 26 December 1891 on the topic of Réservoirs d’eau de la Haute-Égypte, for example. CADN, 353 PO – 2/274.

⁶⁸ TVEDT, *Hydrology and Empire*, pp. 185–186; TVEDT, *The Nile in the Age*, pp. 44–47.

to Egypt arising from the British presence at the source of the Nile in Uganda in his speeches. He never mentioned any French dam.⁶⁹

Neither Prompt, nor anyone else believed that Fashoda was the key to the Nile. Fashoda is not located by the source of the White Nile, which is located 600 km to the south in Uganda, which was a known fact in the nineties.⁷⁰ Nor was it feasible to build a dam at Fashoda – this is impossible due to the landscape, because the entire region is flat, and then also because there is nothing to use as building material within a radius of several miles, because Fashoda is surrounded by swamps.⁷¹ Major Marchand also only had a handful of men available with insufficient logistics.

From the hydrological aspect Fashoda was completely unimportant, the presence of a French military unit did not represent any significant threat to British control over the river and was therefore no threat to the British position in Cairo. Marchand's expedition, playing the role of scarecrow threatening British-Egyptian interests in the Nile Valley, could serve as a reason to occupy South Sudan, which may have been worthless from the aspect of its interior, but offered enormous water potential thanks to its marshes, which the Brits purposefully worked with subsequently.⁷² The Fashoda Crisis in 1898 was not part of French plans to control and develop the Nile River, because the French had no such plans.

Even though Fashoda itself is worthless from the hydrological aspect, the international impact of the Fashoda Incident can be linked to the "blue thread". After Marchand departed in November 1898 and following the factual defeat suffered by France in this case, both parties signed a convention to define their spheres of influence on 21 March 1899. This concerned a convention concerning the area to the east and west of the Niger River and on the Upper Nile, expanded by Article IV, which basically made the valley of the longest African River an exclusively British matter.⁷³ Colin Scott-Moncrieff's dream

⁶⁹ TVEDT, *Hydrology and Empire*, p. 186.

⁷⁰ E.g., from Samuel Baker's travelogues and reports. He had been to the African lakes and was also very familiar with Fashoda, because it was his seat when he was appointed governor of the region under Khedive Ismail in the sixties. Ibidem.

⁷¹ ROBINSON – GALLAGHER, p. 376.

⁷² W. GARSTIN, *Report upon the Basin of The Upper Nile with Proposals for The Improvement of that River*, Cairo 1904.

⁷³ The document is sometimes also known under the title of the "Nigeria Convention".

(and probably the dream of many other men in London and Cairo) became reality – the Nile River, from Lake Victoria Nyanza to the Mediterranean Sea *de facto* fell under the control of a single government.⁷⁴ The “Nile Symphony” had found its conductor.

Conclusion

After the cannons of British warships roared off the coast of Alexandria on 11 July 1882 and the occupation of Egypt commenced, securing supplies of water for Egypt – and thereby stimulation of the Egyptian economy, became a crucial matter for London due to Great Britain’s economic interests and its desire to maintain stability in the country. The chief export commodities, sugar cane, and most importantly “thirsty” cotton, grown on an increasingly larger scale, as well as the population boom, brought Egypt to the limits of its water potential at the end of the eighteen nineties, even though development of the water management system continued.

Reports by Cromer’s engineers and other archive material confirms the thesis of Norwegian historian and geographer Terje Tvedt, that securing supplies of water for Egypt in the interests of maintaining their own position, was the main motive for the British-Egyptian campaign against Sudan in 1896. It was not about becoming the “master of the desert”.⁷⁵ Sudan had enormous water potential, Cromer knew this, he was not interested in creating a buffer zone, he was not interested in the expansive interior, he was interested in *waterways and the Nile in particular*.⁷⁶

The Fashoda Incident in 1898 is often considered a symbol of British-French competition in North-East Africa, however, there is no direct interest in water on the French part. First because Fashoda is worthless in relation to control over the river. Secondly because France had no complex concept encompassing use and development the Nile as a supply of water. By signing the expanded Nigeria Convention dated 21 March 1899, the Brits became a hegemon in the basin of the longest African River and the Nile had no further significant impact on relations between London and Paris.

TNA, FO 93/33/173.

⁷⁴ SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, *The Nile*, p. 418.

⁷⁵ ROBINSON – GALLAGHER, p. 272.

⁷⁶ TNA, FO 633/6, Lord Cromer to Lord Kimberley, No. 217, June 2, 1894.

Use of the Complex of the Former Cistercian Abbey in Plasy during the Second Half of the 20th Century

*Iva Vorlíková**

This study discusses utilisation of the complex of the former Cistercian abbey in Plasy during the second half of the 20th century on the basis of published and unpublished sources and specialist literature. The introduction provides information about the historic development of the complex until 1945 when the estate belonging to the Metternich family was nationalised. It then outlines use of the buildings of the complex after the end of the Second World War and particularly after the communist coup d'état in 1948. [Cistercians; Plasy; Abbey; Normalisation; Metternich Family]

Introduction

The Cistercian monks inhabited the abbey in Plasy until 1785. Available sources date establishment of the complex to the 1140s, specifically to 1144, and refer to the deed of foundation. This document has survived in the form of a falsification dating from 1146.¹ The abbey was founded by Vladislav II. The location and landscape of this site corresponds to the order's ideology. It is located in a valley, within a meander of the Střela River, on unstable, marshy underlying soil. The soil here is not suited to growing agricultural crops and does not simplify construction of buildings. The river provides enough water to sustain life and for farming and the landscape provides enough peace for prayer and contemplation. The first monks came to Plasy from

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¹ This document is now part of the collections of the National Archive in Prague. Do kláštera se vrátila zakládací listina, chrání ji neprůstředné sklo, in: https://www.idnes.cz/plzen/zpravy/plasy-centrum-stavitelskeho-dedictvi-zakladaci-listina-klaster.A150929_150053_plzen-zpravy_pp [2019-01-10].

Langheim in Upper Franconia in the spring of 1145, under the leadership of Abbot Konrád. They started to construct the facilities and the complex practically immediately upon their arrival and the original wooden, temporary buildings were soon replaced with masonry structures. The first convent was completed in 1173 and the building of greatest importance to the monks, the Basilica of the Assumption of Our Lady, was completed at the beginning of the 13th century.² In subsequent years the complex was gradually expanded by a royal residence, used in the event that the ruler and his retinue visited, the prelatore building and the farm buildings. Over more than 600 years of the monk's activities in the Plasy basin, the abbey experienced alternating times of prosperity and deep decline. The more prosperous periods mainly include the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries, when the complex underwent extensive conversion under the direction of Jean Baptist Mathey, Jan Blažej Santini and Kilián Ignác Dientzenhofer. The current convent building, part of the prelatore building, and the Baroque granary were built within the scope of these conversions. These replaced the palace demolished during the wars in the 15th and 17th centuries and surrounded the two Gothic chapels that remained of the original building. Sources consider critical years to be the two centuries of decline between the Hussite Wars and the Thirty Year's War or the crisis, which allegedly occurred in the abbey community during the 1780s.

After the abbey was closed the abbey property was managed by the Religious Fund until 1827, when the estate was purchased by Austrian Chancellor Klemens Václav Nepomuk Lothar Prince Metternich-Winneburg, Duke of Portella. Following the reforms by Joseph II, the Religious Fund sold part of the original abbey property, for instance houses in Prague, Plzeň and Česká Lípa (1786), Kalec yard (1787) and Loubí farm (1792).³ No significant conversions or major investments were made at the complex during the period between closure of the abbey and the arrival of the Metternich family in Plasy. The entire property was enclosed by a high wall and the rule of closure at night

² Z. CHUDÁREK, Některá nová zjištění o stavebním vývoji klášterního kostela Nanebevzetí Panny Marie v Plasích ve 12. až 14. století, in: *Plasý klášter a jeho minulý a současný přínos pro kulturní dějiny: sborník příspěvků ze semináře konaného v Plasích a Mariánské Týneci ve dnech 11.–13. května 2005*, Plasy 2005, p. 19.

³ P. HUBKA, Plasy a Metternichové, in: *Metternich a jeho doba*, Plzeň 2009, p. 74.

continued to be adhered to.⁴ The abbey Basilica of the Assumption of Our Lady was transformed into a parish church with the first priest being Desiderius Frantisek Studenský.⁵ The trivium elementary school in Plasy, which was established in 1775 under the abbey school, continued to operate.⁶ The farm buildings and buildings used to assure operation of the complex retained their original purposes while the complex was owned by the Religious Fund. The mill and the buildings belonging to the brewery also functioned between 1785 and 1826.⁷

The first negotiations for purchase of the Plasy estate took place in 1826. The local landscape evidently reminded the Metternich family of the landscape in the Rhine region and we can consider this one of the reasons for the subsequent decision to lay the remains of their forebears to rest in Plasy. In one letter to their daughter Leontyne in July 1826, Metternich wrote: *“Our stay here was very pleasant. The weather is fine and this estate is so large that it will take me more than a month to see everything, even though we spend seven to eight hours a day travelling. [...] We will continue going on trips here, which can only compare to those in Ischl with regard to the quality of the roads, which are excellent throughout the estate. The surrounding area is beautiful, but not as beautiful as where you are. The buildings are enormous and in very good condition, which does not prevent me from not being able to imagine a guest I would be able to accommodate here.”*⁸ Some sources incorrectly give 26 January 1826 as the date of purchase, but this statement has never been confirmed. Even the contract was only officially signed a year later, specifically on 4 July 1827 in Prague.⁹ The original purchase contracts can be found in the National Archive in Prague at Chodovec, along with a contract

⁴ I. BUKAČOVÁ, Popis plaského areálu v době jeho počínající zkázy na počátku 30. let 19. století, in: *Vlastivědný sborník: čtvrtletník pro regionální dějiny severního Plzeňska*, 8, VIII, 1, Mariánská Týnice 1998, without pages.

⁵ A. PODLAHA, *Posvátná místa království českého III*, Praha 1909, p. 81.

⁶ J. MAŠKOVÁ, Proměny edukačního potenciálu a doprovodné programy objektů patřících v minulosti pod klášter Plasy pro žáky základních škol, in: *Proměny plaského kláštera (1145–2015)*, Mariánská Týnice 2015, p. 171.

⁷ J. MÍRKA, Historie plaského pivovaru do zrušení propinačního práva roku 1869, in: *Západočeské archivy*, 2017, VIII, pp. 20–46.

⁸ J. KAHUDA, *Kancléř Metternich a Plasy ve světle soudobých dokumentů*. Plasy 2009, p. 30.

⁹ J. HOFFMANOVÁ, Hrobka Metternichů v Plasích, in: *Minulostí západočeského kraje*, XXXI, 1996, pp. 190–191.

signed on 27 March 1827, on the basis of which Salomon Mayer von Rothschild loaned Metternich 1,040,000 Gulden. The price of the Plasy estate with adjoining land was set in auction at 1,100,050 Gulden.¹⁰ Along with the former abbey estate in Plasy the new owner also acquired property, which included the town of Kralovice, over fifty villages, and large areas of fields, meadows, forests and ponds. The area offered suitable conditions for development of industry and subsequent farming. Metternich and his family did not renew the abbey and instead established a manor farm here and use of most of the buildings was adapted to this. Part of the convent areas underwent conversion and began to be used as accommodation for employees of the manor farm. Up until 1850 the building also housed the seigneurial authority.¹¹ The Plasy school also repeatedly moved here throughout the time the property was under the management of the Metternich family. Part of the building was used as a hospital from the 1840s, the Metternich's had a pharmacy established in the original winter refectory and an iron store in the other half of the area. The family archive was also located on the first floor, along with a library in the Chapel of Saint Bernard and a theatre hall with smoking room in the northern tract of the convent. The family had the monumental summer refectory converted in the 19th century and established a granary there.¹²

The prelatore in the complex also underwent changes and was converted into the family home or "chateau", the originally secular church of Saint Wenceslas was converted into the family tomb and many other buildings were also converted. Compared to Kynžvart, which was eighty kilometres away, it is evident that the chateau in Plasy was never considered a representative home. The family usually visited Plasy in autumn during the hunting period and remained until Christmas, when they prepared a programme and small gifts for the children of Plasy.¹³ Klement's son Richard and his wife Paulina established a tradition of performances held in the theatre hall at the convent, the content of which they participated in. At the end of the

¹⁰ Ibidem.

¹¹ L. LANCIŇGER, *Plasy, Konvent, stavebně-historický průzkum, I. etapa: Dějiny objektu*, Praha 1975, p. 6. Stored by the National Heritage Preservation Institute, transcribed by Vlastimil Svoboda.

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ M. STRETTIOVÁ, *O starých časech a dobrých lidech*, Praha 1940, p. 152.

19th century the convent in particular was damaged by an extensive fire, which originated on 27 August 1894 when barrels were being charred in the cooper's yard.¹⁴ The fire engulfed the second floor of the building and lasted 14 days. Because it did not spread to the first floor, the valuable private archive and the theatre hall were saved. The damages were covered by the fire insurance policy and employees of the manor farm were able to return to the convent in 1895.¹⁵ The farm and production were revived quite quickly after the First World War and establishment of the republic. However, the land reforms also affected the manor farm. The author of the dissertation, Kristýna Kaucká, which focused on land reforms in Plasy, in the Křivoklát Region and in Radnice, states that in 1906 the Metternich estate spread over more than 13,000 ha.¹⁶ Most of its area covered forests and agricultural land. According to the same source, the Metternich family farmed approximately half the total land area and the remainder was managed by tenants. Framework Act No. 215/1919 Sb., from April 1919, ordered confiscation of land plots consisting of over 150 ha of agricultural land and consisting of over 250 ha of all land to be confiscated. Negotiations concerning confiscation lasted for nearly the entire 1920s. The matter would probably have lasted even longer if not for the death of the owner of the estate Klement Metternich in May 1930. In June 1931 the administrators of his estate concluded a general agreement with the State Land Fund regarding final execution of the land reforms at the manor farms owned by the estate.¹⁷ At the beginning of the 1930s recipients received a total of 2,420.28 ha of agricultural and 2,653.04 other land out of the 3,020.75 ha of agricultural and 13,065 other land.¹⁸ After Klement died his properties passed on to his minor son Paul Alfonse, born in 1917.¹⁹ From the time of Klement Michal the

¹⁴ O. SOUTNER – P. HUBKA (eds.), *Osm a pět století v plaské kotlině: 1145–1995, díl II*, Plasy 1997, p. 91.

¹⁵ Státní okresní archiv Plzeň-sever se sídlem v Plasích (hereinafter SOKA Plasy), fond (hereinafter f.) Farní úřad Plasy (hereinafter FÚ Plasy), Memorabilienbuch der Pfarre Plass, Pamětní kniha 1836–1945, No. 2, p. 263.

¹⁶ K. KOUČKÁ, *První pozemková reforma na velkostatech Křivoklát, Plasy a Radnice*, Ph. D. Thesis, Praha 2016, p. 61.

¹⁷ Ibidem, pp. 84–86.

¹⁸ J. VOŽENÍLEK, *Předběžné výsledky pozemkové reformy*, Praha 1930, p. 64.

¹⁹ V. STEINBACHOVÁ, *Velkostatek Plasy 1565–1945 (1949)*, Inventář, in: *Inventáře a katalogy státního archivu v Plzni, pobočka Klatovy, SOKA Plasy*, Plzeň 1972, p. 4.

Metternich family no longer stayed in Plasy as intensively as in previous years. One of the last residents of Plasy Chateau at the beginning of the 1930s was Klement's sister Paulina Thurn-Thaxis, known as "Titi" among the people of Plasy, and her family.²⁰ At that time her husband Maximilian Thurn-Taxis was appointed manager of the estate. He managed the estate until his death in 1939.²¹ Paul reached his majority a year before his death. He owned the Plasy estate with his wife Tatiana until the Second World War. During the war he was forced to join the Wehrmacht and fight in the army, even though he himself opposed the regime. During the war the Metternich family stayed mostly in Kynžvart, which they were forced to leave at the end of the war. Thanks to the family's activities Plasy became a major political and cultural centre in East Bohemia. The estate belonged to its owners until 1945, when it was nationalised on the basis of President Beneš' Decree No. 12/1945.

Use of the Buildings in the Complex after 1945

The last list of Plasy property dates from the 1930s. The *Plasy Manor Farm* fund, now stored in the Abbey by Nepomuk, offers the opportunity to examine the last inventory list executed in 1933. The inventory list is written in German and focuses on the furnishings of the chateau, particularly on items of higher value. One of the reasons why this list was executed is probably because the list of items in the Plasy chateau would have become an important basis for a probate proceeding in the event that another estate needed to be drawn up. The list includes collections of paintings, busts, statues, volumes of books, lists of furniture, crockery and musical instruments.²² As well as the chateau, the inventory also lists furnishings for the church, equipment for the sawmill or the brewery. Records of execution of a list of inventory for the convent in the 1930's are unfortunately not stored by the *Plasy Manor Farm* fund. The farm administrators kept meticulous records, even during the Second World War and we can see from these documents that the owners invested into their Czech estate even during the

²⁰ SOkA Plasy, f. FÚ Plasy, Pamětní kniha 1836–1945, No. 2, p. 192.

²¹ STEINBACHOVÁ, p. 4.

²² Státní oblastní archiv Plzeň (hereinafter SOA Plzeň), pracoviště Klášter, f. Velkostatek Plasy (hereinafter VS Plasy), kniha (hereinafter k.) 29, inv. č. 25. Inventář plaského zámku 1933.

war. However, it is very difficult to observe development of the Second World War directly from the abbey complex, because, apart from statements of management and a list of orders stored in the archives, we can only find a minimum of extant records. Sources usually end at the beginning of the war and start to record modern history approximately from the middle of 1945. Events identical to those that occurred in other towns occurred in Plasy after the end of the war. General hate towards the German population, the beginnings of displacement of the German population, establishment of people's courts, efforts to quickly revive farming activities and the economy or appointment of a Local People's Committee. Despite all this, according to the records, the last owners of the estate tried to protect the residents of the estate during the war and maintain their living standards, but it seems that they did not receive any thanks for this. In the following years the chronicles describe the Metternich family as representatives of feudalism and "decayed capitalism" who oppressed their subjects to their own benefit.²³

The Metternich estates in the Czech lands were nationalised in August 1945 on the basis of Decree by the President of the Republic No. 12/1945.²⁴ The National Committee in Kralovice issued the order to confiscate the Plasy estate under number 10949/45.²⁵ On the basis of this Decree all property was transferred under the administration of the National Land Fund under the Ministry of Agriculture. The Plasy manor farm was renamed immediately after national administration was imposed. This is the time when the *State Administration and Factory Revolutionary Committee of the Plasy (formerly Metternich) Manor Farm and Brewery* began settling official documents.²⁶ František Bílý became chairman of the Factory Committee of the manor farm, members of the committee were Václav Balín for the sawmill, Antonín Janeš for

²³ SOkA Plasy, f. Místní národní výbor (hereinafter MNV), *Kronika obce Plasy, 1945–1957*, p. 48.

²⁴ Decree by the President of the Republic on confiscation and accelerated distribution of the agricultural property of Germans, Hungarians, and also traitors and enemies of the Czech and Slovak nation. Valid from 23 June 1945.

²⁵ SOkA Plasy, f. Městský národní výbor, nezpracováno (hereinafter MěstNV), *Kronika obce Plasy, 1958–1965*, p. 45.

²⁶ Archiv společnosti Plzeňský Prazdroj, a. s. (hereinafter archiv PPAS), f. Pivovar Plasy (hereinafter PP), k. 1, inv. č. 2, sign. A 1a, National Administration, confiscation of enemy property.

farming, Pavel Jícha for the brewery, Mr Jiříček for clerks and others for farms and forests.²⁷ The owner of the manor farm disposed of 8,412 ha of forests after 5 May 1945, the farms of Plasy, Lomany, Býkov and Hubenov covered a total of 412.33 ha. The estate also included hunting grounds, a sawmill, brewery, a distillery, a mill, employee flats, 10 churches under its administration, the Plasy chateau, convent, children's home and ponds. The total value of the buildings was calculated at 7,242,968 Czechoslovak Crowns, with machinery in the value of 576,868 Czechoslovak Crowns, a total of 7,819,836 Czechoslovak Crowns. The manor farm generated a profit of 2,632,966 Czechoslovak Crowns.²⁸ Division of land plots and creation of plans for further undertakings with the confiscated property commenced after May 1945. In June of the same year the Czechoslovak Church requested allocation of the Church of Saint Wenceslas, but the Local National Committee denied the request.²⁹ Applicants for acquisition of land, consisting mostly of forests, and of minor real property, expressed the greatest interest. The convent building received the fewest applicants for acquisition. The total list of applicants recorded 91 small-scale farmers, 45 applicants for building sites, 1 cooperative and 7 municipalities. The confiscated agricultural land and real property was allocated mostly to former employees and farmers, the distillery was allocated to the cooperative. The committee allocated a total of 38 real properties in this manner. The price was set at 20 to 180 Czechoslovak Crowns per m³. A technical expert estimated the value of the chateau and the former abbey in the value of 1,626,927 Czechoslovak Crowns.³⁰ The chateau and the convent were allocated to the District People's Committee in Kralovice in 1948. The Ministry of Agriculture allocated it by decree dated 17 December 1948. This allocation occurred under the condition that: "*The recipient would maintain the buildings in good condition and only carry out any building modifications with the prior consent of the State Heritage Preservation Authority in Prague.*"³¹ The organisation consequently moved its offices from Kralovice to Plasy and Plasy became a district town in 1949.³²

²⁷ SOKA Plasy, f. MNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1945–1957, p. 50.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 207.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 55.

³⁰ Ibidem.

³¹ Ibidem.

As a result of new categorisation, the historic buildings of the complex were classified as a second category monument. Buildings in this category continued to be used, for instance as youth homes, sanatoria, schools or psychiatric hospitals. The National Cultural Committee, which was appointed in 1946 and replaced the Heritage Committee under the National Land Fund, was required to make decisions regarding the furnishings. In Plasy the committee helped preserve at least part of the surviving items, furniture and archive documents. Looting and selling of property began not long after the last owners left the estate. Between 1945 and 1947 several auctions took place in the chateau or in the courtyard, where it was possible to purchase valuable items for minimal prices. This is also probably how the hairdresser in Plasy came by handkerchiefs with a monogram of the Metternich crown.³³ After a list of property was drawn up, the National Cultural Committee sorted through it. Some of the furnishings were left in Plasy in order to establish a museum. The chairman of the committee, Zdeněk Wirth, had some of the remaining property distributed to other institutions. We can name the National Gallery, the Military Historic Institute, Jemniště Chateau, Horšovský Týn Chateau, Prague Castle, the local school, the Local People's Committee, the Museum in Mariánské Týnice, the Municipal Museum in Plzeň, the Auction House and others.³⁴

The historic buildings in Plasy suffered various fates after National Administration was imposed. Some retained their original purpose, others found a completely new use. The building of the former convent was the most "difficult" to find a new use for. This monumental square building has several particularities, which all its owners had to come to terms with. To this day the maintenance and heating of this building probably remains the most complicated. There is also a unique water system underneath the building, which consists of over

³² It is interesting that, until that time, Plasy only had the status of a municipality, which means that the representative body was the Local People's Committee. As the seat of the district it became a district town. However, it was only officially granted the statute of town when the District offices were moved to Plzeň, specifically in September 1960. The National People's Committee was also renamed the Municipal People's Committee in this year.

³³ SOkA Plasy, f. MNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1945–1957, p. 55.

³⁴ Národní archiv Praha (hereinafter NA Praha), f. Státní památková správa (hereinafter SPS), k. 406, inv. č. 30, 30 – zámek Plasy.

5,000 oak posts to reinforce the marshy soil under its foundations. However, the plans for its maintenance have not survived and neither the Metternich family, nor subsequent managers of the building could have known the precise procedure for maintenance or even the importance of such maintenance. Investigations to determine maintenance procedures in modern times only began in the second half of the 20th century. Heating was another problem. It is still not possible to heat the entire convent today. The original tiled stoves did not survive and the temperature in the unheated interiors is normally around 4 degrees Celsius in winter. This was probably also the reason why most institutions only considered the convent a temporary measure before moving to a new building. The building lacked cohesive use for nearly the entire 19th and 20th centuries, which is also demonstrated by the great number of institutions that it housed. After its ownership was passed to the District People's Committee in 1948, along with ownership of the prelatore building, it continued to provide a home to various authorities and also provided storage space. The need to move the offices of the District People's Committee to the convent made it necessary to ensure substitute accommodation for the forty families who had lived in the rooms previously. The flats in the new housing development commenced at the end of the nineteen forties were intended for these families as well as others.³⁵

During the second half of the 20th century the Metternich's purpose for the convent building was structurally retained. Part continued to serve as offices, part as an archive and depository, other parts as flats. And we must not forget the summer refractory, used as a granary, and the technical facilities of the building on the ground floor. While the historic value of the prelatore was acknowledged, the value of the convent was only admitted over time. There were no detailed probes or research into the water and ventilation systems until the second half the 20th century. The considerably devastated water system as subject to several experiments over several decades. The building's sewers were out-dated and in very poor condition after the Second World War. A number of institutes residing in the convent handled their waste management by connecting the sewers to the sewers for managing the water in the water system, which led to their blockage.

³⁵ P. HUBKA, *Plasy*, Plasy 1987, p. 29.

This resulted in the water level determining the level of water in the inspection pools rising by nearly two metres above the recommended standard and remaining at this level for several years. This resulted in the increased overall dampness of the building and in the staircases above the pools. In the effort to prevent the water level from rising further, the space was filled with concrete, which was once again shown to be ineffective.³⁶ In subsequent years experiments, which consisted of draining all the water from the water pools, were also realised. It must be specified that no cohesive correct procedure for maintenance of the water system existed, nor was it possible to determine the optimum water level. The first specialised probes began to be executed during the 1970s, but more significant findings regarding the water and ventilation system were only made after the fall of Communism.

As well as organisations that remained in their original areas, new organisations also moved to this building. We can name the District Construction Enterprise in a partitioned area of the winter refectory and other rooms, the depository of the Regional Archive in the west and north area of the first floor or the post office on the ground floor next to the south roundel.³⁷ The post office first moved into the convent in 1939 and remained here until the end of the nineteen eighties.³⁸ The chronicle mentions the following institutions in the convent as of 1953: the wing of the former rectory (hospital note by author) housed the District Military Administration, the post office, the offices of the Purchase Enterprise and a non-functional laundry were located on the ground floor. The first floor housed the People's Court, the public prosecutor's office, the depository of the Regional Archive and a basket workshop in the former Metternich casino, the District People's Committee's financial department, the offices of the District Industrial Processing Company, the secretariat of the Czechoslovak Youth Association and the kitchen were located on the second floor in the north wing.³⁹ The depository of the Regional Archive was moved in 1956 and the space it vacated was assigned to the people's court, its archive and the newly established museum committee headed by

³⁶ SOkA Plasy, f. MNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1945–1957, p. 323.

³⁷ M. MATUŠKOVÁ – K. ROM, Inventář ONV Plasy 1945–1960, in: *Inventáře a katalogy státního archivu v Plzni, pobočka Plasy*, Plasy 2015, p. 10.

³⁸ SOkA Plasy, f. MNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1945–1957, p. 91.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 134.

Rudolf Soukup, which had the task of supervising establishment of the new museum.⁴⁰ The first part of the museum was opened at the end of 1956 by installation of paintings by painters from the Stretti family. Due to inappropriate conditions, particularly dampness and low temperatures, these paintings quickly had to be moved back to the depository. Apparently, the room leaked and the floors were also in a very bad state.⁴¹ The Czechoslovak Film Weekly recorded the condition of the convent in 1957. According to this documentary the building was in a disastrous condition. Some of the windows in the corridors had no glass and the monastic garden was unmaintained and was overgrown with weeds.⁴² In response to the weekly the chronicle described the momentary condition of the building as extreme disrepair with the need for renovation. However, the convent did not undergo any substantial work even after 1960, when the District People's Committee moved to Plzeň.⁴³

At the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s changes were once again made to use of the building. The archive was the most important remaining organisation, which served as a specialist organisation for the Plzeň-north district after the district offices moved to Plzeň. The library moved to the convent from Střela Cinema, whose areas were insufficient, in 1963 the new kitchen and the dining room began operation on the ground floor of the east roundel, with 125 seats for employees of local enterprises.⁴⁴ The rooms in the hospital wing were also converted into a boy's dormitory for the Secondary Technical School of Agriculture. This was located in the hospital wing until the end of the 1960s. The dormitory was moved after the temporary dormitories next to the agricultural school were completed in 1969.⁴⁵ The District People's Library initially took up three rooms, an office, lending room and depository, all located in the roundel.⁴⁶ A

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 130.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 320.

⁴² *Československý filmový týdeník 1957*, díl 639/2379, <https://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/1130615451-ceskoslovensky-filmovy-tydenik/207562262700030/> [2019-03-16].

⁴³ SOKA Plasy, f. MěstNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1958-1965, p. 83.

⁴⁴ SOUTNER – HUBKA, p. 138.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 139.

⁴⁶ J. C. SEKERA – I. HEZKÁ – V. SOUTNEROVÁ, *Knihovnictví v Plasích: historie a současnost*, Plasy 2015, p. 14.

children's department was opened on the second floor of the hospital wing on 1 May 1966. At the end of the 1960s the library contained nearly 14,000 books.⁴⁷ At the beginning of the 1970s the convent building remained in a desolate condition and the conditions for storing archive documents and books were unsatisfactory. Practically the entire complex was in a disastrous condition. At the beginning of the 1970s it was decided to completely renovate the hospital wing and move the remainder of the District Library into this space. Heritage preservation principles also began to be applied more extensively at this time, the users and managers of the buildings evidently realised the value of the historic buildings in Plasy at least partially. An extensive structural-historic survey of practically all the buildings in the complex was executed by Luboš Lancinger between 1974 and 1980 on the occasion of modification of the south wing. The first renovation work was commenced at the same time, after specialist probes and studies had been executed. The convent building was glazed, and the doors and windows were unified, the chapel of Saint Bernard and the corridors were painted. The broken water mains on the ground floor of the convent were repaired, the water pool was drained and cleaned, the locks were replaced, and the depository was renumbered. Further renovations assumed restoration work on the staircases and overall work on the south wing.⁴⁸ The chronicle also gives the number of visitors to the convent in the specific year during this period. In 1974 there were 1,646 visitors, in 1975 there were 4,835 visitors and a year later there were 4,771 visitors.⁴⁹ The route for visitors consisted mainly of the Museum of Liberation and the interiors themselves, with a commentary from a guide. The guides' texts always had to be prepared and approved by the relevant specialist workplace in advance. Due to electrical and other work in progress, the building was closed for several months for operating reasons in 1977. The artificial partitions in the winter refectory were also removed in the same year. A year later an exhibition of paintings by Victor Stretti was ceremonially opened, but due to the enormous dampness the paintings were soon placed back in the depository. In spite of the modifications and renovations to the south wing, the work did not go according to plan, which meant

⁴⁷ SOkA Plasy, f. MěstNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1966–1968, p. 43.

⁴⁸ SOkA Plasy, f. MěstNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1972–1978, pp. 107–108.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 313.

that the final inspection date for the repaired areas was moved back to 31 December 1980.⁵⁰

The optimistic idea of a final inspection by the end of 1980 became unrealisable. The windows in the direction of the brewery were fitted and the parquet flooring was filled in in February 1979 and the ceiling was lifted in July. However, renovation work continued very slowly. Electricity outages in the entire building and the catastrophic condition of the electric wiring also played a role in this. The Municipal People's Committee promised to arrange a substitute power supply for the library and the archive, but it became clear that it was practically impossible to ensure smooth operation without electricity.⁵¹ At the turn of the seventies and eighties the building administration decided to change the purpose of the renovated hospital wing. New areas in the prelature building were to be assigned to the library and the Museum of Liberation was to be moved from the inappropriate conditions in the actual convent into the wing. The Museum of Liberation was not the only institute to leave the square building. In June 1979 the "Medika" medication warehouse, which had been located in the middle of the second floor for several years, was removed and the oak staircase by the entrance was completed in July.⁵² In November the metal fitters started work on fitting copper sheeting to the cupola and the lantern of the capitular hall. This work was completed in 1980 at a cost of 500,000 Czechoslovak Crowns.⁵³ But the repairs to the hospital wing were still not completed at the beginning of the 1980s. Even the metal fitting work over the capitular hall was more problematic than beneficial. Poorly executed work on the scaffolding by the capitular hall resulted in water leaking into the roof, which caused the ceiling to fall in in two rooms in the convent.⁵⁴ The hospital wing was ceremonially opened to the public in February 1988 after fourteen years of renovation work. The façade was completed in 1984 and the wing was handed over a year later. However, the renovation work contained a number of final inspection defects. The end of the 1980s meant moving out of the premises for more enterprises in the convent. Before the

⁵⁰ SOKA Plasy, f. MěstNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1972–1978, p. 390.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 10.

⁵² *Ibidem*.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

⁵⁴ SOKA Plasy, f. MěstNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1979–1989, p. 58.

revolution the post office moved into to a new building by the pond and the Purchase Enterprise also vacated its offices.⁵⁵ Not long before the revolution a committee met at Plasy, which submitted proposals for discussion and subsequently published plans for the buildings for the following two years. The result of the meeting was submission of the following plans. *“Access through the main entrance would be modified, the area behind the entrance would be resorted to its original condition, when it was used as the winter refectory. Partitions would therefore be created and the vaulting would be restored. The corridors into the left and right wings on the ground floor would be repaired. The left corridor would provide access to the roundel where the former office would be converted into a ceremonial hall, other areas, up to the hospital wing, would be used by the people’s school of art. A flat for the building maintenance man was also planned, but the Municipal People’s Committee promised to provide another flat in the housing development within 3 years. The Construction Enterprise and its operation would move into the north wing, where the manufacturing facilities for the abbey (workshops, storage, etc.) were also located. The repaired areas in the former Chapel of Saint Bernard would be added to the Monument of Liberation on the first floor. The receiving salon would be moved to the theatre hall, which would also be opened up. The depositories of the District Archive would be moved from the first floor to the second floor.”*⁵⁶

Immediately after the fall of communism minor repairs began in the complex, in which the building’s management and volunteers participated. Some of the submitted plans were executed, but over longer periods. The town and the managers waited for investments by a foreign investor, which did not come about. The visitor’s route was restructured the beginning of the 1990s, most importantly the Museum of Liberation was removed from the route and the church was opened to up. Over the following years the remaining institutions were moved out of the convent and extensive renovation work on its renewal was commenced. The District Construction Enterprise moved out in 1991, followed by the aforementioned closure of the museum and the archive was also moved to a new building before the end of the century. After the year 2000 the only remaining institutions in the building were the depository on the second floor and the People’s school of art

⁵⁵ SOUTNER – HUBKA, p. 151.

⁵⁶ SOkA Plasy, f. MěstNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1979–1989, pp. 325–326.

on the ground floor. The building is currently undergoing extensive renovation work and surveys. However, completion of the renovation work will have to be planned for many years ahead. The convent is managed by the National Heritage Institute.

On the contrary to the convent, the prelatore building was put to cohesive use right up until the Second World War and was used by the Metternich family as its residence after the estate was purchased. Until the Second World War it was only open to a limited number of visitors and was an important building in the complex. With regard to the importance of this building and the care it was given, the prelatore was the best preserved of the monitored buildings. After the rooms were cleared out and all the necessary administrative matters arranged, the building was taken on by the District People's Committee, the same as the convent. Luboš Lancinger stated that neither the District People's Committee, nor the Local People's Committee used the chateau very much, apart from the Cultural Department of the District People's Committee, so it was used as an occasional storage area.⁵⁷ There is no record of renovations during this period, only general repairs were probably carried out. From 1953 installation of two floors of assembled module offices in the large hall was discussed but was not executed.⁵⁸ The abbey underwent the first major repairs in 1955, these concerned the façade and particularly renovation of the large abbey hall. The layout of the building previously was as follows: the historic tract of the building, the so-called old abbey, housed the District Headquarters of the State National Security Office from 1948. A flat was located in the part between the chateau and the old abbey on the ground floor, the first floor above this housed the Department of Education and Culture of the District People's Committee and the Department of Job Protection. The rooms of the Department of Education were expanded in 1955.⁵⁹ From the middle of the 1950s the hall was intended to be used for cultural events and exhibitions and repairs to the stucco work and also to the façade were contracted for this purpose according to sources. The State Heritage Preservation Institute supervised the work and also partially subsidised this project. Repairs consisted of cleaning, reinforcing and completing the stucco reliefs in the area of

⁵⁷ LANCINGER, p. 6.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 7.

⁵⁹ SOKA Plasy, f. MNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1945–1957, p. 213.

the ceiling fresco, in reinforcement of the plaster and overall restoration of damaged areas of the fresco.⁶⁰ One of the first events held in the space of the newly restored chateau hall was the District Agricultural Exhibition held on 20 and 30 September 1956.⁶¹ In the following years the hall hosted cultural and social events and was used as a gallery to exhibit paintings or as a hall for holding meetings of the Municipal People's Committee and the District People's Committee. Exhibitions of paintings by well-known artists, such as Max Švabinsky, Augustin Němejc or the Stretti Family were also held here.

Following reorganisation and transfer of the District Authority the prelatore soon found a new purpose. Between 1960 and 1963 the prelatore building was converted into a girl's dormitory for the Secondary Technical School of Agriculture. Practically the entire prelatore building was renovated. The old abbey was modified, the first floor, along with the ground floor and staircase, were given new layouts. The attic was converted into another floor and a boiler room was created in the yard.⁶² The structural-historic surveys present the condition of the prelatore before the renovation work as one of the best of all the buildings in the complex. In February 1966 there was a small fire at the girl's dormitory in the prelatore, which originated from a beam that had been bricked up in the chimney. Apart from frightening the boarded students, no one was injured and the fire was quickly extinguished by the local fire brigade.⁶³ After some of the boarded students were moved to new temporary dormitories by the agricultural school at the beginning of the 1970s, the dormitory was expanded for use by boarders from among students of the School of Transport in Plzeň, who commuted to Plzeň from Plasy every day until 1978, when their own dormitory was completed near the school.⁶⁴ The dormitory fulfilled its function in the prelatore building until the beginning of the 1980s. In the 1970s we would have found that the building also housed a number of offices, the Purchasing Enterprise in Plasy was also located here, along with a warehouse and civil defence shelter, and the lunch issue counter was located in the original sala terrena

⁶⁰ NA Praha, f. SPS, k. 406, inv. č. 30, 30 – zámek Plasy.

⁶¹ SOkA Plasy, f. MNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1945–1957, p. 250.

⁶² LANCINGER, p. 6.

⁶³ SOkA Plasy, f. MěstNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1966–1968, p. 26.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 40.

(ground floor hall). The shelter was established in 1963 (possibly also as a result of the Cuban Crisis) by demolition of the historic cellars below the prelature. The shelter was not intended for the population of Plasy, but for very senior officials from Plzeň.⁶⁵ The prelature underwent further major plans and modifications in the 1970s. Between 1974 and 1976 the State Institute for Renovation of Historic Towns and Buildings executed a dislocation study of the entire complex, in which it outlined the principles of its renovation.⁶⁶ However, the planned modifications were not realised in full. The roof of the prelature and the roofs over the ambits and chapels in the garden should have undergone general repairs in 1975. The building was newly painted in the same year.⁶⁷ Three years later it was found that, out of the planned repairs, only the ambits had been secured. The roof over the main large hall continued to show traces of damage, which prevented its restoration, because the restorers refused to start work until the proper function of the roof was assured.⁶⁸ Renovations were delayed until the eighties, just like in the case of the convent.

The dormitory was closed at the beginning of the eighties, which meant it freed up areas for the District Library. But these rooms also required modification. The planned renovation work was not intended to last long, but due to delays the library only moved into the new building in 1984. New furnishings, a children's department, music department and adult department were prepared for readers. As well as offices, the employees were also provided with new sanitary facilities, functional electrical wiring and a heating system. Renovation of the library areas came to a total of 400,000 Czechoslovak Crowns.⁶⁹ The only deficiency, which the convent had already had, was the lack of a lift, which must have made moving 45,000 books quite complicated. This is why part of the library fund remained stored in the library

⁶⁵ The shelter occupies an area below practically the entire prelature and the purpose for construction of the individual rooms remains evident to this day. These rooms were intended to be used by departments of the District Committee. The shelter was prepared as a completely independent functional unit. It still has running drinking water and a back-up air and electricity generator. And it also contained a kitchen, dining room, sanitary facilities and machine room.

⁶⁶ LANCINGER, p. 12.

⁶⁷ SOKA Plasy, f. MěstNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1972–1978, pp. 171–172.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 390.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 171.

hall in the north tract of the convent. Ladislav Šmídl became the new manager of the library on 1 November 1984. Some of the rooms freed after the library was moved out of the convent were taken over by the District Archive in 1985. Because the dampness of the convent in particular was harmful to the archived documents, designation of a space in the old abbey prelatore was considered. However, the plans never came to fruition, because an investigation found that the walls of the abbey would not be able to support the weight of the shelves. Some proposals recommended demolition of the building and construction of a new building.⁷⁰ The sala terrena in the chateau garden fell into a similar state of disrepair. The condition of this building was mentioned by the chronicle repeatedly as desperate and it was not given much hope of being restored. After the revolution it was actually assumed that it would collapse completely. The library remained in the prelatore until 2016. The building is currently undergoing extensive and essential renovation work, on completion of which the new route should focus on the Metternich family and its activities in Plasy. The National Heritage Institute owns this building.

As the introductory chapter mentioned, there were two churches in Plasy, the Church of Saint Wenceslas, which Metternich family had converted into the family tomb in the 19th century and the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, which was subsequently opened to the public and used as a parish church. The parish church retained its function after the Second World War without any changes. A ceremonial hall was built into the family tomb at the end of the 1950s and the cross was removed from its roof. Of course, public access to the parish church depended on the viewpoint of the church and church buildings in the specific period. The Catholic Church had a fairly strong base in Plasy, because the Metternichs were Catholic. They regularly visited the church when they stayed in Plasy and supported its activities by donating considerable sums of money. While their patronage continued, maintenance and repairs of the church took place without any issues. However, after the Second World War there was no organisation that would invest into the church. This meant that this valuable monument remained empty and gradually fell into disrepair. The Ministry of Education and Enlightenment issued a circular

⁷⁰ Ibidem, p. 283.

in 1947 in which it pointed out the possibility of obtaining an advance payment for essential repairs to churches and rectories, whose patronage had been terminated as a result of Decree No. 12/1945 Sb., The Roman Catholic parish authority in Kralovice also pointed out the very bad state of the roof and walls and the increasing damp, and applied for funds for the parish church in Plasy on the basis of the aforementioned circular.⁷¹

The Catholic Action, which one fund is devoted to in the archive, also affected Plasy in 1949. The Catholic Action movement had several main goals, for instance introduction of the national language into all church ceremonies, the fight against the Vatican or establishment of an organisational centre in Velehrad. This was basically an effort by the Communist Party to obtain control over happenings in the Church and over sermons held during church ceremonies. So-called “progressive priests” were to arise as a result of the Catholic Action, who were to occupy the highest church positions, and de facto collaborate with the regime and provide support in the fight for and against the church. However, only several priests became “*progressive priests, mostly unreliable individuals*”.⁷² The so-called “Church Six”, an advisory committee to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, consisting of the Minister of Justice Alexej Čepička, Minister of Information Václav Kopecký, Minister of Education and Enlightenment Zdeněk Nejedlý, Minister of Foreign Affairs Vladimír Clementis and deputy Prime Ministers Viliam Široký and Zdeněk Fierlinger, was involved in preparation of the Action.⁷³ The Catholic Action was established in June 1949 in Prague. The name of the Action was derived from the Church movement active at the beginning of the 20th century, when priests and monks helped laymen promote Catholic viewpoints in society.⁷⁴ Probably because many people considered the movement, which originated in the 1940s, to equate with the movement from the beginning of the 20th century, over 1,500 clergymen signed the introductory statement of the Catholic Action in addition to thousands of believers.⁷⁵ The founding meeting of

⁷¹ NA Praha, f. SPS, k. 406, inv. č. 30, 30 – Plasy farní kostel, děkanství Kralovice.

⁷² Ibidem, p. 79.

⁷³ M. MATUŠKOVÁ, Inventář Katolická akce, ONV Plasy 1949–1951, in: *Inventáře a katalogy Státního archívu v Plzni, pobočka Plasy*, Plasy 2009, p. 3.

⁷⁴ S. BALÍK – J. HANUŠ, *Katolická církev v Československu 1945–1989*, Brno 2007, p. 23.

the Catholic Action for the district of Plasy was held on 8 June 1949 at the Town Hall in Plasy. The District Committee headed by František Vavřík was appointed at this meeting. The work programme was only established in July 1949, the chief content was an “informational campaign” during which the District Committee was supposed to visit villages and “inform” people and point out the “unfriendly policy of the Vatican”.⁷⁶ However, the District Committee of the Catholic Action in Plasy was not to carry out independent activities. In spite of threats, the Catholic laymen in Plasy and the surrounding areas refused to support the movement and despite recruitment in surrounding villages, no other committees had actually been established at the end of 1950. After the chairman of the committee in Plasy fell ill in January 1951 and resigned from his position, the committee started to stagnate. The Catholic Action failed to meet with success in the Plasy District.⁷⁷

The last church marriage was held in the church in Plasy at the end of 1949.⁷⁸ During the second half of the 20th century the church was used partially to store liturgical items, which could not be used in the convent. For example, one famous crucifix by Braun was stored in the sacristy of the church.⁷⁹ According to testimonies by witnesses, mass was served in the Plasy church during the previous regime, but everything proceeded according to approved texts and a previously arranged scenario. The church was not included in the probes and plans for restoration of the complex as executed by Luboš Lancinger in the 1970s. This meant that the real value of this monument could only be fully proven after the revolution. The Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in particular was in a desolate condition at the beginning of the 1990s. The last major renovation work had taken place in the 1930s and only partial repairs, which stabilised its condition, took place after that. The church is only just now undergoing major restoration. Apart from renovation of the interior, the Church should also receive a new façade. Its operation is presently assured by the Roman Catholic Parish in Plasy. The buildings providing the complex

⁷⁵ Ibidem.

⁷⁶ MATUŠKOVÁ, p. 5.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, p. 6.

⁷⁸ SOkA Plasy, f. MNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1945–1957, p. 97.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, p. 61.

with agricultural facilities were the ones most fully left to their original purpose, particularly the granary, the sawmill, the farmyards and also the brewery. These buildings continued to be used in the same manner from the time of the abbey and their use only ended after the Second World War. According to witnesses from the prelatore and convent, after nationalisation the granary was used partially by the prelatore and partially by the Enterprise for Purchase of Agricultural Commodities and Supply, the school farm, which was created in 1966 out of the original Plasy Unified Agricultural Cooperative, and the Zelenina (Vegetable) Enterprise for storage of vegetables and fertilisers in the chapels and cellars. Grain and legumes continued to be stored on the upper floors. In the second half of the 20th century the chronicle mostly mentions the clock mechanism, which remained in operation, and the frescoes in the chapels. We can observe traces of professional restoration for the first time in the 1960s, when the frescoes were discovered under a layer of paint. At that time the building suffered from damp, related not only to unprofessional use, but mainly due to the surrounding terrain being elevated during construction of a new road across the convent garden. The chronicle states that when the chairman of the Municipal People's Committee visited the granary in the winter of 1962–1963, he found that the walls were covered by several centimetres of ice and over 80 % of the surface was covered in mould.⁸⁰ The first probes executed in this building also dated to the second half of the 20th century. The clock mechanism was first mentioned in the second half of the 20th century and dated from 1958, when Richard Háže and František Šnábl put the mechanism back into operation after several years of disuse.⁸¹ In 1977 the chronicle mentioned Mr Jan Menšík as one of the maintenance men who managed to put the second bell in the tower back into operation and so renew the special function of the Plasy clock, two bells ringing on the whole hour. Mr Menšík took care of the clock until 17 May 1980, when he left the position to Mr Drozd, who continues to take care of the clock to this day. The last renovation work before 1980 was successfully traced back to 1978 and consisted of restoration of both entrance doors into the chapel.⁸² The granary was not used to store grain from approximately the 1990s. Ex-

⁸⁰ SOKA Plasy, f. MěstNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1958–1965, p. 416.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

⁸² SOKA Plasy, f. MěstNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1972–1978, p. 390.

hibitions of photographs by the local photography club were held in the granary and it became part of the tour circuit along with the clock mechanism. The National Heritage Institute ensures maintenance of the building.

The sawmill is located in the south part of the complex right next to the brewery. The sawmill operated in the complex from the time of the abbey. A large part of the Plasy estate consisted of forests, whose wood was a profitable item in the system. When the estate was owned by the Metternich family the sawmill was maintained as one of the few operations to retain its original purpose. After the Second World War the sawmill was transferred to the Forest Factory residing in the former *Na Knížecí* pub, whereas it processed wood from the surrounding Plzeň Region. In the 1950s the sawmill underwent a major conversion the chimney and the roofs were torn down due to overall renovation of the building in 1957. The plans counted on the addition of another floor with a flat for the manager of the sawmill, who lived in the former mill, modification of the ground floor for employees, installation of a new dining room, sanitary facilities and cloakrooms for employees, with a separate section for women.⁸³ Total costs for execution of this project were 270,000 Czechoslovak Crowns. However, in 1957 the chronicle states that only the chimney and the roof were removed, and further repairs were expected. In regard to the sawmill it gave a total of 25 employees in 1957, 14 men and 11 women. The average salary was 1,286 Czechoslovak Crowns and the sawmill's profits were over 891,000 Czechoslovak Crowns. At the end of the 1950s the sawmill produced an average of 8,000 m³ of timber per year.⁸⁴ Operation of the sawmill was terminated in 1977.⁸⁵ The sawmill currently houses the fire station of the Plasy Fire Brigade, which was established here a year later.

The brewery tradition in Plasy dates back many years. Beer brewing in the abbey was first mentioned in writing in the 16th century.⁸⁶

⁸³ The mill was located by the river right next to the abbey and Metternich brewery. It remained in operation until 1951, when it was transferred under the brewery as additional brewery warehouses.

⁸⁴ SOkA Plasy, f. MNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1945–1957, p. 316.

⁸⁵ O. SOUTNER – P. HUBKA (eds.), *Osm a půl století v plaské kotlině: 1145–1995, díl II*, Plasy 1997, p. 145.

⁸⁶ Valuable findings regarding this period were published by Pavel Kodera at the con-

After the abbey was closed the Metternich family renewed the tradition of beer brewing in the 19th century. The chancellor himself laid the foundations of the modern brewery and development took place mainly after abolishment of the Propination Laws in 1869. The second half of the 19th century also assured the transition to brewing beer using the bottom fermentation method and creation of types of beer that remained popular until the brewery was closed in 1966. Just like the manor farm in Plasy, the Metternich family also owned the brewery until the end of the Second World War. Correspondence was delivered to the State Administration and Factory Revolutionary Committee of the Manor Farm and Brewery in Plasy immediately after the end of the war. Some sources mention Paul as the owner until 1947.⁸⁷ The brewery was subsequently administratively owned by *Západočeské pivovary* (West Bohemian Breweries) and it specifically fell under the Supreme Brewery Administration in Buštěhrad, subsequently in Staňkov, under the new official name of *Státní pivovar v Plasech u Plzně* (State Brewery in Plasy by Plzeň). No major building modifications to the brewery complex are recorded during the next twenty years. Individual standard repairs, essential for assuring operation of the brewery, are all the building activities recorded. Records of the beer brewed until 1957 usually gave a volume of around 20,000 hl.⁸⁸ Immediately before the brewery was closed the volume of beer brewed was slightly over 30,000 hl according to the records. With regard to the lack of sources, this data must be viewed critically. The brewery was closed in 1966, production gradually closed, and stock was sold until the following year. The reason for stopping production according to the chronicle was the very worn state of the machinery.⁸⁹

The former brewery complex was transferred under the ownership of SSD Jednota Plzeň-north on 1 January 1967. The building was taken over for the residual price of 1,100,000 Czechoslovak Crowns with the understanding that production at the malt house would carry one for

ference in Plasy in 2015. His research demonstrated the first written mention of the buildings and operation of the brewery for the first time in the history of the abbey. P. KODERA, *Zapomenutý opat Petr Peristerius a hospodaření na plaském klášteře po polovině 16. století*, in: *Proměny plaského klášteře (1145–2015)*, Mariánská Týnice 2015, p. 109.

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 185.

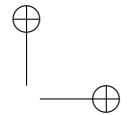
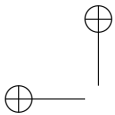
⁸⁸ SOKA Plasy, f. MNV, *Kronika obce Plasy, 1945–1957*, p. 317.

⁸⁹ SOKA Plasy, f. MěstNV, *Kronika obce Plasy, 1966–1968*, p. 17.

the entire year of 1967.⁹⁰ The brewers produced the last batch on 18 October 1967 and brewing was stopped on 11 November. Customers who enjoyed Plasy beer would now have to purchase Plzeň beer. Former brewery employees had several options of remaining employed. Some employees were employed by the Jednota enterprise, some accepted the offer to work at the Plzeň brewery or found other jobs, employees of retirement age usually chose to retire. After the brewery machinery was removed from the buildings, nothing prevented goods owned by Jednota and machines needed to make soda water from being installed. The road between the malt house and the fermentation cellars once again divided two parts of a factory owned by one organisation. The tall yellow building formerly belonging to the malt house now provided facilities for Jednota warehouses. Witnesses all identically state that we would have found all necessary goods ready for distribution in the warehouse. These areas are particularly remembered as warehouses for cans or jams, which a large amount of was reputedly stored of here. The area of the former icehouse and brewery fermentation facilities was filled with equipment for making soda water, production of which began here in 1969. Syrups and concentrates for further processing were stored in the cellars, the upper floors were used as a bottling room and offices. Part of this half of the buildings owned by Jednota were used as a dry warehouse belonging to the warehouse opposite.

SSD Jednota Plzeň-north supplied the surrounding area with lemonades from the Plasy factory and with goods from its warehouses. We can name Plasy itself, Kaznějov, Kralovice, Hadačka, Horní and Dolní Bělá, Bezvěrov, Kozojedy, Třemošná and many other surrounding towns and villages as the recipients of its goods. The Jednota warehouses and soda water factory operated in Plasy until the end of the 1990s when operations were closed. The warehouse was moved to central areas in other towns and operation of the soda factory was not renewed due to the expanding range of products and the popularity of beverages sold in plastic packaging in supermarkets. Today there is a micro-brewery in the area of the soda water factory and the former malt house houses the Centre for construction heritage.

⁹⁰ Ibidem.



Both these buildings are owned and were repaired by the National Technical Museum.

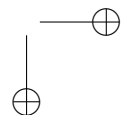
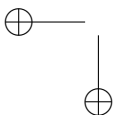
The upper and lower yard in the east part of the complex underwent probably the biggest transformation of the aforementioned buildings during the last decades. The dilapidated buildings were transformed into the jewels of the abbey complex over several years of restoration. The upper yard was mainly used as a transport platform. In the time of the monks this is where the abbey stables were located, where the best abbey horses were stabled and which a cart house adjoined. The opposite building, adjoining the lower yard, was where we could find the cowsheds, with poultry yards on the mezzanine. Development of the yard from the aspect of construction practically stopped in the 18th century. The biggest modification during the Metternich period was construction of the distillery in the north-west part of the yard. The distillery was probably established for more effective processing of raw materials and remainders, with subsequent use and conversion into feed for the animals. This building was built in 1902 and operation began in January 1903. The distillery's capacity was set at 2 hl brewed volume a day.⁹¹ After 1945 the distillery became the property of the cooperative, which continued to use it. Václav Šimek became the manager of the distillery in September 1946 and operated the distillery along with four employees. After the roof burnt down in 1950 operations were renewed and the distillery reported production of 364 hl of spirits in 1955.⁹² Livestock continued to be kept in the upper yard even after the Second World War. The buildings themselves were not maintained by anyone and they were in considerable disrepair in the second half of the 20th century. Luboš Lancinger also points this out in the structural-historic survey of 1974. The distillery burnt down not long after and remained in a catastrophic condition until renovations after 2010, the chimney and boiler were all that remained of the original distillery.⁹³

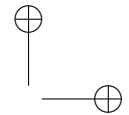
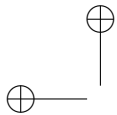
The abbey fishponds were located in the lower yard at the time of the abbey. In the 19th century the fish pools were used to cool the

⁹¹ L. BERAN et al., *Industriální topografie průmyslová architektura a technické stavby Plzeňského kraje*, Praha 2013, p. 95.

⁹² SOKA Plasy, f. MNV, Kronika obce Plasy, 1945–1957, p. 240.

⁹³ BERAN, p. 95.





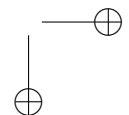
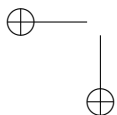
milk.⁹⁴ After the Second World War the area was used particularly by the Zelenina Enterprise as operating warehouses for fruit and vegetables and as an office.⁹⁵ Along with the Jednota warehouses located in the former malt room, witnesses considered these areas warehouses from which goods were distributed to business premises and enterprises in the surrounding areas. Complete renovation of the north-west part of the complex was considered and its adaptation into a club house, hotel and administration of the house of culture in Plasy was considered from about the 1970s. SÚRPMO executed studies for this plan along with studies for regeneration of the complex and preservation of the yard.⁹⁶ However, the conversion work was not realised and the yard only underwent complete renewal after its renovation in 2016. The National Technical Museum had the upper and lower yards repaired and manages them, the same as the buildings described in the preceding paragraph.

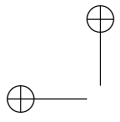
The described histories indicate that all the buildings in the complex have a difficult period behind them, full of uncertainty regarding their future. Complete demolition of some of the historically valuable buildings were actually considered. Fortunately, this step was not taken in regard to any of the monitored buildings in the 20th century. Historic development also taught the public to perceive the individual buildings in the complex separately, not the abbey as a whole. Despite this, more and more people started to realise the actual value of the former abbey during the second half of the 20th century and the need to protect the monument. The education that is currently taking place, has begun to offer findings about the integrity and the uniqueness of the complex once again. The renovation work that took place prevented further devastation of the buildings. The former Cistercian abbey located in a peaceful landscape, within the meander of the Střela River, is beginning to prosper once more and point out its historic, artistic and technical past.

⁹⁴ P. KODERA – K. KSANDR, *Centrum stavitelského dědictví v Plasích: kronika projektu*, Praha 2015, p. 28.

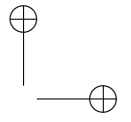
⁹⁵ SOkA Plasy, f. MěstNV, *Kronika obce Plasy, 1966–1968*, p. 19.

⁹⁶ L. LANCINGER, *Plasy, Hospodářský dvůr, stavebně-historický průzkum, I. etapa: Dějiny objektu*, Praha 1974, p. 20. Stored by the National Heritage Institute, transcribed by Vlastimil Svoboda.



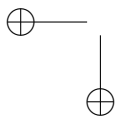


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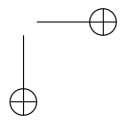


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Nigerian Civil War and Britain's Peace Initiative, 1967–1970

*Ayodele Samuel Abolorunde**

The outbreak of the Nigerian Civil War few years after the attainment of independence from Britain further deepened the interest of the latter in Nigeria's existence as a nation. Scholars of disciplines such as history, political science and international relations through their works, have examined the nature and dimensions of Nigeria's relations with Britain as well as the British involvement in the Nigerian Civil War. Foreign policy formulation, colonial legacies, economic ties, are typical examples of the nature of Nigeria's relations with Britain. Similarly, scholars have interrogated the roles of Britain in the Nigerian Civil War through multilateral efforts at the United Nations and Commonwealth of Nations, propaganda, protection of the British economic interests in Nigeria, British military initiative as well as the pressure of the Cold War as the basis for prompt British intervention in the war. However, comprehensive intellectual attention has not been paid to the British peace initiative outside the multilateral conflict resolution structure. It is against this backdrop that this paper interrogates the nature and dimension of British peace initiative strategy which brought an end to the Nigerian Civil War. The paper argues in its conclusion that the failure of the multilateral approach of the British was salvaged by the unilateral British bureaucratic strategy that was enhanced by their colonial legacies in Nigeria.

[Nigeria; Great Britain; Peace; Civil War]

Introduction

War according to Sir Robert Phillimore, is the exercise of the international right of action and a necessary tool of statecraft if waged for specific political objectives.¹ It can be defined as a struggle among political units, within and between states, involving organized fighting

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¹ R. PHILLIMORE, *Commentaries Upon International Law*, Vol. III. Philadelphia 1854, p. 99.

forces, and resulting in a sizeable number.² The concept of war according to von Clausewitz is an unlimited use of violence as well as unrestrained use of force to attain political goal in the service of the state.³ War is a means for achieving a particular end as well as instrument of statecraft, a tool which can be used for different purposes which could either be good or bad while the purposes could be used in uplifting a people and righting the wrongs of the past while creating a new social order that would enable the people involved to live happily.⁴ It can be used to either resist domination or to effect the conquest or domination of others in just and unjust manners.⁵

From the foregoing, war can be defined as an escalation of conflict. It can be seen as fierce contestation for power, influence and space within a state and between two or more sovereign states. It's a process that transmutes from mere conflict between two or more contending powers within and outside a state to armed conflict. War manifests when there is a breakdown of communication channel between or among parties to conflict. Globally, wars had been fought between or among nations regionally and internationally while wars were equally fought in different parts of globe within states. For instance, the Napoleonic Wars of 1799 to 1815 and the Crimean War of 1854 to 1856 were wars fought mainly in Europe as a region among the European powers such as Austria, Great Britain, France, Russia and Prussia. The Austro-Prussian War of 1866, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 and First and Second Balkan Wars of 1911 and 1912 are examples of wars fought between and among nations.⁶

The outbreak of the First and Second World Wars in 1914 and 1939 respectively opened a new vista in the history of warfare globally. It must be stated that the outbreak of wars is not restricted to escalated conflict situations between or among countries of the same region and countries of different regions, wars manifest within countries in different parts of the globe. For example, the American civil war of 1861

² T. A. COULOMBIS – J. W. WOLFE, *Introduction to International Relations Power and Justice*, New Jersey 1990, p. 181.

³ K. von CLAUSEWITZ, *On War*, New York 1943, pp. 595–596.

⁴ T. ADENIRAN, *Introduction to International Relations*, Lagos 1982, p. 123.

⁵ See: Q. W. MILLS, *The Causes of War Three*, New York 1958.

⁶ See: A. WOODS, *Europe Since 1815*, London 1964. See also: H. L. PEACOCK, *A History of Modern Europe, 1789–1981*, London 1958.

to 1865, the Spanish War of 1936 and the Lebanese civil war of 1975 to 1990.⁷ In Africa, wars were fought to resist foreign domination. A good example of this was the Algerian war against the French in the 1960s before the attainment of independence of the former. Countries such as Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde engaged the Portuguese in armed conflicts that degenerated into war in the 1970s.

After the attainment of independence of most African states in the decades of 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, internal squabbles and fierce contestation for power among political gladiators of various African states created a situation for political instabilities that snowballed into civil wars. For instance, the civil war which broke out in Liberia in 1989, the civil of 1991 in Somalia, the Algerian civil war of 1992 and the civil war which broke out in Sierra Leone in 1992.⁸ The political instabilities which enveloped Burundi and Rwanda in 1994 and later degenerated into civil wars formed major headlines in the continent and the entire globe due to the historically unprecedented genocide that accompanied these wars, especially that of Rwanda. The sensitivity of civil war makes scholars like Coulobis and Wolfe to assert that civil war develops out of failure of a national political system and its institutions to function effectively. In this condition of institutional collapse according to them, significant sections of the population, including major factions of the elite, no longer accord those in power, or even the regime they represent, a sense of legitimacy.⁹ Thus, literature abounds on the Nigerian civil war in terms of genocide,¹⁰ international politics,¹¹ involvement of European and Asiatic powers,¹² perception

⁷ See also: A. ADEOGUN, *The United States from Colony to Nationhood*, Lagos 2003. See also: N. LOWE, *Mastering Modern World History*, London 1982.

⁸ See also: J. A. S. GREENVILLE, *A History of the World in the Twentieth Century, Vol. II*, Harvard 1997; M. MEREDITH, *The State of Africa. A History of Fifty Years of Independence*, London 2005.

⁹ COULOMBIS – WOLFE, p. 205.

¹⁰ K. E. SMITH, The UK and 'genocide' in Biafra, in: *Journal of Genocide Research*, 16, 2–3, 2014, pp. 247–262; see also: L. HEERTEN, The Nigeria-Biafra War: Post-Colonial Conflict and the Question of Genocide, in: *Journal of Genocide Research*, 16, 2–3, 2014, pp. 169–203.

¹¹ J. J. STREMLAU, *The International Politics of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967–1970*, Princeton 1977.

¹² J. O. AKINBI, Exploring the Roles Played by Some European and Asiatic Powers during the Nigerian Civil War, 1967–1970, in: *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 5, 8, 2015, pp. 151–155.

of international actors,¹³ oil politics,¹⁴ revolution,¹⁵ economic impact on Nigeria,¹⁶ and foreign business interests.¹⁷

This paper focuses on Britain's peace initiative and the Nigerian civil war starting from 1967 when the war broke out to 1970 when the war ended. The study notes that discussions on the history of Nigerian civil war have been centered around the interplay of forces within and outside Nigeria. In this way scholars have paid adequate attention to how various actors within and outside Nigeria protected their interests during the war to the exclusion of the British peace initiative outside the multilateral peace agenda of the international actors. The conventional wisdom on the subject matter of the Nigerian civil war places emphases on oil politics, social disorder, political instability, foreign interests, ethnicity, struggles for superiority within the military hierarchy, impact of the cold war politics and the quest for sustained relations between Nigeria and Britain.¹⁸

However, Oladapo Fafowora, drawing on the strength of British diplomatic intervention in the Nigerian civil war challenged the conventional wisdom by maintaining that Britain chose to intervene in the war through Commonwealth Secretariat in London behind the

¹³ M. S. AUDU – O. UZOMA – I. B. ISSAC, Contextualizing the International Dimensions of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967–1970, in: *American Journal of Contemporary Research*, 3, 8, 2013, pp. 112–117.

¹⁴ Ch. UCHE, Oil, British Interests and the Nigerian Civil War, in: *The Journal of African History*, 49, 1, 2008, pp. 111–135.

¹⁵ F. A. JAMES, The Nigerian Civil War, 1967–1970: A Revolution?, in: *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 5, 3, 2011, pp. 120–124.

¹⁶ U. P. ONUMONU – P. O. ANUTANWA, Rethinking the Impact of Nigerian Civil War: Commerce in the Post Civil War Nnewi and Its Challenges, 1970–2000, in: *Mgbakoiba Journal of African Studies*, 6, 2, 2017, pp. 155–167.

¹⁷ A. RAJI – T. S. ABEJIDE, Oil and Biafra: An Assessment of Shell BP's Dilemma During the Nigerian Civil War, 1967–1970, in: *Kuwait Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*, 2, 11, 2013, pp. 15–32.

¹⁸ UCHE, pp. 111–135. See: K. OMOTOSHO, *Just Before the Dawn*, Ibadan 1988. See also: J. A. S. GREENVILLE, *A History of the World in the Twentieth Century. Vol. II*, Harvard 1997; T. ADENIRAN, Nigeria and Great Britain, in: A. B. AKINYEMI – S. O. AGBI – A. O. OTUBANJO (eds.), *Nigeria Since Independence: The First Twenty Five Years. Vol. X. International Relations*, Ibadan 1989; S. O. AGBI, *The Organization of African Unity and African Diplomacy, 1963–1979*, Ibadan 1986; SMITH. See also: I. OKORO, Ndi Igbo of the South-East: Centenary Glimpses, in: S. U. FWATSHAK – O. AKINWUMI (eds.), *The House that 'Lugard Built' Perspectives on Nigeria's First Centenary: The Pains, the Gains and the Agenda for the Future*, Jos 2014.

scenes.¹⁹ Kaye Whiteman corroborates this evidence by arguing that the initial British reaction to the 1967 Biafran secession, led by Colonel Emeka Ojukwu, was muted by the British leadership.²⁰ In a similar vein, S. O. Agbi notes tangentially that British inability to intervene in the war effectively through the Commonwealth manifested due to rigid positions of both the Nigerian and Biafran governments.²¹ Apart from Fafowora, Whiteman and Agbi's analyses that examine the multilateral approach of the British intervention in the Nigerian civil war, extant studies have not paid adequate attention to the unilateral and comprehensive British peace initiatives outside the multilateral international peace efforts.

This neglect reduces our comprehensive understanding of British intervention in the Nigerian civil war. The main thesis is to demonstrate that British intervention in the war outside the multilateral peace initiative assisted greatly in undermining the intervention of various international actors whose involvement in the war complexified dimensions which the war took. This is because British involvement reduced these complexities as it complemented the international efforts that were initiated through multilateral peace initiatives. It is a contribution to the study of Nigerian civil war and moves discussion in new directions. The study is divided into four sections. The first deals with introduction, Nigeria's post-independence political crises and the outbreak of war, the challenges and success of British peace initiatives in the Nigerian civil war and the conclusion.

Nigeria's Post-Independence Political Crises and the Outbreak of War

The Nigeria's post-independence political crises could be traced to uncontrolled profligacy of the pioneer leaders of Nigeria as a new nation. The unquenchable taste for primitive accumulation necessitated the need for fierce contestation for power in the regions as well as the

¹⁹ O. FAFOWORA, *Pressure Groups and Foreign Policy. A Comparative Study of British Attitudes and Policy towards Secessionist Moves in Congo (1960–1963) and in Nigeria (1966–1969)*, Ibadan 1990, p. 106.

²⁰ K. WHITEMAN, The Switchback and the fallback Nigeria-Britain Relations, in: A. ADEBANJO – A. R. MUSTAPHA (eds.), *Gulliver's Troubles Nigeria's Foreign Policy after the Cold War*, KwaZulu-Natal 2008, p. 259.

²¹ S. O. AGBI, *The Organization of African Unity and African Diplomacy, 1963–1979*, Ibadan 1986, p. 63.

central government in Lagos, the country's capital by the three major political parties that is, the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), National Council for Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) and Action Group (AG). These three political parties were formed along ethnic lines without any of them possessing pan-Nigerian outlook.²² The NPC, NCNC and AG were dominant in the North, South Eastern part and South Western part of the country respectively. The dominance of their respective regions was perpetuated by the major ethnic groups as this laid the foundation of contradiction of Nigeria's post-independence political structure.

An additional component of this contradiction was the existence in all the three regions of ethnic minorities which served as a potential nursery for conflict within the regions while the Nigerian leaders did not find it politically expedient to integrate these ethnic minorities into the political structures of their regions.²³ Since three parties represented largely the majority groups of Nigerians, especially Nigerians of Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba ethnic stock, political powers were equally shared by the politicians of these ethnic stocks without considerable sense of belonging to the ethnic minorities. The sustenance of this political dominance meant that these political parties also erected structures of economic dominance through the planting of business interests of politicians in these regions in banks, businesses and financial structures set up by these parties in their respective regions in order to achieve their political objectives.²⁴

By implication, these political parties dominated by major politicians of major ethnic groups in the country moved quickly to amass a fortune from public funds large enough for them to be able to win the next election.²⁵ For example, the Action Group government in Nigeria's Western Region in 1962 invested about £6.5 million in the National Investment and Properties Company, a business which had four party leaders as its directors while one of the directors donated £3.7

²² See: R. L. SKLAR, Contradictions in Nigerian Political System, in: *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 3, 2, 1965, pp. 201–213. See also: R. L. SKLAR, *Nigeria Political Parties*, Princeton 1963.

²³ FAFOWORA, p. 18.

²⁴ M. MEREDITH, *The State of Africa. A History of Fifty Years of Independence*, London 2005, p. 174.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

million to the Action Group Party in the form of special donations.²⁶ Northern politicians exhibited similar profligacy as these political gladiators in the North served as the greatest beneficiaries of thirty-nine investments and loan projects of the Northern Nigeria Development Corporation during the First Republic.²⁷ The dominance of the political-economy of the regions by the politicians of the three major groups further heightened tension in these regions as this reverberated at the center through fierce contestation for the control of the central government by the three major parties.

This contestation was further accentuated by the insatiable attitude of the country's political gladiators and their parties in the accumulation of wealth for the purposes of strategic positioning at the center. It was this struggle for strategic positioning at the center, especially between the NPC-NCNC federal government and AG as the opposition party that further worsened the already tensed political atmosphere in the country. These political dialectics between the ruling parties and the AG as the opposition reached their crescendo in the late 1962 and early 1963 when the AG as a party became highly polarized through the struggle for the soul of the party between Chief Obafemi Awolowo the leader of AG and the opposition leader in Federal House of Representatives Lagos and Chief Akintola, the Deputy Leader of AG and Premier of the Western Region.²⁸

The internal division within the AG further made it vulnerable to suppression by the NPC led federal government as Awolowo and his loyalists who were not in the good books of the federal government were convicted for treason in September 1, 1963.²⁹ The year 1964 ushered in crises that accompanied the federal elections of that year. As argued earlier, the three dominant political parties stifled all oppositions in their respective regions. In the Western Region, no opposition political parties were allowed to campaign except that of Premier Akintola's Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) while NCNC and NPC had no rivals in the eastern and northern regions

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ A. ADEMOYEGA, *Why We Struck. The Story of the First Nigerian Coup*, Ibadan 1981, pp. 12–13.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 15.

respectively.³⁰ The outcome of the federal election further strengthened the position of the ruling NPC and NCNC led government despite nationwide boycott by political parties such as United Progressive Grand Alliance (UPGA) in the North and AG that had become the opposition party due to its dwindling fortunes in West.³¹

More than that, the imbroglia which followed the outcome of the elections of 1964 further legitimized the illegality perpetrated by the ruling NPC-NCNC led government through rigging that did not stop Dr. Nnamdi Azikwe, the country's President from forming a coalition government. This unfortunate political scenario has been described by Fafowora as unequal distribution of power at the center and lack of political and economic equilibrium between Northern and Southern Nigeria.³² This lack of political equilibrium prepared the ground for political gloom in the country especially in the Western Region and other parts of the country. The dancing of the country on the brink no doubt necessitated military intervention in politics as this filibustered the country's nascent democracy in January 1966.

With the military intervention in the country's politics in January 1966, uncertainties further enveloped the political atmosphere due to ethnic interpretation given to the coup. Any keen observer of Nigeria's politics would not hesitate to conclude that it was an Igbo dominated coup as the emergence of General Aguiyi Ironsi, the most senior military officer in the Nigerian Army an Igbo further exacerbated the complicated political situation. This feeling of political insecurity of the northern oligarchy necessitated the counter-coup of July 1966 as the Western Region Governor, Col. Adekunle Fajuyi and General Ironsi were gruesomely murdered in coup that was perceived as northern orchestrated coup.

As the coup produced Gen. Yakubu Gowon, a northerner as the Head of State, the political atmosphere in the country became sufficiently charged such that lives and properties of the Igbo people were destroyed while some reprisals took place in the East.³³ In the

³⁰ B. IGE, *People, Politics and Politicians of Nigeria (1940–1970)*, Ibadan 1995, p. 255.

³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 256–257.

³² FAFOWORA, pp. 18–19.

³³ I. OKORO, Ndi Igbo of the South-East: Centenary Glimpses, in: S. U. FWATSHAK – O. AKINWUMI (eds.), *The House that 'Lugard Built' Perspectives on Nigeria's First Centenary: The Pains, the Gains and the Agenda for the Future*. Jos 2014, p. 94.

midst of this political uncertainties, the Eastern Region Governor Col. Odumegwu Ojukwu saw himself as the protector of the rights of the Igbo people throughout the country as he was not too pleased with the deteriorating security situation in the country especially on matters that concerned the Igbo people in the North. The apparent lack of unity in the country in Ojukwu's estimation created a wedge between him and Gowon. The tension between the two leaders was further compounded by the creation of twelve state by Gowon in May 1967 as this left Ojukwu with no choice than to declare the Republic of Biafra as a secessionist region on the May 27, 1967 as these declarations of Gowon and Ojukwu led to the country's civil war.

The Challenges and Success of British Peace Initiatives in the Nigerian Civil War

The outbreak of the Nigerian civil war in July 1967 was given different interpretations by the keen observers, especially outside Nigeria as these interpretations were shaped by the convictions and interests of these observers. The civil war from the perspective of the Muslim nations like Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Egypt and Sudan was an affront on the part of the Christian dominated Eastern Nigeria against the federal government of Nigeria led by the Muslim North.³⁴ The outbreak of the war from the perspective of a country like Ethiopia was strictly political as the Ethiopians believed that Biafra secession bid could prepare the ground for the disintegration of the Ethiopian nation that was resisting the Eritrean secessionists.³⁵ The reactions of the keen observers in the international community were diverse depending on where their interests lied. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) for instance, believed that further secessionist movements could create unbearable political instability in the continent. This explains why Ghana a member of OAU, under the leadership of Lieutenant General Ankrah made frantic diplomatic efforts at reconciliation between Ojukwu and Gowon few months before the war broke out.³⁶

It is reasonable to state that the thinking of Ghana as a member of OAU conformed to the quest for peace and security of the African

³⁴ O. AGBI, *The Organization of African Unity and African Diplomacy, 1963–1979*, Ibadan 1986, p. 59.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 60.

³⁶ OMOTOSHO, p. 276.

continent as espoused in the OAU Charter. For the British, allowing their former colony which was the largest colony in Africa as well as the largest black nation in the world after independence to disintegrate could disintegrate their legacies. It must, however, be stated that the British unilateral peace initiative during the war was intrinsically linked to her economic interests in Nigeria since the independence of the later in 1960. By 1965 for instance, the value of British exports to Nigeria was £88m, a third of Nigeria's total imports.³⁷ The neo-colonial nature of the Nigerian economy, especially the private commercial sector was dominated by British-owned enterprises³⁸ while the totality of British investment in Nigeria before the war stood at £200m representing 53 percent of total foreign investments in Nigeria.³⁹

The outbreak of the war in 1967 naturally threatened the British business interests in Nigeria and this necessitated the need for early British intervention in the war. For instance, the failure of the British government to convince General Gowon led federal government not to erect oil blockade against Shell, an imminent blockade which emanated from the latter's readiness to pay £250,000 to Biafra⁴⁰ convinced the British that the disintegration of Nigeria would create economic dilemma for the British investments in Nigeria. This imminent economic uncertainty coupled with the strategic move of Russia towards the federal government in terms of arms supplies spurred Britain into diplomatic action in the Nigerian war.⁴¹ The diplomatic move of the British was strategically designed to achieve two objectives. First, to neutralize Soviet strategic incursion into the economic space of the Nigerian nation. Second, to further consolidate British economic tentacles in Nigeria. The quest for achieving these objectives created anxiety in London. The need to douse this anxiety led to a memo written by the British Parliamentary and Under-Secretary of State in the Commonwealth inquiring about the extent of safety of

³⁷ See: *Commonwealth Trade, 1970*, published by the General Economic Division of the Commonwealth Secretariat, London, 1971.

³⁸ See: A. G. FRANK, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, New York 1969.

³⁹ See: *Economic and Financial Review*, Central Bank of Nigeria, Lagos, July 1965, pp. 8–11.

⁴⁰ FAFOWORA, p. 98.

⁴¹ WHITEMAN, p. 259.

British industries and business interests in Nigeria especially in the Eastern region.⁴²

The British government also inquired about the readiness of the federal government to protect British investments in Nigeria and subsequently got an assurance from the Nigerian government through the Commissioner for External Affairs, Dr. Okoi Arikpo at a meeting held in London with Commonwealth representatives and British businessmen.⁴³ It seems probable to state that the British unwavering diplomatic manoeuvrings in Nigeria were largely borne out of the need to shield their economic presence in Nigeria not the quest for the dismantling of communist threat in Nigeria for the overall interests of the capitalist West. This economic objective has been buttressed by Chris Brown when he asserts that the well-being of any government largely depends on the success of its economic management and this success cannot be achieved in isolation without the effective monitoring of economic interests of that nation in the global economic arena.⁴⁴

This effective monitoring is a fundamental policy choice that guarantees the survival⁴⁵ of a nation in global economic environment. The quest for this survival compelled the British to exert pressure on the Nigerian government on the need to proffer political solution to the crisis as this led to the historic meeting of the two sides in Kampala Uganda from May 23–30, 1968.⁴⁶ The Kampala meeting was chaired by the Commonwealth Secretary General Mr. Arnold Smith and Uganda's Foreign Minister, Mr. Sam Okada as they tried vehemently hard to bring the delegates of the two sides together in order to bring the conflict to an end.⁴⁷ This effort however, did not materialize because the delegates from Biafra demanded for a ceasefire before talks while the federal government representatives insisted that some conditions must be laid down before ceasefire.⁴⁸ The rigid stance of both parties led to temporary collapse of the British diplomatic efforts in

⁴² Britain Votes Faith in Federal Government, in: *Daily Times*, April 13, 1968, p. 10.

⁴³ Ibidem.

⁴⁴ Ch. BROWN, *Understanding International Relations*, New York 1997, p. 141.

⁴⁵ Ch. A. ALADE, *Theories, Concepts and Principles in the Study of International Relations*, Lagos 1997, p. 69.

⁴⁶ FAFOWORA, p. 106.

⁴⁷ Ceasefire Problem Stalemate at Peace Talks, in: *Daily Times*, May 30, 1968, p. 1.

⁴⁸ Ibidem.

Kampala. As the secessionists began to lose territory and access to sea, they intensified one of the most outstanding media campaigns of the 20th century as this further galvanized support for them from Ivory Coast, Tanzania, Gabon, Zambia and Haiti within and outside Africa.⁴⁹

The recognition of the Biafra propaganda carried with it criticisms of the British government as this further intensified the nervousness of Britain while the supplying of arms became a deep trauma.⁵⁰ This dilemma made their support in terms of arms supply to Nigeria ambivalent. The British during their hesitation and perplexity incurred the reaction of the Nigerian government. In one of the interviews granted to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) in London, Nigeria's Federal Commissioner for Information and Labor, Anthony Enahoro admonished the British government on the importance of its support given to Nigeria in terms of arms and that the abandonment of that support could jeopardize British interests in Nigeria when the country looked elsewhere for support.⁵¹ Enahoro's comment attested to the readiness of the Nigerian state likewise other third world country to exploit to the fullest the rivalry between the two ideological blocs of the Cold War in local conflict around the globe as expressed by the American policy makers.⁵² Initially, the British appeared underterred about this subtle threat from Nigeria. This was connected with how the Biafra propaganda had moved world opinions behind the plight of the Ibos and this made the British to thread it softly as far as their arms supply was to Nigeria was concerned. Nigeria on the other hand was not disserved within and outside Africa. For Instance, the unflinching support demonstrated by the Togolese government when it intercepted an aircraft carrying Nigerian notes that were believed to belong to the secessionists who were trying to change these old notes to the new ones introduced by the Nigerian government.⁵³ The federal government under the leadership of Gowon changed these notes

⁴⁹ WHITEMAN, p. 260.

⁵⁰ Ibidem.

⁵¹ UK Arms Ban Will Not Halt War, in: *Daily Times*, June 8, 1968, p. 1.

⁵² NND/969000/. Memorandum from the Director, United States Arms Control and Disarmament, William C. Foster to Mr Benjamin H. Read on *Issues related to United States Stance on Arms Control and Disarmament*, November 22, 1968, p. 2.

⁵³ Rebel Cash Deal Costs Nigeria £700,000, in: *Daily Times*, June 21, 1968, p. 1.

to prevent the secessionists from using the old currency for arms purchase.

Another example was the increase in Nigerian trade with the Soviet Union as the latter supplied arms such as 122-MM guns, Kalashnikovs, 107-MM recoilless rifles and Soviet Cars such as Lada, Moskvitch and Volga.⁵⁴ Soviet's supply of arms confirmed the fear of the British and the Americans about the long term strategy of Russia to exploit every opportunity capable of weakening the West through arms supply to the stronghold of the West during conflict.⁵⁵ The unprecedented economic intercourse necessitated by the British unstable attitude forced London to renew its support for Nigeria through arms supply as well as effective monitoring of peace talks in Ethiopia. Although the peace talk in Ethiopia was initiated by the Consultative Committee of the OAU,⁵⁶ the British monitored the talks with keen interests. In one of the meetings between Anthony Enahoro and Britain's Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, Lord Shepherd in London, the British inquired from the Nigerian government the state of the Ethiopian peace talks and equally prevailed on Nigeria on the possibility of allowing relief materials to reach the civilian population in Biafra.⁵⁷ The British request appeared as a kind of pressure on Nigeria to reverse its policy on relief supplies.⁵⁸

Though the Addis Ababa peace talks produced a forlorn hope for peace, it would be wrong to assume that it was a dismal failure because it further gave the British the impetus to intervene in the Nigerian civil war on two fronts. First, the supply of arms. Second, the failure of Addis Ababa talks further placed diplomatic responsibilities on the shoulder of the British. These scenarios appear irreconcilable but the British bureaucracy, as a matter of necessity realized the importance of preventing the disintegration of their former colony as this compelled them to sustain their obligation of arms supply on the one hand, while lack of quick diplomatic solution to the war could

⁵⁴ ADENIRAN, *Nigeria and Great Britain*, p. 36.

⁵⁵ NND019006/. Department of State Policy Planning the Further Spread of Nuclear Weapons: Problems of the West, February 1966, p. 7.

⁵⁶ AGBI, p. 64.

⁵⁷ Enahoro Lord Shepherd Discuss Nigeria, in: *Daily Times*, August 20, 1968, p. 12.

⁵⁸ Anthony Enahoro Holds Talks with British Government Officials, in: *Daily Sketch*, August 20, 1968, p. 1.

aggravate the effects of Nigeria's offensive against Biafra. The British anxiety about the effects of their arms supply to Nigeria was further heightened through the statement made by General Gowon in an interview that the federal troops will intensify their offensive against Biafra rebels and that victory was certain in four weeks.⁵⁹

This statement created a feeling of hysteria from the British public towards Nigeria. One of such anti-Nigerian sentiments in Britain was expressed in a letter written by one Mr. Edward Taylor, a Conservative member of the British House of Commons to Commonwealth Secretary, George Thomson demanding that the House of Commons should re-convene to discuss and review British supply of arms to Nigeria.⁶⁰ These anti-Nigerian sentiments appeared to have put the British government on the spot because pressure mounted on the government left it with no choice than to invite Anthony Enahoro, Nigeria's Commissioner for Information through the British Minister of State in the Commonwealth Office, George Thomson about the implication of the statement credited to Gowon.⁶¹ Sensing the importance of the British support to the Nigeria's war effort, the Nigerian government was able to convince the British that the statement credited to the Nigerian Head of States did not in any way violate the laid down conditions of the British government concerning the sales of arms to Nigeria.⁶²

It seems reasonable to argue that the British government was sufficiently convinced based on the response of the Nigerian government. One may equally posit that the unflinching support of the British to Nigeria did not dissuade the British public from mounting pressure on the government to reconsider its position on arms supply to Nigeria. The British government on the other hand appeared to be convinced about its strategic involvement in the Nigerian civil war. A pointer to this scenario was the support given by the American government through its Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Joseph Palmer in October 1968 that the British policy of maintaining her traditional arms supply to Nigeria should not be condemned as that failure to sustain the arms supply to Nigeria would be interpreted

⁵⁹ Enahoro Back with Message for Gowon, in: *Daily Times*, August 29, 1968, p. 12.

⁶⁰ Anthony Enahoro Holds Talks with British Government Officials, in: *Daily Sketch*, August 20, 1968, p. 1.

⁶¹ Enahoro Back with Message for Gowon, in: *Daily Times*, August 29, 1968, p. 12.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

as support for the secessionists.⁶³ Similar positive tone in support of Gowon led federal government was echoed in Nigeria in the editorial of *Morning Post* newspaper on November 11, 1968 as the newspaper vilified some members of the British Parliament who criticized Nigeria's war effort against Biafra.⁶⁴

The paper expressed its displeasure about the call for international peace keeping in Nigeria for effective monitoring of situation and ceasefire by some members of the British parliament as an affront on Nigeria's sovereignty.⁶⁵ The domestic support enjoyed by the Nigerian government through this paper coupled with that of America served as the vindication of British strategy of arms supply and diplomacy. It therefore follows that the reservation of some members of the British Parliament did not represent the overall interests of the British population. This position has been corroborated by Karen Smith when he argues that only 700 people in Britain joined the march against arms supply to Nigeria while only 2,000 of such signed the petition against arms supply to the federal government in 1968.⁶⁶ Since the Parliament in any democratic society represents the citizenry, this argument remains plausible and this explains the reason why the British government refused to be intimidated by the call of these few members of the Parliament to halt arms supply to Nigeria. As the call to halt arms supply continued unabated, the legitimacy which the British government enjoyed further spurred it to sustain its support for Nigeria. This was demonstrated through a letter sent by the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson via a diplomatic channel of the British Embassy headed by Sir David Hunt in Lagos in late November 1968.⁶⁷

The British government in the letter declared its continued support for Nigeria and that the preservation of Nigeria as one indivisible entity remained the cardinal objective of Britain.⁶⁸ As international call for the inspection of genocide as claimed by the propaganda machinery mounted within and outside Britain intensified, the British

⁶³ UK Should Not Stop Arms to Nigeria-Palmer, in: *Morning Post*, October 12, 1968, p. 16.

⁶⁴ International Peace Keeping Force for Nigeria?, in: *Morning Post*, November 11, 1968, p. 11.

⁶⁵ Ibidem.

⁶⁶ See: SMITH.

⁶⁷ Wilson Writes Gowon, in: *Morning Post*, December 1, 1968, p. 16.

⁶⁸ Ibidem.

government in the face of its arms supply saw the need to further sustain its unilateral diplomatic efforts in Nigeria through the initiative of inspecting the extent of genocidal activities as claimed by Biafra machinery against the Nigerian state. This necessitated the visit of the former British Minister for Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. Arthur Bottomley to Nigeria early December 1968 with the possibility of affirming or debunking the anti-Nigerian sentiments expressed by some sections of the British public.⁶⁹ It would be unreasonable to suggest that the pressure which emanated from some members of the British Parliament did not yield positive result. To an extent, the British government succumbed to this pressure because it realized that its quest for the preservation of one indivisible Nigeria through arms supply against secessionist tendencies can be achieved through diplomatic strategy. It could be argued that this thinking of the British leadership provided the meeting point that reconciled the contradictory disposition of the British decision makers and the Biafra protagonists in the British Parliament.

This meeting point of the decision making machinery of Britain was further demonstrated as the British government sent a powerful delegation that comprised of two members of the British Parliament. The members of the Parliament in this delegation comprised of Lord Fenner Brockway and James Griffiths a former Colonial Secretary for possible ceasefire by December 1968.⁷⁰ The delegation visited both General Gowon and Col. Ojukwu in Lagos and Umuahia while the details of their discussions with both leaders were kept under wraps.⁷¹ The zeal with which the delegation carried out its obligations further attests to the shift in attitude of some members of the British Parliament towards the federal government. They appeared to have toed the line of the executive in London knowing full well that the preservation of Nigeria as one entity will in the long run guaranteed the overall British interests in Nigeria. This line of thinking on the part of the British leadership was further given a boost as the British resolved that the solution to the Nigerian civil war rested largely on the parties to the war and that British government would create the platform for meaningful negotiation.⁷²

⁶⁹ Bottomley Here to Study the Nigerian Crisis, in: *New Nigerian*, December 3, 1968, p. 1.

⁷⁰ UK MPs to See Gowon, in: *Daily Times*, December 20, 1968, p. 16.

⁷¹ *Ibidem*.

The British government through Lord Shepherd, British Minister for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs in the House of Lords pilloried the divisive intervention of some European powers such as France and Russia in the war without proffering lasting solution.⁷³ This criticism of the European powers by Shepherd came on the heels of the agreement reached between Soviet representatives under the leadership of Ambassador Dobrynin and United States representatives under the leadership of Presidential Assistant, Henry Kissinger in Washington on February 21, 1969 on the need to find a common ground on where their interests lied in different parts of the globe.⁷⁴ In order to create the platform for peace, the British government ensured a neutralized air strip for the purposes of supplying relief materials for the victims of both sides while negotiation continued.⁷⁵ It may not be out of place to contend that the British were tactical in their submission about the victims of the war. They were not unaware of the excruciating conditions of the Ibos that were far more severe than that of Nigerians. In order to give the strategic approach of the British some semblance of gravitas, the British Prime Minister, Harold Wilson proposed a visit to Nigeria by March 1969, but this was initially rejected by Lagos before the Nigerian government succumbed to pressure of allowing Wilson into the country on March 27, 1969.⁷⁶

The visit of the Prime Minister was used as a platform of creating friendly climate for negotiation as Wilson jettisoned the plan to stay on board British naval ship named Fearless for the State House in Marina Lagos.⁷⁷ This was very strategic on the part of the British government as it provided the opportunities for robust diplomatic fraternization that enhanced the British peace initiative. The diplomatic strategy of the British government provided the springboard for Prime Minister Wilson to convince General Gowon when he arrived Lagos as he was able to persuade him on the need to open the channels for

⁷² Shepherd Tells UK House of Lords, in: *Daily Times*, February 26, 1969, p. 12.

⁷³ Ibidem.

⁷⁴ AVP RF, f. 0129. Memorandum of Conversation Between US Presidential Assistant, Henry Kissinger and Soviet Ambassador to the US, Dobrynin on the 21st of February 1969, p. 1.

⁷⁵ Shepherd Tells UK House of Lords, in: *Daily Times*, February 26, 1969, p. 12.

⁷⁶ FAFOWORA, p. 107.

⁷⁷ At Nigeria's Request, Wilson's Visit is Put Back One Day, in: *Daily Times*, March 19, 1969, p. 12.

negotiation with Ojukwu.⁷⁸ The British leader through his fact finding mission in Nigeria was able to feel the degree of support enjoyed by the federal government in its quest for the preservation of one Nigeria. For instance, Lt. Commander Diette-Spiff, the Military Governor of Rivers State and the leadership of Calabar, the capital of South-Eastern state drew the attention of Mr. Wilson to the strategic importance of preserving Nigeria against secessionist tendencies.⁷⁹ It is expediently germane to argue that the nature of domestic support enjoyed by the Gowon led federal government would have changed the perception of the British about the news of genocide committed by the federal troops in the East. Though scholars like Ijoma disagree with this submission that genocidal activities did not take place in the East as they argue that genocidal activities were carried out by the Nigerian troops based on the views of observers and commentators.⁸⁰ However, this assertion has not been supported by convincing empirical data. This lack of evidence has been buttressed by Karen Smith who postulates that the federal government during the war yielded to pressure from Britain to allow a team of international observers as the team, having stayed in Nigeria for a long period did not find traces of genocide.⁸¹ It must be stated that this lack of evidence does not exculpate the Nigerian troops from such allegations.

The visit further encouraged the British in their intensification for diplomatic efforts by collaborating with Six-Man Committee set up by the OAU. The search for peace took Wilson to Addis Ababa Ethiopia after leaving Nigeria while at the same time extended an invitation to Ojukwu for possible negotiation in any country in Africa.⁸² The response of Ojukwu to Wilson's invitation while the latter was in Ethiopia through Biafra pirate radio was that his departure from Biafra was impossible.⁸³ This unpleasant response did not dissuade the British from intensifying their diplomatic efforts towards achieving peace in Nigeria as Wilson briefed Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian

⁷⁸ Wilson Ends Final Talks, in: *New Nigerian*, March 3, 1969, p. 1.

⁷⁹ Ibidem.

⁸⁰ OKORO, p. 94.

⁸¹ SMITH.

⁸² Ojukwu Turns Down Wilson's Invitation, in: *Daily Sketch*, April 1, 1969, p. 1.

⁸³ Wilson's Second Note to Ojukwu, in: *New Nigerian*, April 2, 1969, p. 1.

Emperor, comprehensively on his findings in Nigeria.⁸⁴ It seems reasonable to state that Ojukwu's unpleasant response was not unconnected with the rousing reception given to Wilson by the federal government coupled with the British resolve to continue their arms supply to Nigeria. In the estimation of Biafra, such conclusion further put the British under pressure as biased Umpire in the Nigerian war who could not issue a modicum of threat in terms of cutting arms supply to their ally, Nigeria the way the United States leadership demonstrated this to the Israelis in 1969 during the latter's perennial conflict with the Arabs.⁸⁵ Since the British line of thinking in terms of preserving Nigeria as one entity was consistent with that of the chunks of members of OAU, it was natural for them to channel their peace initiative towards a body that had greater stakes in the Nigerian war because disintegration of Nigeria in the estimation of OAU was capable of having reverberating effects in the continent.

The British leadership exploited to the fullest the official position of OAU as it convinced the organization through Wilson's report submitted to its Secretary General, Mr. Diallo Telli in Addis Ababa.⁸⁶ It was stated in the report that the supply of relief materials in the war torn Eastern Nigeria was going on in accordance with the best global practices.⁸⁷ It is crystal clear that the visit of the British Prime Minister to Nigeria further convinced Britain about its unflinching support for Nigeria as this further enabled her to disregard the propagandist strategy adopted by Biafra on the issue of alleged genocidal activities carried out by the Nigerian troops.⁸⁸ This position was echoed in the report of Mr. Wilson concerning his visit to Nigeria to the British House of Commons as he argued that the British government was convinced beyond reasonable doubts about the intention of Nigerian government to give the Ibos the same rights and privileges as it had been granting it to other Nigerians provided the secessionists were opened to negotiations without prior conditions.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Ibidem.

⁸⁵ A Memorandum from Henry Kissinger to President Richard Nixon on Next Step in the Middle-East- NSC Meeting Thursday, September 11, 1969, p. 2.

⁸⁶ No Reply From Ojukwu to Wilson, in: *Daily Times*, April 2, 1969, p. 1.

⁸⁷ Ibidem.

⁸⁸ Wilson Reports Back to Commons, in: *Morning Post*, April 3, 1969, p. 1.

⁸⁹ Ibidem.

Some sections of the British press doubted this official stance of the British government as this further propelled the British leadership to embark on a campaign of re-orientation of the British public about the Nigerian civil war.⁹⁰ One of the strategies adopted by the British government was the further assessment of the Nigerian situation after Wilson's visit to Nigeria through the British High Commissioner to Nigeria, Sir Leslie Glass who was mandated by London to monitor effectively the developments in Nigeria after Mr. Wilson's visit.⁹¹ The monitoring of situation in Nigeria even after Wilson's visit through British diplomatic presence in Nigeria in the estimation of the political leadership in Britain was the key to validating its position on the war through re-orientation of the British public. This became necessary for the political leadership in Britain because public support could enhance its two pillars of intervention in Nigerian civil war, that is, diplomatic strategy and arms supply to Nigeria. This in the permutation of the policy makers in London was capable of accelerating federal victory that in turn guaranteed over £200m investment in terms of oil installations of Shell-B.P in Port Harcourt.⁹²

Despite the stalemate which enveloped the diplomatic efforts of the British, the military victory of the federal troops in December 1968 and the subsequent extension of peace to Gowon on January 12, 1970 by Biafra reflected the magnanimity of Nigeria even in victory. It must be stated that this magnanimity was a product of British diplomatic efforts which extracted committed from the Nigerian leadership on the need to jettison vindictive disposition towards the Ibos in the post-war Nigeria. The fulfilling of this commitment on the part of Nigeria cannot be delinked from the diplomatic astuteness of the British who in turn used their bureaucratic sagacity to espouse peace initiatives that protected their economic interests in Nigeria.

Conclusion

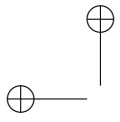
The outbreak of the Nigerian civil war became a subject of different interpretations by keen observers within and outside Africa. These interpretations were products of the diverse interests which these ob-

⁹⁰ Britain is Committed to Keep Nigeria United-Sir Leslie, in: *Nigerian Observer*, June 26, 1969, p. 16.

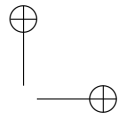
⁹¹ *Ibidem*.

⁹² ADENIRAN, *Nigeria and Great Britain*, p. 37.

servers had in Nigeria. For the British, the determination to preserve Nigeria as one indivisible entity was determined by their quest for the protection of British economic interests in Nigeria. This explains why the British exploited to the fullest the failure of the multilateral intervention through the instrumentalities of the Commonwealth and the OAU as this compelled Britain to intensify its strategy of intervention in the war. The twin pillars of her intervention was the arms supply to the federal government as this strengthened the federal troops against the secessionists whose tendencies were capable of balkanizing Nigeria. This balkanization was equally capable of putting the British in an economic dilemma and the need to prevent these uncertainties necessitated the intensification of arms supply. It must be added that the British diplomatic masterstroke served as an alternative strategy that whittled the effects of arms supply against the secessionists. This diplomatic masterstroke without any doubt was made possible through the unilateral British peace initiatives that salvaged the failure of multilateral diplomatic interventions in the Nigerian civil war.

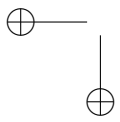


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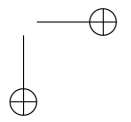


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A Pyrrhic Victory

Michael Dudzik*

Napoleon Bonaparte, who is by some considered as the greatest military leader in history doesn't need to be introduced any further. Despite the fact he was born to a quite poor Corsican family, he has become a Brigadier General in his twenty-four, a First Consul to France in his thirty and five years later – in December 1804 – he crowned himself an Emperor in Pope's presence. The peak of his dominion came in July 1807 after he had subjugated defiant Prussians and practically split Europe in two spheres of influence with Russian emperor Alexander I.

However, even Napoleon's authority wasn't steadfast and constantly greater pressure of his enemies, mainly Britons and British emissaries on the continent couldn't conceal a drawback of a fragile Empire and Bonaparte's reign in general. We could say that ambitions and a feeling of own infallibility overshadowed the greatness of France and there had been only Napoleon's personality that could touch the skies – despite the lives of several millions of people.

Bonaparte's downfall had occurred much sooner than he himself expected. His clinging to old, strategical manoeuvres brought him defeat on the Berezina River at the end of November 1812 and final doom met the Emperor one year later, when French engineers blew up a bridge and made it impossible for the most of French army to draw back to France. This turning of tables could have brought France a long-awaited respite, but the Emperor stood against this idea. He refused Allies' (including Britons, Prussian, Russians and Austrians) demands to diminish borders to borders of year 1792, which would have left France without the territory of today's Belgium: by this act, Napoleon said he would "*trample underfoot my coronation oath, betray*

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the trust placed in me with such confidence” and would leave France smaller than he had obtained it.¹

His unwillingness to cooperate resulted in four hundred thousands of allied army invading France in three directions: Prussian troops under command of Gebhard von Blücher were marching from the east across the river Rhine, Austrian units under Karl Philipp, Prince of Schwarzenberg from Switzerland and Russian soldiers led by Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte across the then territory of Netherlands. Their headquarters were set in the city of Langres, south of Paris. There was, however, Bonaparte’s army against them with Nicolas Soult’s help from Spain and Eugene de Beauharnais’ Italian troops, in total two hundred and seventy thousand French and French Foreign Legion soldiers.²

Although the Allies were superior in numbers, there were certain conflicts between them – while the Russian Czar Alexander I and Prussian King Frederick William III were seeking to humiliate Napoleon and defeat him, the Austrian Empire’s chancellor Klemens von Metternich and British Foreign Secretary Viscount Castlereagh were trying to achieve peace and to prevent a civil war in France. They were doing so not just because Bonaparte was son-in-law of Austrian Emperor Francis I, but also because of czar’s plan to appoint his favourite Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte a new French ruler. Metternich’s approach was more than refusing: *“We have no interest in sacrificing a single soldier to put Bernadotte on the French throne.”³*

Such matters were discussed on 25th January in the city of Langres. The Allies wished to restore the balance of power in Europe, just like it was before the Revolution. To achieve this goal, the Allies were to negotiate with Napoleon but also to propose a final resolution created by themselves which the French Emperor should only acquiesce to. Castlereagh as the leader of negotiations proposed, for example to build a line of fortresses in Austrian Netherlands and promised to not endorse the Russian intention to crown Bernadotte a French King.

Austria had then been assailed by Alexander himself – when he was turned down – with words that Austrian troops were marching

¹ M. PRICE, *Napoleon: The End of Glory*, Oxford 2014, p. 195.

² O. CONNELLY, *The Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, 1792–1815*, New York 2006, p. 194.

³ PRICE, p. 187.

through neutral Switzerland and if they don't accept his proposal, he would declare war on them. However, he didn't know, that before the march Metternich induced Swiss to accept Austrian soldiers, in order to defend their neutrality by which he was in the clear and threatened the Czar that he will leave the coalition with Castlereagh. Alexander gave in and the congress was dismissed without any result.

The most pressing question was the extent of the French territory, which was debated on 3rd February in the city of Châtillon, to the west of Langres. The Congress began on 5th February and the only person who did not want to have peace was Napoleon himself. If France was to be restored within borders from 1792, participants should have talked about taking colonies away from France, which was rejected by Alexander who wanted peace first and then to solve the colonies. The Russians were delaying the negotiations and were urging for an advance on Paris, while French ambassador Armand Caulaincourt was reluctant to sign a peace treaty, determining the former borders, because he favoured peace with natural borders.

Since the French Emperor saw that, he was almost overwhelmed, he acquiesced to give up on Belgium and even the left bank of the river Rhine,⁴ if the Allies weren't satisfied enough. Napoleon was convinced that he had lost both German states and Italy, however he was also convinced that he could turn the tide of battle. On 29th January he attacked the Blücher's army but was defeated near Brienne. He sought revenge and found it on 9th February by the city of Champaubert where he beat isolated Russian troops. On 14th February, Bonaparte vanquished Blücher near the village of Vauchamps and on 18th February he pushed Austrian troops beyond the river Seine.⁵

Napoleon's partial victories enraged Alexander I. On 13th February, during a meeting, he had finally revealed why he wanted to conquer the capital: in Paris was to be a Russian military governor who would have supervised the election of a new ruler. Again, Metternich with Castlereagh threatened to leave the coalition and to separately conclude peace with Napoleon. When they were joined by Prussians the Czar once again gave in and a preliminary peace could have been created.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 196.

⁵ Ibidem, pp. 192 and 198–199.

Victories – as petty and meaningless as they were – made Napoleon think he could defeat his enemies and return to the capital. He forbade Caulaincourt to acquiesce to any conditions of peace prearranged at Châtillon. Bonaparte's claims of retaining Antwerp and a territory of contemporary Belgium were not met with eagerness and even an armistice was unthinkable. Representatives of the sixth coalition therefore signed a Treaty of Chaumont⁶ which included an obligation for each member to provide fifty thousand soldiers, the Great Britain ought to provide generous subsidies of 5 million pounds instead, a prohibition to conclude separate peaces with Napoleon and a joint cooperation in expulsion of French from Spanish and German and Italian areas. The Châtillon congress was disbanded on 17th March and the Allies were preparing to march on Paris.

At the same time royalist tendencies began to occur. The first city that surrendered was Bordeaux which was captured by British on 11th March. It soon became a headquarters of royalists – a victorious expedition into an emptied city, praising of Bourbons or erecting royal flags made an impression on the Allies despite the fact that the Czar didn't like Louis Stanislas Xavier (a future king and a brother of the former guillotined king) and despite that, Austrians didn't want Napoleon to be replaced by anybody else and favoured his wife, Marie Louise as a future ruler.

News of Bordeaux's betrayal soon reached Napoleon who wanted to answer with force. On 9th March he clashed with Blücher by Laon (where the Emperor lost) and on 12th March he freed Reims from Russian troops and was ready to attack Prussians. However as successful as he was on a field of battle, the capture of Paris couldn't be delayed. Bonaparte was hesitating whether to return to the capital or to march to the east, cut off enemy troops and defeat them one after another. He chose the second option – the capital city was exposed, and the Allies took the chance of capturing the most essential thing they could.

Marmont's Treason and Emperor's Fall

An immense mass, one hundred and eighty thousand soldiers, began to march on Paris on 25th March. From intercepted letters, the

⁶ F.R. BRIDGE – R. BULLEN, *The Great Powers and the European States System 1814-1914*, New York 2005, p. 24.

Allies' commanders knew that there would be no resistance to them. Although Parisians were trying to build barricades and fortifications, a short time for preparation made it impossible to be well-guarded. In addition, Joseph Bonaparte, a temporary mayor of Paris, couldn't have rallied enough men to defend the city – there were only 42,000 French against four-times more enemy troops. There was an option to distribute rifles among Parisians but recent memories on revolutionary acts of violence quickly repulsed this idea.

Fear of uprisings were groundless however and Parisians didn't have anybody to draw swords for – the Empress Marie Louise had wanted to stay, but after reading Napoleon's letter addressed to his brother, she left the city: "*My brother, you cannot allow that, under any circumstances, the Empress and the King of Rome [Bonaparte's son] fall into enemies' hands. If the enemy marched on Paris with such force that any oppression would be futile, send in the direction of the Loire river the regentess, my son, high officials and the ministers.*"⁷ The Parisian Regency council therefore decided that the Empress should leave with her brother-in-law in the direction of Tours while the city itself would be protected by Marshal Auguste Marmont, the Duke of Ragusa and negotiations with Allies would be led by former Foreign Minister Charles Maurice de Talleyrand.

Few hours after regents' departure, on 30th March, the gates of Paris were being besieged and the city bombarded from the north. The Duke of Ragusa, charged with guarding the gates, couldn't face his enemy with a not very numerous and ill-equipped squad, so he capitulated in the afternoon and the capital with him. Since this moment, Marmont's title of *Ragusa* became a French synonym for a treason, *raguser*. The most shameful and disgraceful scene occurred next day – in the morning of 31st March 1814 a ceremonial parade of Prussian, Russian and Austrian armies entered the capital. They pledged to not negotiate with Napoleon and to recognize integrity and Constitution of France.

Alexander, Frederick and Karl Philipp were then taken to Talleyrand's place and the Czar offered three alternatives. There could be either

⁷ N. BONAPARTE – J. DUMAINE – H. PLON (eds.), *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*. T. 27, Paris 1869, pp. 377–378.

1. peace with Napoleon, which was not so hard to convince Alexander it wouldn't last long or
2. a new ruler could have been Marie Louise as a regentess, which was again objected, that it would be in fact Napoleon's rule but under her name. Lastly, it was agreed that
3. Bonaparte was to be replaced by Bourbons who were, in fact, not popular in France.

In addition to this, Talleyrand made further changes: on 1st April he was appointed as a head of the new Provisional Government, on 2nd April were the Emperor and his family deposed and finally on 4th April were "all symbols, monograms and coat of arms reminding Bonaparte's reign removed and erased from all places they could be found".⁸

What about Napoleon's whereabouts at that time? He had settled in Fontainebleau to the southeast from Paris; his plan was to attack each Ally and cut him off from incoming forces, however he was taken by surprise when they besieged Paris so rapidly and from all sides. It is said that once he reached Fontainebleau on an exhausted horse, he didn't exchange it but went to 31 miles away Paris on foot, frenzied and angry. There was nothing that could change his mind about giving up, but the idea of being murdered by the hands of a common citizen – worried by his Marshal's words, he had sat behind a massive desk at Fontainebleau and drafted a first version of his abdication.

His first abdication (so-called conditional) was written in favour of his son: "The Emperor Napoleon declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to leave France and even to give up on his life for the prosperity of the country which is indivisible from the right of his son, the Empress' regency and Emperor's laws."⁹ This proclamation was obtained by Czar's emissaries in the evening, but the Czar himself doubted the regency and demanded an unconditional abdication. A vision of a possible civil war – or more likely a vision of an annual income of 2 millions francs – compelled Napoleon to draft an unconditional abdication: "The Emperor Napoleon declares that he renounces, for himself and his heirs the throne

⁸ J. MAVIDAL – E. LAURENT, *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860 : Recueil complet des débats législatifs & politiques des chambres françaises*. T. 12, Paris 1868, p. 11.

⁹ N. YOUNG, *Napoleon in Exile: Elba*, Montana 2006, pp. 30–31.

of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, not even that of life itself, which he is not willing to make for the interests of France."¹⁰

It was 6th April 1814 and Bonaparte's reign was at the end. Not only army but also his family had left him: his brother-in-law Joachim Murat joined Austrian Empire in January 1814 in order to retain the throne of Kingdom of Naples; Marie Louise was "separated from her spouse and by this act she is only tied together with her noble father who can and who must take her under his protective wings"¹¹ including her son Napoléon François Bonaparte. While the former Emperor was about to sign a new treaty with the Allies, a new French King was appointed on 6th April as Louis XVIII whose reign was affected by his indecisiveness and a circle of power-hungry aristocrats who soon joined him in returning to France.

The only unmarked issue was where to put Napoleon. There were islands taken in account like Corfu, Corsica or Elba. However Elba was a thorn not only in Castlereagh's side, for it was too close to the continent, but also in Austrian Emperor Francis' side: "I disagree with a choice of Elba as Napoleon's residence; they are detaching it from the property of my family in favour of foreigners."¹² Indeed – this was Alexander's move and it could either make Napoleon to owe him a life or to make Napoleon as a tool against those who would not agree with the Czar.

A final treaty, known as the Treaty of Fontainebleau¹³ was signed on 11th April 1814 and was too lenient to the erstwhile ruler. Even though the first article deprived Napoleon and his whole family of "all rights of sovereignty and domination over the French Empire, Italian Kingdom and every other country", Murat's exception spoiled the impression. Britons didn't intend to recognize a title of Emperor for Napoleon, his wife and various titles for his siblings. Plus, handing Elba over to the erstwhile French Emperor was a major obstacle for his Austrian father-in-law.

Paying of an "annual rent of two and a half million francs which will be distributed among members of Napoleon's family" would make a fuss

¹⁰ L. GOLDSMITH, *Recueil de décrets, ordonnances, traités de paix, manifests, proclamations, discours etc. de Napoléon Bonaparte et des membres du gouvernement français*. T. 5, Londres 1815, p. 678.

¹¹ YOUNG, p. 38.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 43.

¹³ A. N. CAMPBELL, *Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba*, London 1869, pp. 163–168.

in France, that's why even Louis XVIII didn't take the Treaty seriously. Also, Prussians were against the Treaty for they didn't consent to create passports for Bonaparte's family, with which they could freely travel through Europe. Even though the Czar had managed to make compromises – he arranged a succession in Duchies of Parma and Piacenza and he donated Napoleon's belongings to France – it was certain that the Allies would have had communication issues that lasted almost the whole year.

A British Colonel Neil Campbell was appointed as the leader of caravan heading south where he could embark on a ship *Undaunted* and sail to Elba with him. It is said that before 20th April when they had to leave Fontainebleau, Napoleon tried to poison himself but unsuccessfully – there was a far more bitter journey before him. When they had been passing Avignon, the people praising the king were throwing medium-sized stones at his carriage and one man even attacked with his sword. An embarrassing situation was followed by an even more embarrassing Bonaparte's move: he borrowed a blue coat, a peaked cap, a cloak and a hat with a white cocard¹⁴ (symbol of royalists) and disguised himself as a commissioner.

When the caravan had been resting, Napoleon rushed to the nearest inn where he, masked as Campbell, ordered food for the former Emperor and the lady innkeeper told him: "*I won't bother myself with a dinner preparation for that monster. When he will be passing the city I will take a look when the people will be burning him alive for all his crimes and bloodshed.*"¹⁵ We can assume that this moment of sincerity made Napoleon shiver, and as Campbell documents, he found Bonaparte pale and shaking in the inn's corner. However, the Fortune was on his side again when they reached Fréjus on 27th April. A disbanded massive Italian army had been marching on Fréjus where they wanted to free the Emperor, but a British captain Thomas Ussher had persuaded Napoleon to board the *Undaunted* and to sail out to the isolated island of Elba in Tyrrhenan Sea the next day.

¹⁴ J. M. THOMPSON, Napoleon's Journey to Elba in 1814: Part I. By Land, in: *American Historical Review* 55, 1, 1949, p. 15; YOUNG, pp. 66 and 68.

¹⁵ THOMPSON, p. 15.

The Emperor and the Prince of the Island of Elba

After a week on the ship, Napoleon arrived at his new dominion. A ceremonial hymn *Te Deum* welcomed him on the land on 4th May. However nice and beautiful the place could have been, “*the Elban Mountains symbolized only a mound of parched hills that tire senses and bring suffering to one’s soul. Many of country houses are just lonely ruins and the capital is a small, Mediterranean dilapidated harbour full of diseases*”.¹⁶ The loneliness and the boredom were just the reasons why Bonaparte left the island after 9 months.

On the very same day, 4th May, France too got a new ruler according to its Constitution: “*The French people freely call Louis Stanislas Xavier of France, the brother of the recent king, to the French throne.*”¹⁷ Same as Napoleon, Louis XVIII was welcomed in Paris by *Te Deum*, however the French weren’t happy at all and their distance¹⁸ to the new king has been visible throughout his short reign. Louis’ most important act was creating a new Chamber of Peers and releasing a new “*Charter of 1814*”, providing guaranteed equality before the law, religious freedom, the inviolability of property and the ban on the propagation of ideas before the restoration which explicitly attacked the Bonapartist period. In summary, the whole Louis’ reign was rather slow-paced and indecisive and Louis was, according to contemporary observers, sometimes entertaining, sometimes wise and constantly terrified of hard work, debates or decision-making.¹⁹

The Elban delegation, including General Dalesme, the commander of the Elban National Guard, Pons de l’Hérault, the local mines administrator and Mayor Pietro Traditi, handed over the golden keys from the city of Portoferraio to the new ruler. Along the road to the church, the new Elban flags (with bees on a red lane) were flying from the windows, Napoleon’s favourite violets were planted in the gardens and women bowed in their best clothes. The whole atmosphere was spoiled by the fact that Bonaparte had not been given golden but gilded keys which were not from the town hall but from the mayor’s basement, and a provisional throne made up of an old dusty couch. From there Napoleon gave his words of praise to the

¹⁶ S. COOTE, *Napoleon and the Hundred Days*, Cambridge (Mass.) 2007, p. 84.

¹⁷ MAVIDAL, pp. 12–13.

¹⁸ COOTE, p. 81.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 82.

inhabitants, calling them his children;²⁰ he wasn't serious because he feared his children so much that he had called for one British officer to sleep in front of the door on the mattress, dressed and sword-in-hand in case an unexpected attack would occur.

Bonaparte's companions were General Henri Bertrand, a Grand Marshal of the Palace, Count Antoine Drouot, a Governor of the island, and Napoleon's sister Pauline who oversaw organizing celebrations on Elba. A treasurer and a critic of the Prince's excessive spendings, Guillaume Peyrusse, was a man of high standards who was most of the time standing against Napoleon although he was one of the closest men to him. Napoleon was also assigned a small army who served only for his, not Elbas' protection: Polish lancers were used as his bodyguards, cavalrymen "*were before their service controlled,*" his carriage "*was always accompanied by five men with loaded rifles*" and his seamen "*must have always had their sabers, muskets and two packets of cartridge*".²¹

Bonaparte established an imperial etiquette: if he sailed out and wanted to be incognito, the flags wouldn't be raised; if he wasn't present in Portoferraio, his entourage couldn't wear hats until he had returned. We also know how much the Prince stressed manners: "*Monsieur Count Bertrand, you had left without asking me; that's a very bad behaviour and next time you have to wait until I allow you to leave.*"²² Altogether with a new etiquette Napoleon created new laws and a Constitution, a document never known until then. Elba had become an Empire consisting of 6 departments (with 2,000 citizens in each of it), each department was divided into 1 prefecture and 2 sub-prefectures.

There were 4 new main ministries of Police, of War, of Navy and of Foreign affairs altogether with 4 other ministries – of Cults, of Finances and Treasury, of Justice and finally of Interior. The Emperor had also adjusted taxes, created a Legion of Honor and was managing lists of people and of conscriptions.²³ Elbas had been split in four

²⁰ YOUNG, p. 105.

²¹ L. G. PÉLISSIER, *Le Registre de l'île d'Elbe : Lettres et Ordres inédits de Napoléon Ier*. T. 2, Paris 1897, pp. 15, 110 and 114.

²² DUMAINE, p. 496.

²³ *Constitution donnée par Napoléon Buonaparte aux habitants de l'île d'Elbe* [online]. Paris 1814 [visited 2018-11-02], pp. 2-3. Available at: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k57962407.r=Constitution%20donnée%20par%20Napoléon>

groups – the eldest had to take seats in government or cultivate science, women participated in a trade and agriculture, children were employed in ploughing and the rest was called to protect the Empire and the Emperor himself.

A new monarch has decided to stay at the Mulini Palace. The Emperor was living on the ground floor, the first floor was intended for his sister Pauline. The northern side was protected by cliffs, the road from the city led through the long stairs and the building itself was surrounded by walls – Napoleon could have felt completely impregnable, also thanks to engineers and artillerymen living on the opposite side of their Emperor. The furniture was brought from Italy while the library consisted of books imported from Fontainebleau, Paris or Fréjus and each book had to be the newest or in the best condition.

Once settled, Napoleon finished roads in Portoferraio and its surroundings and focused especially on the connection from the Mulini Palace to his command house in San Martino. He had ordered roads to be widened so that *“he could use them without any danger”* and so that *“two carriages could go next to each other”*. He also ordered that rubbish should be swept out of the streets and that the pavements ought to be repaired, removed of the rubbish and grinded so he could have not slipped on them while heading to church or townhall. Besides that, he decreed that Portoferraio was to be supplied with two water tank and commanded to build latrines to prevent spreading of smell.

Moreover, Bonaparte ordered to dry out marshes and grow corn there instead. He also tried to persuade Elbans to grow potatoes, cauliflower, onions, salad, radish and other vegetables, but unsuccessfully. An idea of planting mulberries and olive trees also didn't become real, same as creating a center of art and sciences. The only thing Napoleon didn't want was that Elbans would be learning his birth language – he dismissed a French teacher by which he saved some money. This issue was on the agenda since June 1814 for Emperor's demands were slowly growing because of his expensive living, maintaining a fairly big army, exacting reconstructions and building of new communications.

[%20Bonaparte\%20aux\%20habitans\%20de\%20l'\%27ile\%20d'\%27Elbe?rk=21459;2.](#)

Nevertheless, saving in wrong places resulted in antagonizing from most of Elbans. As Campbell writes: *“It seems that Napoleon becomes less and less popular every day because it looks like his every order is affected by greed and self-interest altogether with an absolute indifference towards others.”*²⁴ That indifference had been manifested in demands of certain districts when they were denied to be paid for building roads or cleaning them. Napoleon hadn't paid a cent and he even saved money because he employed his own Imperial Guard for secondary works like ploughing the soil or paving streets. Despite that he got into debt – his expenses rose to 1 million francs a year, while his incomes didn't exceed four hundred thousand francs.

July 1814 was very critical. Emperor's tax collector had been charged to collect taxes for period since September 1813 till May 1814, a period in which Napoleon wasn't ruling the island, which resulted in general discontentment and a possible uprising. According to Campbell, *“if Napoleon wasn't that moderate and didn't have his Guard on the island, there could be nothing that could prevent the people from attacking him”*.²⁵ When the Emperor had wished to take money from the Legion of Honor, he was turned down by Pons de l'Hérault who said that the money belonged to the French government.²⁶ When Elbans had discovered that one of Emperor's employee dared to oppose him, situation could worsen so much, it could endanger the Emperor himself.

The Quarrelsome Congress

Bonaparte soon began to think about fleeing. He was pleased by hearing that *“the French nation hadn't been satisfied with a Bourbon reign, that there were disturbances in Nice and people in Fréjus were concerned about Napoleon”*.²⁷ It was as Bonaparte had expected few weeks ago – Bourbons would have discredited themselves in the eyes of French people. They *“had deprived France of Belgium, they forfeited weapons, fleet, warehouses, artillery and much more of the things I have collected”*.²⁸ The

²⁴ CAMPBELL, p. 248.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 249.

²⁶ YOUNG, p. 200.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 135.

²⁸ P. A. E. F. de CHABOULON, *Les Cent jours : Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Vie privée, du Retour et du Règne de Napoléon en 1815*. T. 1, Londres 1820, pp. 114–115.

only obstacle preventing him from coming back were Allies' troops in France; he waited until mainly Russian troops would return home.

And not only troops. Bonaparte knew about an upcoming Congress in Vienna and thought that if they quarrelled, it would be a good advantage point for him. If they weren't, it would be advantageous too for the representants would soon depart into their countries and could not endanger him. On 1st October the victorious Allies had met in Vienna to outline a new map of Europe. There were many who arrived: the Czar with his wife, 4 kings, 1 queen, 2 crown princes, 3 grand-duchesses, 3 princes of the royal blood and 215 heads of houses of princes including several ministers, high officers, aide-de-camps and members of delegation.²⁹

Castlereagh with his consultants Cathcart and Stewart were negotiating for the Great Britain, Metternich was representing Austria; Frederick William III was deciding for Prussia with his chancellor Hardenberg and counsellor Humboldt. Czar Alexander I arrived with his experts on specific areas: Adam Czartoryski for Poland, Pozzo di Borgo, Stein and Nesselrode for German states. Besides these were also invited the representants of Sweden, Spain, Portugal, delegates of Pope, Osman sultan and many others.

The main reason was to establish a balance of power in which no power will dominate over others. Each country wanted to have peace, security for its own territory and expansion of their borders. Even in those times, were two sides that battled: Britain with Austria on one side and Russia with Prussia on the other. Talleyrand had been trying from the very beginning to set them against each other, plus to encourage the weaker states against the stronger ones – this resulted in 13 lesser German states to “*resist the usurpation of the great powers*”.³⁰ In addition to that, the Czar with Prussia made a proposal to claim Poland and Saxony which by his words belonged to one of his brothers or to his sister's husband.

However, a greater gain of territory would cause an imbalance in Europe, when Russia would have reached too far to the west and Prussia would have gone too far to the south. Castlereagh and Metternich were bolstered by Talleyrand and tried to forestall Russia's proposal.

²⁹ P. JOHNSON, *The Birth of the Modern-World Society, 1815–1830*. New York 1991, p. 85.

³⁰ M. JARRETT, *The Congress of Vienna and its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy after Napoleon*, London 2013, p. 93.

Prussia was between its Allies – on one hand, it was blackmailed by Russian troops on Prussian land, but was promised to gain Saxony, on the other hand it was worried about its eastern border.

This stalemate was partly solved by Metternich himself: to prevent war (announced by the Czar), he prolonged the Congress by making up illnesses and holding balls, soirées and theatre performances – that's why was this Congress pejoratively called the Dancing Congress. It had to last only three weeks, but because of inability to find a compromise the negotiations lasted for 9 months until June 1815.

The Corsican Monster on the Run

Metternich had also appointed – apart from providing amusements – many spies not only in Vienna, but also along Tuscany's coast. Talleyrand's spy Chevalier Mariotti had been sent to Livorno where he was receiving information right from Portoferraio. Every person coming from Elba had been controlled, all Napoleon's letters were opened and most of them confiscated, every person travelling to Elba was thoroughly body-searched. Despite all these controls, according to Bonaparte's own diary he was sending out letters already on 24th July. Letters have travelled variously to Genoa, Rome or even to Marie Louise in Vienna.

Soon after Talleyrand, even Napoleon had had his own spies. We can mention Bartolucci, who was Mariotti's rival in Livorno, cardinal Fesch, Bonaparte's uncle operating in Rome, and many others. To all letters he had received, Bonaparte was responding and thanks to his captains' deliveries of newspapers he also stayed in touch with the continent. A French minister of War had soon found out about Napoleon and wrote to Talleyrand: "*The inhabitant of the island of Elba often receives letters from Naples and from elsewhere. He wakes up several times at night, writes dispatches and looks too busy even though he pretends that he lives a peaceful life.*"³¹

Talleyrand had immediately informed the king and Allies about Murat's collaboration and suggested to expel him on the island of Corfu, Bonaparte was to be moved to the Azores: "*It appeared that we basically agree on Bonaparte's deportation from the island of Elba. I proposed*

³¹ G. PALLAIN, *Correspondance inédite du Prince de Talleyrand et du Roi Louis XVIII pendant le Congrès de Vienne*, Paris 1881, p. 44.

to move him to the Azores." Louis XVIII had answered that he would ignore the clause of the Treaty of Fontainebleau if the "excellent idea with the Azores" was realized. The installed king, as a matter of fact, admitted not to abide Article III and IV of the Treaty that spoke of Elba being Napoleon's lifelong property and other powers pledged to respect that. Thanks to this idea, Talleyrand had managed to divide Russia from others and to become a worthy representant of his country.

Once Bonaparte had found out about possible deportation to the even more isolated island, he confided to Campbell: "I don't exist for the world anymore. I am a dead man. What interests me is only my family, my haven, my cows and my mules."³² But he knew what danger could have possibly awaited him: since September he has been dividing his subjects all over the island and was consulting with commanders how to strengthen fortresses, troops and support naval garrisons against corsairs. With no doubt, a danger of being transfered further from the continent made him think about fleeing. A final decision to leave the island came with Fleury de Chaboulon, Bonaparte's erstwhile secretary, who has been staying on Elba between 13th and 18th February 1815.³³

French had been – according to Chaboulon – dissatisfied and their number was growing each day. Unsuccessful and non-functional reign had been facing "a disgust and an aversion of tired, humiliated and indignant citizens" and that's why "Louis' royalistic rule has come to an end". Apart from that, the most citizens, even army had wanted Napoleon back – Louis XVIII paid soldiers very modestly (if he did at all) and high unemployment transformed them into a convenient tool for deposing Bourbons. On the other hand, marshals have been paid throughout Louis' reign very generously, but the French army was disintegrating while Napoleon could have been supported by Saxon, Genoan, Belgian, Polish, German and Italian troops.

The plan how to escape had not yet been in Emperor's mind, however he knew that all had to be prepared. Bourbons needed to be deposed in silence and without alarming the Allies, but people could not take revenge on them. An ultimate decision had been made after

³² CAMPBELL, p. 299.

³³ For the whole dialogue see CHABOULON, pp. 109–148.

asking one simple question: “*Is France waiting for its Emperor to come back and will she welcome him as her liberator?*” Chaboulon nodded and Bonaparte added: “*I will arrive in Paris so quickly that they won’t be able to react. It was me who delivered France to Bourbons – it will be me who will deprive her of them!*”³⁴

The last obstacle was a British colonel. Since December, Napoleon had instructed Bertrand and Drouot to be distant to him. The colonel noticed the change in their behaviour and wrote that “*their chief motive is to disgust me and make me leave this island*”.³⁵ He had indeed left on 16th February, he sailed to Tuscany to his mistress. On the very same day Bonaparte ordered to place the ship *Inconstant* into harbour, to cover it with copper, repair it³⁶ and make it ready to sail out. Besides that, it was to be repainted with red and blue colours so it resembled a British ship. One half of Elba’s soldiers loaded 7 ships with goods like money, food and papers for creating proclamations to people. The other half was needed up in the city where they improved gardens and masterly confused Allies’ spies.

Saturday, 25th February 1815, is marked as the last day of Napoleon on Elba. At 8 pm he had boarded the *Inconstant* and headed with 6 other ships for the French coast, to Antibes. The wind at Portoferraio was favourable that day but in Tuscany it was calm. Spies’ news about a possible flight had reached Campbell who said that “*if any Napoleon’s ship was discovered he would order his captain to pursue it and, if it offered resistance, to sink it*”.³⁷ Just for assurance they had left Tuscany on 27th in the morning and even saw Bonaparte’s ship but considered it as a British merchant ship. On Wednesday 1st March 1815 Emperor’s closest men landed in Antibes.

The Flight of the Eagle and an Exhausting Mobilisation

To win French people’s favour, Napoleon had prepared 3 proclamations to convince them to join him in his journey to the north. He reminded them of “*duke of Castiglione’s betrayal when he had delivered Lyon to the enemy*” and of “*duke of Ragusa’s perfidiousness who left the capital at*

³⁴ Ibidem, pp. 127–128.

³⁵ CAMPBELL, p. 357.

³⁶ R. M. JOHNSTON, *The Corsican: A Diary of Napoleon’s Life in His Own Words*, Boston 1910, pp. 446–447.

³⁷ CAMPBELL, p. 368.

the mercy of the enemy and disorganized the army".³⁸ Although generals Bertrand and Lamouret had been captured at Antibes while demanding rations for Bonaparte, the Emperor could not have lingered and wanted to take the throne by surprise – the general Pierre Cambonne was ordered to cut off communication of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur with the rest of France.

Sooner or later, the rest of Europe will find out about Napoleon escaping Elba. The march had to be swift. On 2nd March they had reached Grasse where the bells were ringing; the entourage thought they were discovered but the bells were just announcing a funeral. Later on they had to bypass royalist Provence through the Alps, so they tied sacks with money on mules and took weapons alone while sinking into snow.

In the meantime, after Campbell had found out Napoleon escaped, he immediately informed an emissary in Florence who sent messages to Paris, London and Vienna. Metternich with Talleyrand received the letter on 7th March, Louis XVIII already on 5th March. Upon opening the despatch, he had drily announced that "*a new revolution has broken out*" and that he wants a "*Minister of war to come to him and advise him what do to next*". On 6th March he – before both Chambers – declared Napoleon Bonaparte a traitor and a rebel.

The traitor Napoleon's army was getting bigger and bigger, the more he was approaching Paris. He had met a squad of young Delessart's men. They had experienced a legendary moment that turned them anti-Bourbon – Napoleon appeared in front of them, opened his overcoat and gave a speech: "*What is it that none of you recognize me, my friends? I am your Emperor. If there is anybody among you that wants to kill his General, may he do it.*"³⁹ Nobody did and joined him instead, including Delessart.

On 7th March he had reached Grenoble where Jean Marchand's soldiers deserted him and opened the gates. After the surrender Bonaparte had said: "*As far as Grenoble I was an adventurer; at Grenoble I was a prince.*"⁴⁰ On 10th March he was standing in front of Lyon that was

³⁸ N. BONAPARTE – J. DUMAINE – H. PLON (eds.), *Correspondance de Napoléon Ier*. T. 28, Paris 1869, pp. 1–2.

³⁹ CHABOULON, p. 180.

⁴⁰ O. BROWNING, *The Fall of Napoleon*, New York 1907, p. 171; P. GUEDALLA, *The Hundred Days*, Leipzig 2015, p. 28.

strengthened by King's brother comte d'Artois and marshal Étienne MacDonald. The city's garrison had deserted and Bonaparte issued decrees⁴¹ forbidding feudal titles, expelling emigrants or dissolving the Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Representatives, for "their powers expired and each of them lost the nation's trust".

The nation also ceased to trust its King. He and the Allies managed to issue a decree which declared "that Napoleon Bonaparte is excluded from civil and social relations, and, as an Enemy and Disturber of the tranquility of the World, that he has incurred public vengeance."⁴² After Louis' speech which he had delivered on 16th March, all nobles, ministers and members of the royal family got in carriages and left the city. Joseph Fouché, erstwhile Minister of Police, was to be arrested but he managed to slip through. The King himself declared that "we are leaving, with some few people, to a distant region to gather there an army and to find French who will be willing to fight for the right cause".⁴³ A desperate act from the hated King. His corpulent body sat into carriage on 18th March before midnight because "the sun can in no case look upon this disgraceful flight".⁴⁴

France had got into turmoil – soldiers were either fleeing or joining Napoleon but in no way listening to King's orders. Marshal Michel Ney had offered the King to "bring Napoleon in an iron cage" but he didn't succeed. Parisian trade stopped, shops were closed, Parisians beat up those who favoured Bonaparte, many of them left their houses and their belongings in the city. His supporters had prevailed, however, and on the afternoon of 20th March they could have welcomed him in Tuileries after they took over a post office and reseeded Bourbon lilies into Bonapartist bees.

Once Napoleon had entered the capital, the Powers considered it as an act of declaring war and began to arm, the French Emperor soon started too. The Allies were afraid of the new regime for it reassembled the Revolution – royalists were suppressed once more and jacobins, united with bonapartists, were once again heard in the provinces to

⁴¹ COOTE, p. 140; GUEDALLA, p. 34.

⁴² Ch. M. de TALLEYRAND – C. LÉVY (eds.), *Mémoires du Prince Talleyrand: publiés avec une préface et des notes par le duc de Broglie*, Paris 1891, p. 112.

⁴³ L. GOLDSMITH, *Supplément au Recueil des décrets, danifestes, discours etc. de Napoleon Bonaparte*, Londres 1816, p. 17.

⁴⁴ BROWNING, p. 179.

Bonaparte's displeasure. When Napoleon had told Chaboulon that Bourbons have learned nothing, we could say the same about him. His cabinet consisted of few former revolutionists including Joseph Fouché as a Minister of Police, also known as "the Butcher of Lyon", Armand Caulaincourt as a Minister of Foreign Affairs or Lazare Carnot as a Minister of Interior.

Indebted France was in immediate opposition to Napoleon's need to mobilize and finding new recruits. Numerous state properties were sold, financing and functioning of navy and theatres were suspended, some students even donated their savings and soldiers were voluntarily giving up their pay in favour of the state. Carnot was responsible for pacification of the country because in the west the royalists rose up, in the south were civic riots and in the north a civil war was a real threat. Because of uprisings, Fouché was once again controlling the public opinion and overseeing all citizens.

Minister of War, Louis Davout had been burning candles at both ends to satisfy Emperor's escalating demands. He oversaw providing accommodation and food for soldiers, of getting weaponry and equipment or to take care of horses, transportation and supplies. He created 8 supervising army corps, intended to guard the borderlands, 4 main armies (of the North, of the Moselle, of the Rhine and of the Alps), 2 reserve armies and several foreign legions consisting of Belgian, Swedish or Polish troops.

A decree from 28th March was calling up all non-commissioned officers and soldiers who deserted army to rejoin their corps and rush to the defence of homeland. National guardsmen were organized by a new office and rearranging all troops has taken for several weeks for it needed to take care of 250 thousand of guardsmen and 80 thousand of horses.⁴⁵ Davout was also supervising a distribution of rifles which were lacking. He had built up manufactories, some rifles were imported from Corsica or Elba and discarded ones were being repaired in old factories. The workers there weren't paid sufficiently and the demand for 240 thousand rifles wasn't fulfilled.

Arming and creating new troops was finished at the end of May. In addition, Bonaparte fortified some cities, made Versailles the centre of all military materials and built up storehouses and tents for soldiers

⁴⁵ DUMAINE, pp. 39–42 and 50–51.

there; seaports were charged to guard the coast and engineers placed cannons on many bridges in France. The Allies were still outnumbered though, so Caulaincourt tried to battle with diplomatic letters and to prevent an inevitable war: he had stated that Napoleon would like to live in peace and won't occupy any territory. No wonder no one trusted him, and British Prince-regent didn't even open the letter.

After all, Emperor's power was soon diminishing. France was given a new Charter, an *Additional Act to the Charter of 1814*⁴⁶ which provided an expansion of the right to vote, an abolishing of censorship of the press and a separation of the church from the state. This act from 22nd April meant a strong blow to Napoleon's authority. Another blow came from Naples – Bonaparte's brother-in-law Joachim Murat was encouraged by Napoleon's escape and tried to rally Italians in fight against Austrians. He was defeated on 23rd May and was deprived of the Kingdom of Naples, fled to France and stayed in disfavour. The rest of Bonaparte family was either interned (Elisa or Pauline) or detained (Joseph).⁴⁷

The Allies went even further and on 25th March had made a new agreement, creating the seventh coalition. Each was to provide 150 thousand men, Britain got to pay 5 million pounds to each of her allies. Britain wanted to be a protector of peace on the continent, while Prussia yearned for dividing France. Russia joined because its debts in Holland were cut in half and Austria, fighting against Murat, was motivated by British subsidies.

The last march on the battlefield Napoleon experienced on 12th June before dawn. He had named Davout a chief of Paris and left him 30 thousand National guardsmen, 20 thousand conscripts, same number of seamen and another 20 thousand of men available in departments. Paris must have been guarded at all costs; if it was captured, all would be lost. The north was the most endangered, for Britons could have disembarked there and Paris was very near this border. That's why the Emperor had to launch a defensive campaign in northern France and an aggressive one in Belgium. He wanted to conquer Brussels, cut off Britons and defeat Prussians. That's why he had

⁴⁶ GOLDSMITH, pp. 144–152.

⁴⁷ PALLAIN, pp. 330–331.

instructed Ney to “*well position your troops so your 8 divisions could at my command and without difficulties march on Brussels*”.⁴⁸

The city of Beaumont near borders had become a new (military) Versailles – the city was flooded with French troops and guardsmen, artillery, engineers and cavalrymen. Engineers had been sent into the Kingdom of Holland to build bridges and soldiers were sent to push their way through forests so to prevent leakage of information. Thanks to this, the Allies were informed about enemy’s advancement as late as on 15th June while French were ahead because they were interrogating the population. After the parade the French armies marched for the last time – the Belgian campaign began on 15th June.

The Climax of the Napoleonic Wars

There were two sides in a concluding battle – a compact group of French and a disparate mixture of Hanoverans, Bavarians, Hessians, Dutchmen and Prussians led by a military veteran Arthur Wellesley, duke of Wellington. Both armies were equally composed of very young and inexperienced boys; Napoleon’s side was cheered up by patriotic attitude while the Allies were driven by hatred towards Frenchmen instigated by Blücher and his staff commander August von Gneisenau.

According to Talleyrand the Allies’ army was reaching nearly 700 thousand soldiers.⁴⁹ Wellington troops consisted of around 93 thousand men, two thirds of these were foreigners though. He could have relied on lord Hill’s support in the southwest at Ath and Prince of Orange’s help in the city of Mons, Blücher’s 117 thousand armed forces took position in the east, in the city of Ligny. Auxiliary forces were intended to come from the east and from northern Italy and Naples together with Austria, however both forces would have appeared no sooner than in July and Russian troops were deliberating whether to come or not because it found out that France had made a secret agreement with Austria and Britain in January 1815.

Bonaparte placed about 125 thousand Frenchmen on the battlefield including his most experienced troop, an Imperial Guard. He was joined by some deserted Marshals, his numerous artillery and cavalry

⁴⁸ DUMAINE, p. 291.

⁴⁹ PALLAIN, p. 359.

later brought many deaths in battles. Although the French troops had been informed about enemy's position much sooner than themselves, they were unable to make use of it due to bad communication and delayed despatches caused a jam on the road to the strategic position of Charleroi. In the end, just before lunch the city fell into French hands on 15th June and became a headquarters for them.

Soon after Marshal Ney joined Napoleon and the whole army had split in two: the left wing with Ney was to march on western Quatre-Bras, attack Wellington, push him to the northwest and make the road to Brussels clear for Napoleon. The right wing with Emmanuel Grouchy was to march to the East, to defeat Prussians by the city of Fleurus, cut them off from Britons and push Blücher to the East so the Allies' troops could not join. The western frontline where Wellington was supported by Prince of Orange had been strongly reinforced because Ney and Grouchy went to sleep instead of pursuing their enemy.

The eastern front where Blücher could have relied on Gneisenau's men was poorly guarded so Napoleon made his army march to Ligny while sending Ney to capture Quatre Bras and later to attack Blücher's right wing. The Emperor was impatient though, and on 16th June sent Ney a despatch: *"You need to act according to Emperor's orders. If you acted impetuously the army would be lost. The fate of France is in your hands."*⁵⁰ The psychological effect was so strong that Ney had sent his finest cavalymen to destroy Britons, but he didn't succeed.

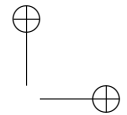
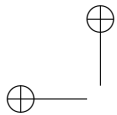
He immediately ordered general d'Erlon to arrive – the general however sent him a despatch reading that he must help the Emperor. Ney had declined Emperor's command and ordered d'Erlon to come to his aid. On cavalymen captain Kellerman's question what to do Ney answered: *"Throw yourselves among Englishmen, trample them!"*⁵¹ After two failed waves Kellerman was not willing to sacrifice anymore cavalymen. Ney scolded him with words: *"They don't matter at all. Attack with what you have! Just ride already!"*⁵² A bloodshed followed, and this battle was won by Britons.

In the same time Napoleon's didn't wait for d'Erlon – who had been retreating to help Ney, so he didn't help the Emperor nor the Marshal – and ruthlessly attacked Ligny. Thanks to Grouchy's cavalry, Prus-

⁵⁰ BROWNING, p. 240.

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 244.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 245.



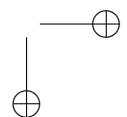
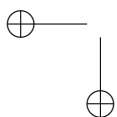
sians had been besieged by Frenchmen and soon after massacred. If Blücher, whose horse was hit under him, didn't have his loyal aide-de-camp he would surely die under hooves of the enemy. Prussians with Gneisenau withdrew to the north and Grouchy tried to pursue them. The French Marshal had been unfortunately so inconsistent, he allowed Prussians to unite with Englishmen near the village of Waterloo.

This village ought to be the proof that France would either win and would take Belgium back or would lose and become an unwanted participant in a new European organization. More was at stake: Napoleon himself. He didn't have anything to lose, he was just a temporary Emperor and he knew it for his power has been diminishing since April and he was losing his enthusiasm. To his disadvantage it was Wellington, not him, who had decided where the final battle would take place. The Emperor didn't know the terrain much and the Duke could rely on his allies from all sides and more of them incoming. The whole Saturday was raining, and both commanders had some time to plan out their attacks.

The battlefield at Waterloo offered much more advantages to defenders than to attackers. A watersoaked soil would have delayed French troops for so long they could be liquidated. Not speaking of small steep hills on which the British shooters were standing plus many of them hiding in high rye. Three small castles represented a welcome refuge to its garrisons; Nassauvian and Hanoveran troops occupied the largest castle, Hougomont.

On Sunday 18th June, at 11.30 am, there was a cannon blast and French firstly marched on Hougomont on the left side. Led by Jérôme they had lost so much time conquering the unconquerable and lost many men who after a while got into a courtyard but met a rain of missiles. The central position was to be attacked by d'Erlon with 16 thousand men. He had delivered four attack waves and after only the third one managed to reach Britons, they came out of the rye and finished the cavalry with their muskets. On the other hand, even allies lost a fair amount of men especially when Ney attacked them on the right.

Even without an artillery support, he had managed to conquer a smaller castle, burn it and make its garrison flee. While withdrawing to the comrades, Frenchmen drew their swords and an unthinkable bloodshed followed. Cheered up by his victory, he had started to



follow them but didn't see clearly because of the smoke from the burning castle; his five thousand squad was soon stabbed to death. The tide of battle was on Bonaparte's side as one of enemy's officer confided: *"We were in danger. Each minute was making our staying in battle more and more uncertain."*⁵³

Nearly winning, Ney requested some of the Imperial guard men, but Napoleon refused. The Emperor had been waiting till the right time would come, but it didn't. The defeat was almost sure when Prussians appeared on the right wing after 4 pm. Friedrich von Bülow with Hans von Zieten had 30 thousand men that were outnumbering the 10 thousand Frenchmen. Only then Napoleon had decided to march on them and join in – but without support from auxiliary forces, cavalrymen, artillery and firepower it was a futile march.

Wellington's two acts marked Bonaparte's final defeat. After Frenchmen reached the Duke's central position, Wellington shouted: *"Now, Maitland, now it's your time!"*⁵⁴ An unexpected row of British rifles had suddenly appeared from behind ryes and ridges and began to fire with unforeseen steadiness and swiftness. Hundreds of men had immediately fallen and rest fled into the hollow where they were joined by the second part of the army being killed by British cavalry. Wellington had then taken off his embellished hat and ordered his whole mass of army to attack at once. Cries *"All is lost! The Guard is defeated!"*⁵⁵ meant that Frenchmen fled to all sides and the Emperor quickly retreated to the south.

Fouché's Reign

It was night already and Frenchmen had been still pursued by Prussians until French borders, many men were taken hostage altogether with cannons. Many Frenchmen were only cut and left bleeding to death. An overall statistics say that 67 thousand of French men died while Blücher lost 30 thousand Prussians and Wellington 23 thousand soldiers.

One hour after midnight Napoleon had reached Quatre Bras and send a letter to his brother Joseph: *"Not all is lost. I estimate that I could call one hundred and fifty thousands men into arms. The National guard*

⁵³ COOTE, pp. 239–240.

⁵⁴ BROWNING, p. 270; GUEDALLA, p. 98.

⁵⁵ DUMAINE, p. 297.

consists of another one hundred thousands men, the reserve army about fifty thousands.”⁵⁶ He only needed a new Chamber of Representatives to approve that. However, he could have not relied on them, for it was inclining to republicanism under Fouché who has been from the very beginning thinking about becoming a First man of France.

Right after crossing French borders, Bonaparte’s supporters were either imprisoned or mauled. They had been prosecuted, their cattle and properties were confiscated, immovable properties were torn down. Napoleon had at that time only 8,600 men available plus those of Grouchy. We cannot say the Marshal didn’t listen to Emperor’s orders; he was battling with von Thielmann at Wavre and was engaged there. The despatch he got read that “*la bataille est engage*” which means that the battle has begun. Nevertheless, Grouchy read that “*la bataille est gagnée*” which means that the battle is won.⁵⁷ The despatch was written with a pencil and the soaked paper from the day before made the difference.

The return of Louis XVIII was once again being discussed. Castle-reagh had received a letter on 22nd June which stated a possible returning of the king, and that ministers Fouché and Carnot have come with an idea on a republican government. Even further, Fouché had issued two documents about “*a horrible state of affairs in France*” and impudently recommended himself to be the head of the new government so he could correct those affairs!

Bonaparte had returned on the morning of 21st and found out that his power was transferred to the Chamber of Representatives which declared that “*any attempts to interrupt its session would be regarded as a criminal act of high treason*”.⁵⁸ The pressure from all sides and the impossibility to turn the tables prompted him to write down a second unconditional abdication: “*My political life has ended. I designate my son, who would be using a title Napoleon II, as the Emperor of the French*.”⁵⁹ The Regent government of five people had to reign in Napoleon II’s name, Fouché was appointed as its head. The Government had been soon overseeing people, was immediately imprisoning those who were in

⁵⁶ JOHNSTON, p. 461.

⁵⁷ BROWNING, p. 275.

⁵⁸ *Le Moniteur*, p. 711.

⁵⁹ DUMAINE, p. 300.

touch with the enemy, supported civil riots and participated in desertions so the change needed to come very quickly.

Fouché's reign lasted since 23rd June till 8th July 1815. Once Prussians entered France on 21st June and pillaged the north of the country, Britons arrived on 23rd June, Russians were in Reims and Austrians appeared near Lyon,⁶⁰ Fouché coerced Napoleon to leave Paris. The erstwhile Emperor had moved to Malmaison, then to Rochefort and a threat of a civil uprising was soon trampled because Fouché had called National guard to arms to (for effect) defend Paris. On 3rd July the Allies and French ministers made an agreement at Saint-Cloud in which they agreed on a military neutrality and sent French troops to the south.

Five days later, Louis XVIII had arrived in the capital, deprived Fouché of his powers and named Talleyrand as the head of a new Royalistic government. After 8th July, when the Parisian prefect Gaspard de Chabrol had welcomed the King in Paris after "*the perilous Hunder days*", the white terror broke out – officers were blamed for cooperating with Napoleon, two of them were murdered. The list of proscribed was created by the King himself and many have left the country.

Napoleon had reach Rochefort on 3rd July and was apparently thinking about fleeing again. But where? There was no place he could go. He could have used the troops that were marching to the south, but even with some Marshals he could have not turned the tide. Italy was under Austria's rule, the east Europe was in the Czar's hands, the United States were too far. The Great Britain remained.

The Islands had sent their captain Maitland on a ship *Bellerophon* to guard Napoleon until the representants found a solution. Bonaparte even wrote to the Prince-Regent a letter in which he "*is terminating his political life for certain. Powers are dividing my country. I am placing myself under the protection of the British laws of His Royal Highness as the wisest, stablest and the most generous enemy*".⁶¹ The former Emperor surely wasn't sincere and vision of Bonaparte finally standing on the British soil could have easily started a civil uprising which could have again deprive Louis of his throne. The Allies wouldn't allow that – 18th July was Napoleon's last day on the continent. A vessel *Épervier* had trans-

⁶⁰ The number of the Allies' troops was reaching nearly half a million soldiers. COOTE, p. 261.

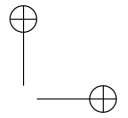
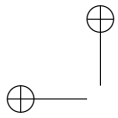
⁶¹ GOLDSMITH, p. 353.

ported him on the board of *Bellerophon* which took him on the Islands. There was decided that Bonaparte would be on 7th August conveyed on the island of Saint Helene in the South Atlantic Ocean. Napoleon Bonaparte had landed on the island on 17th October and every symbol of his reign has already been destroyed – Murat was executed on 13th October in Calabria because of an unsuccessful coup attempt and Ney was murdered due to the White terror on 7th December 1815.

The whole adventurous journey had come to a bitter end. Once defeated at Leipzig, Napoleon must have known there would be no option but to give up. Although he had experienced partial victories in January and February 1814, he must have acquiesced to the Allies' proposals and was deposed. Both sides had accepted articles of the Treaty of Fontainebleau however neither one was fulfilling them – a part of Bonaparte's family still ruled Italy, the French King refused to pay an annual income and Austria with the Great Britain declined to call Napoleon an Emperor. There was a third side of "outsiders" such as the Czar Alexander I who appropriated an honour to be the head of the Allies and the French negotiator Charles Talleyrand who had stood against the Allies and replaced Russia.

Mutual conflicts have almost led to war at the end of the year if it weren't Napoleon who would have once more stirred the calm Europe by his escape from the island of Elba in late February 1815. There was no option though – if he had stayed longer, he would have been transported to even more distant place and could have not influenced situation in Europe from whence he was receiving informations about the Allies' discrepancies. If he had fled later than he did, he would have been caught by attending representants' armies and surely would have been sent into another exile – if not sent to death. He had fled just in time when Alexander was nearly declaring war while Talleyrand was making secret alliance with Austria and the Great Britain and was unknowingly helping Napoleon escape.

The most surprising was Bonaparte's swift and non-violent march to Paris. The mobilisation and recruiting were however drawing his power and the war that was inevitable would have decide whether he deserves to be the Emperor once more or to be condemned and forgotten forever. The confused battle of Waterloo on 18th June 1815 had sealed his fate and sent him to the island of Saint Helena where he soon – but already too late – searched his confidence. This is how



ingloriously ended a Napoleonic period which has changed the usual order and left Europe with deep wounds that had changed its form and made irreversible transformations.

