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Enemy behind the Gates: The Occupation of Central European Cities during the Thirty Years' War

Jan Kilián*

The present study aims to briefly discuss the basic aspects of the occupation of Central European cities by enemy troops, based on a comparison of the course of military stays. The findings will be based on the author's research of both recent literature and archival sources in the Czech lands, including Silesia, Germany (especially Upper Palatinate, Bavaria, and the north of the country) and Austria.

[Thirty Years' War; City History; Occupation; Military; Townspeople]

On the Issue. Europe and Bohemia

From ancient history all the way to the present day, cities have always quartered soldiers. Likewise, they were and still are regularly occupied by enemy forces, either because of the aggressor's claims to them and their adjacent territories, or for their strategic importance. Even Czech scientific and popularizing literature has always pushed the picture of cities being ransacked by enemy armies during the Thirty Years' War,¹ especially because they often settled here for months or even years. If a location that stood along the path of the invader's conquest did not fit

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¹ A general look at the Thirty Years' War in Czech historiography J. POLIŠENSKÝ, *Tricetiletá válka a český národ*, Praha 1960 or, more recently, R. FUKALA, *Tricetiletá válka 1618–1648 I–II*, České Budějovice 2018. Abroad, and especially in Germany, works about this war are innumerable, so I highlight here only the latest ones: G. SCHMIDT, *Die Reiter der Apokalypse. Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, München 2018; J. BURKHARDT, *Der Krieg der Kriege. Eine neue Geschichte des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, Stuttgart 2018 or H. MEDICK, *Der Dreißigjährige Krieg. Zeugnisse vom Leben mit Gewalt*, Göttingen 2018. See also Peter H. WILSON, *Europe's Tragedy. The History of the Thirty Years War*, London 2010.

into their long-term plans, they moved on relatively quickly. This was usually preceded by some amount of resistance and subsequent plundering, or “only” paying a protection fee. Sometimes the invaders also agreed to leave on the condition that they would collect a regular tax to feed their army. Additionally, cities also housed domestic and allied soldiers, usually for their defence. It is well documented that even friendly soldiers caused considerable havoc in cities where they were stationed and did not shy away from robbery, theft, murder, and rape. While I myself do not agree with claims that civilians sometimes saw little difference between enemy and friendly troops (though I also do not deny the possibility that that was sometimes the case), it would not be unreasonable to question if there was really a difference between when a city housed an occupying force and when it housed those who were supposed to protect it. It is difficult to imagine that an enemy army would systematically pillage a city that they plan to inhabit for an extended time. After all, the damage done to its economy and populace would hardly be worth it in the long term. In the following text, I will focus on the issues of the wider Central European area using select cities as examples to formulate more general theses that could be further discussed in historiographical discourse.

It should be noted at the outset that the Thirty Years’ War was by no means thirty straight years of constant fighting. It consisted of several phases of varying intensity and scale, with some areas being hit very hard demographically and economically, while others were less or not at all. For example, the authors of a book on the city of Hamburg aptly called “War Just Beyond the Gates” because the vital northern German port city remained just out of reach of the fighting and actually prospered during the war years.² Other cities, due either to their strong fortifications and garrisons (f.e. the Bavarian city of Ingolstadt³) or the determined resistance of its defenders (the famous defence of Brno⁴), never suffered occupation. In contrast, Magdeburg serves as an example of a city that was conquered and pillaged by enemy armies more than once and suffered

² M. KNAUER, S. TODE (eds.), *Der Krieg vor den Toren. Hamburg im Dreißigjährigen Krieg 1618–1648*, Hamburg 2000.

³ T. SCHÖNAUER, *Ingolstadt in der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Soziale und wirtschaftliche Aspekte der Stadtgeschichte*, Ingolstadt 2007.

⁴ Specifically about the defence of Brno: B. BRETHOLZ, *Der Vertheidigungskampf der Stadt Brünn gegen die Schweden*, Brünn 1895; F. ŠUJAN, *Švédové u Brna roku 1645*, Brno 1898 or more recently P. BALCÁREK, *Brno versus Olomouc. Pod Špilberkem proti Švédům*, Brno 1993.

greatly during the war. Particularly the Sack of Magdeburg in 1631 by the Catholic League is indelibly written into history. Thousands of dead and a pile of ash and rubble where once stood a thriving city were all that remained to serve as a symbol of the senseless violence of the Thirty Years' War.⁵ This event also gave us a new word to describe the total devastation of a city: *magdeburgisation*.

Czech cities were far from exempt, after all, it was in Bohemia that the war began, and along its southern borders were where the first occupations of fortified cities occurred. Bohemian revolutionary assaults on Austrian border cities were later followed by conquests of towns on the Czech side by the imperial forces led by the Count of Buquoy and his famous Spanish officers (Marradas, Huerta). The West Bohemian Catholic bastion of Pilsen was also defeated after its inhabitants refused to join the uprising and were conquered by mercenaries led by Peter Ernst of Mansfeld, with the help of other territorial armies.⁶ The Mansfeld garrisons remained in several places even after the Battle of White Mountain, but I would be reluctant to call their pacification by imperial troops an occupation. This stands in contrast to towns in Upper and Rhine Palatinate, where the fighting moved from Bohemia and where Heidelberg, the seat of Friedrich of Palatinate, was also conquered and occupied. The cities of Friedrich's allies turned out no different. Another period of fighting started with the intervention of Christian IV of Denmark, who managed to penetrate not only deep into northern Germany, but also Silesia, where his and his allies' armies occupied a number of cities.⁷ The Danish never managed to hold Silesian and imperial cities for long however, as they were interrupted by the intervention of a bolstered imperial army under the command of Albrecht of Wallenstein. The Habsburgs' other Nordic rival, Sweden, presented a much bigger threat though – from 1630 onwards, Swedish armies gradually flooded Germany and made their way into Bohemia and Austria, where they occupied important cities and fortresses for many years. Olomouc, in Moravia, was held by the Swedes for eight years

⁵ M. PUHLE (Hg.), „...gantz verheeret!“ *Magdeburg und der Dreissigjährige Krieg*, Magdeburg 1998.

⁶ Most recently: J. KILIÁN, *Dobytí Plzně 1618*, České Budějovice 2018.

⁷ On the Danish invasion V. MIŠAGA, *Dánský vpád do Slezska a na Moravu. Souvislosti a průběh roku 1626*, in: *Časopis Národního muzea – řada historická*, 177, 1–2, 2008, pp. 55–103 and R. FUKALA, *Dánský vpád do Slezska a rozklad opavské stavovské společnosti. Památce univerzitního profesora PhDr. Josefa Polišínského, DrSc.*, in: *Slezský sborník*, 99, 2, 2001, pp. 81–94.

(1642–1650), even after the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia. Some Pomeranian towns were much worse off, as their occupying garrisons only left almost a century after annexation, with Szczecin being held from 1630 to 1720 (since 1648 as a part of Sweden).

After Sweden's failures at the Battle of Nördlingen in 1634 and the Peace of Prague in 1635, France joined them as an ally, but paid for its initial unpreparedness by being forced to repel the enemy invaders from its own territory and having to recapture cities conquered by the Habsburgs and their allies.⁸ The same fate awaited many cities in southern Germany after the consolidation of their armed forces and the transition to a counterattack in conjunction with the famous warlord, the Duke Bernard of Saxony-Weimar.⁹ Czech lands were invaded by even before the Swedes by the Saxons, who were until then allies of the Habsburgs. From 1631 to 1632 they occupied the entire northwest of the kingdom and the capital city of Prague without much opposition.¹⁰ Before the war ended, the Swedes, whose stay in Bohemian and Moravian cities was mostly short-term (with the exception of fortresses in northern Moravia, Olomouc and Uničov, among others) and in the Czech-Saxon-Lusatian borderland (Cheb and Frýdlant¹¹), managed to reach the left-bank part of Prague. Swedish garrisons remained here until the conclusion of the Nuremberg Assembly in 1650, where a satisfactory agreement was finally reached.¹²

⁸ See R. REBITSCH, *Matyáš Gallas (1588–1647). Císařský generál a Valdštejnův „dědic“*, Praha 2014, especially pages 42–51. Gallas was the commander in chief of the imperial campaign in France. The French were most terrified by General John of Werth with his bold ventures, during which he even appeared close to Paris. His biography: H. LAHRKAMP, *Jan von Werth. Sein Leben nach archivalischen Quellenzeugnissen*, Köln am Rhein 1962.

⁹ Compare T. WOLF, *Reichsstädte in Kriegszeiten. Untersuchungen zur Verfassungs-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte von Isny, Lindau, Memmingen und Ravensburg im 17. Jahrhundert*, Memmingen 1991.

¹⁰ Monography on the Saxon invasion: A. REZEK, *Dějiny saského vpádu do Čech 1631–1632 a návrat emigrace*, Praha 1888. More recently M. TOEGEL, *Příčiny saského vpádu do Čech v roce 1631*, in: *Československý časopis historický*, 21 (71), 4, 1973, pp. 553–581 and O. KORTUS, *Praha za saského vpádu v letech 1631 a 1632*, in: *Pražský sborník historický*, 36, 2008, pp. 105–183.

¹¹ On the occupation of Frýdlant: M. SVOBODA, *Švédská okupace Frýdlantu roku 1639*, in: M. ELBEL – M. TOGNER (uspoř.), *Historická Olomouc*, sv. 13 (=Konec švédské okupace a poválečná obnova ve 2. polovině 17. století), 2002, pp. 53–67.

¹² See A. OSCHMANN, *Der Nürnberger Exekutionstag 1649–1650. Das Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges in Deutschland*, Münster 1991.

A Comparison and Starting Point

A unique monography by Anja Rieck provides an invaluable description of urban life in Frankfurt am Main during occupation in the Thirty Years' War, and its findings can be further developed and compared. The occupation of this important imperial coronation city by the Swedish army lasted for four years, from 1631 to 1635. The majority of Frankfurters were Lutherans and actually welcomed the Swedes, so to what extent it can be called an occupation is a point of contention, especially after Frankfurt voluntarily accepted the Swedes following negotiations. Later, the city even joined their side, despite initially wanting to remain neutral. Fearing a change of mind, Gustav II Adolf assured the emperor that Frankfurt's decision was not a result of Swedish threats. To protect his reputation as an ally to German Protestants, he went as far as to tolerate some violent resistance from locals. This also served the purpose helping to make the city a power base for his ambitions for the imperial throne. Because of this, he was very accommodating of the city and its rights and freedoms. In the end however, Frankfurters were disappointed by the Sweden's high financial demands, attempts to confiscate the property of the Catholics and the indiscipline of the soldiers from the garrison. In January 1632, the Swedish Chancellor Oxenstierna came here and remained until 1635. He initiated the founding of the anti-Habsburg Heilbronn Association (1633), which chose Frankfurt as its residence. However, after the Battle of Nördlingen a year later, the city's residents became disillusioned, and Frankfurt switched back to the imperial side after the Peace of Prague (1635). They only managed this after the strong Swedish garrison voluntarily left, following a confrontation. In her study, Anja Rieck describes the difficult coexistence of Frankfurt citizens with Swedish soldiers who demanded not only plenty of food, but also alcohol and tobacco, putting a great strain on the already somewhat destitute populace. In addition, soldiers often behaved brutally. There were instances of landlords being kicked out of their own beds and houses, as well as numerous counts of sexual violence and religious clashes. While the city did have its own soldiers, they were subordinate to the Swedes. When it came to repairing the fortifications, everyone was obligated to help, and while the villagers from the area could not avoid this, the rich could just send labourers in their stead. The richest patricians did not lose weight even then, the lower classes did. Some local merchants were in very close contact with the Swedes: they became their court suppliers. And there were those who tried to make money on the soldiers and sold them the required goods very expensive.¹³

In the following text, we will focus on three basic areas. First, for what reasons and under what circumstances the soldiers entered the cities. Secondly, what denominational changes and clashes in the cities took place in the event of the enemy occupation. Thirdly, how the stay of military units changed the everyday life of cities and their inhabitants.

Soldiers in the Cities

Enemy forces entered cities in two major ways – following a battle, or in accordance with some prior agreement and under pre-arranged conditions. The second option became more common and far more welcome on both sides during the Thirty Years' War as time went on and exhaustion among armies grew. Potential loot in repeatedly looted cities could hardly make up for further losses in manpower, and that is without even taking to account the physical, logistical and time demands of such an endeavour. To prevent unnecessary bloodshed, cities let enemy soldiers in, paid the high protection charges (which went down significantly as the war went on), paid taxes and tried to find some *modus vivendi* and *cooperandi* with residing foreign soldiers and officers.¹⁴ Cities that refused to cooperate paid dearly for their resistance, and served as an effective measure to subdue others. The fact of the matter is, however, that it was not always up to the actual council of the city or municipality in question, but rather the leadership of the manorial garrison, or even the local sovereign himself.

If a city did have to take up arms in defence, its people could expect violent retribution from the invaders. Especially in the case of an unconditional surrender following a military defeat, a certain degree of violence was to be tolerated, even expected as par for the course in such a war. German historian Ralf Pröve describes in his works the terms “*violentia*” (intolerable violence) and “*potestas*”, the latter of which represents what is described above.¹⁵ The conquered city could be handed over to the soldiers to sack as they pleased, and what the rest of its fate would be depended on what the enemy commanding officer's plans were. If he did

¹³ A. RIECK, *Frankfurt am Main unter schwedischer Besatzung 1631–1635. Reichsstadt – Repräsentationsort – Bündnisfestung*, Bern, Frankfurt am Main 2005.

¹⁴ M. ĎURČANSKÝ, *Česká města a jejich správa za třicetileté války. Zemský a lokální kontext*, Praha 2013, p. 180.

¹⁵ R. PRÖVE, *Violentia und Potestas. Perzeptionsprobleme von Gewalt in Söldnertagebüchern des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: M. MEUMANN – D. NIEFANGER (eds.), *Ein Schauplatz herber Angst. Wahrnehmung und Darstellung von Gewalt im 17. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1997, pp. 4–42.

not expect its longer occupation and use, he had no real reason to keep his soldiers in check, quite the contrary – it would help with ongoing problems there were with paying the soldiers their regular wages. Enraged by the fighting, injuries, and casualties among their own comrades, longing for loot, they unleashed hell upon the conquered city in the following hours or days. They did not shy away from murder, rape, torture, mutilation, burning, looting houses, destruction of property (furniture, windows, doors) and robbing civilians, taking their clothes (sometimes right on the street), stealing cattle and anything that was valuable and wasn't bolted down. Church tabernacles and town halls or other public buildings were in no way exempt, paper from city books and deeds could serve various other purposes. The more opulent city buildings were often reserved for the commanders of the siege divisions. The Palace of the Dukes of Gonzaga in Mantua for example is famous the loot acquired during its sacking by generals Johann Aldringen and Matthias Gallas.¹⁶ In any case, while material losses could be healed or mourned, the really worst losses to cities were demographic in nature, be it inhabitants dying during the siege, or fleeing and never returning. In the aforementioned Sack of Magdeburg, up to twenty thousand people supposedly died at the hands of the invaders or perished in the subsequent fires (1631).¹⁷ In the Czech lands, Nymburk only fully recovered from the being laid waste to in 1634 long after the war,¹⁸ Písek suffered through mass murder as early as during the uprising in 1620, starving Augsburg supposedly experienced instances of anthropophagy,¹⁹ and a high percentage of the residents of Bautzen burned and suffocated to death after the town was deliberately engulfed in flames.²⁰

¹⁶ Testimonies from biographers: H. HALLWICH, *Johann Aldringen. Ein Bruchstück aus seinem Leben als Beitrag zur Geschichte Wallenstein's*, Leipzig 1885 and R. REBITSCH, *Matyáš Gallas (1588–1647). Císařský generál a Valdštejnův „dědic“*, Praha 2014.

¹⁷ See note 5 and onwards: M. KAISER, „Excidium Magdeburgense“. Beobachtungen zur Wahrnehmung und Darstellung von Gewalt im Dreißigjährigen Krieg, in: M. MEUMANN – D. NIEFANGER (eds.), *Ein Schauplatz herber Angst. Wahrnehmung und Darstellung von Gewalt im 17. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1997, pp. 43–64.

¹⁸ O. ODLOŽILÍK, *Zkáza Nymburka za třicetileté války*, Nymburk 1934.

¹⁹ B. ROECK, „Als wollt die Welt schier brechen“. Eine Stadt im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges, München 1991, pp. 271–279. Here, Roeck very graphically depicts the famine in the besieged city and resulting deaths.

²⁰ J. ZEIDLER, *Tabera Budissinae. Budissinische Brandstelle. Das ist: Was vor, in und nach der erbärmlichen ruin und einäscherung der Alten Volckreichen und Nahrhafftigen Hauptstadt Budissin vorgangen*, Dresden 1634.

The list of such events goes on and on, but what we are primarily interested in are situations where the city was spared from the worst extempore acts and conquered with occupation in mind. West Bohemian Pilsen at the end of 1618 serves as a particularly illustrative example. It was a catholic city that, while under siege by forces led by Peter Ernst, count of Mansfeld, openly taunted its enemies and inflicted significant casualties upon its attackers. It could afford to keep this up both because of its supposedly impenetrable walls and because there was still hope of Habsburg forces coming to its aid. It would come as no surprise if the general, after breaking through the walls, let his soldiers loose on Pilsen to do as they pleased. Mansfeld however had other plans for the West Bohemian metropolis, namely, to support power and serve as a strategic base on the route between Prague and German lands, and thus strictly forbade his men from violence in Pilsen. He quickly had collateral damage repaired and even improved the city's fortifications, so much so that two years later, during its march on Prague, even the Imperial-League army was reluctant to attack Pilsen, and rather to negotiated with Mansfeld. His garrison then remained here for several months after the Battle of White Mountain.²¹ The way his forces further fortified the occupied city was a logical move – they did so for their own protection. For the locals, however, this often meant an obligation to participate in the fortification work as a part-time cheap labour force. When the people of Sulzbach were called on to take part in the construction of palisades in front of the gates sometime around 1636, they proudly replied that they had their privileges and would not be forced to do such work.²² On the other hand, the same demands could, of course, be made (and regularly were) by their government and its military commanders.

To have a city spared, the occupying forces had to be paid large sums of money. The northern German city of Hildesheim had to bankroll various officers during the war but paid the most to Gottfried Heinrich of Pappenheim after his occupation of the city in 1632. The Imperial Marshal originally demanded 200,000 gold coins but was in the end satisfied with only a quarter of that sum, which was a common occurrence.²³

²¹ KILIÁN, pp. 53–60.

²² A. RANK, *Sulzbach im Zeichen der Gegenreformation (1627–1649). Verlauf und Fazit, einer beschwerlichen Jesuitenmission*, Sulzbach, Rosenberg 2003, p. 90.

²³ CH. PLATH, *Konfessionskampf und fremde Besatzung. Stadt und Hochstift Hildesheim im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation und des Dreißigjährigen Krieges (ca. 1580–1660)*, Münster 2005, p. 494.

Another way to get money from an occupied city was the capture and kidnapping of citizens and demanding a ransom for their release.²⁴ Councillors and clergy made for great targets, exemplified by the case of the catholic dean of Cham, who fell into Swedish captivity repeatedly, allegedly had to pay himself out of his predicament with an unbelievable sum of 30,000 gold coins.²⁵ The clergy from Altdorf were also abducted, as well as Mittner, the dean of Neumarkt, who nevertheless did manage to escape from captivity. At the very end of the war, four townspeople were abducted from Nabburg to Weiden by the Swedes as a way to enforce a protection tax.²⁶ The wife of an Altdorf schoolmaster was abducted by Croatian soldiers from Altdorf to Neumarkt and released after paying ten tolars in ransom.²⁷ In January 1633, General Gronsfeld imprisoned several Hildesheim councillors to demand 25,000 gold coins from the city, but the councillors were released a few days later when an agreement was reached for a smaller sum. This situation repeated itself a year later, when the imperial commissioner abducted eighteen Hildesheim burghers and imprisoned them in the city of Hameln, as well as forcing them to renounce their allegiance to the Swedes. They were abducted in a wagon that was used to transport manure, among other humiliating acts and only returned home after more than half a year.²⁸ Three burghers were taken by the Swedes from the Silesian city of Głubczyce in 1642, including Mayor Konrad Erb of Ehrenberg, after the city could only pay 6,000 tolars of the required 9,000. Although the mayor managed to beg his way to freedom, the other two men remained captive and were taken to Frankfurt an der Oder, where they were to wait for the remaining money to be paid to the Swedes. One of them died during the captivity and the other finally managed to escape after thirty-nine weeks of captivity.²⁹ In 1633, the Oleśnica-Bierutów prince turned to the Saxon commander Franz Albrecht of Saxony-Lauenburg with a request for the release of the captured mayor and councillors from Kluczbork. In his second request,

²⁴ DŮRČANSKÝ, pp. 125–126. Additionally, this slightly outdated article: J. ŠTĚPÁNEK, *Měšťané litomyšlské v zajetí švédském*, in: *Časopis Českého musea*, 68, 1894, pp. 118–135.

²⁵ J. BRUNNER, *Geschichte der Stadt Cham*, Cham 1919, p. 91.

²⁶ E. DAUSCH, *Nabburg, Geschichte, Geschichten und Sehenswürdigkeiten einer über 1000 Jahre alten Stadt*, Regensburg 1998, pp. 224–225.

²⁷ K. RIED, *Neumarkt in der Oberpfalz. Eine quellenmäßige Geschichte der Stadt Neumarkt*, Neumarkt in der Oberpfalz 1960, pp. 78, 83, 84.

²⁸ PLATH, pp. 464–465.

²⁹ K. MALER, *Dzieje Głubczyc do 1742*, Opole 2003, pp. 157–158.

he stated that not only was he not satisfied, but on the contrary, their prison conditions were worsened to force them to pay a protection tax.³⁰

Another thing to consider is the torture of residents who did not want to reveal the hiding places of their valuables, but again this was more in cases where the enemy only plundered the city without occupying them more permanently. Swedish soldiers were infamously inventive in this endeavour, pioneering practices such as tightening ropes around people's heads and forcibly pouring "Swedish Drink" (sewage combined with other waste) into their throats. In the autumn of 1645, in an effort to enforce a large payment from the town of Glubczyce, Swedish General Königsmarck had the merchant Adam Pusch seated in front of the local town hall on a wooden horse with a very sharp back for seven hours.³¹ In Kötzing, the Swedes supposedly tied one burgher between two planks and cut him in half with a saw like a tree.³²

The military garrisons of many occupied cities subsequently became a menace to the entire wider area in which they demanded payment for their provision under the threat of execution by fire and sword. Few took such threats lightly, although contributions could not always meet the demands. In the 1640s, garrisons were a plague to Moravian (Olomouc, Uničov, etc.) and West Bohemian cities (Cheb, Horšovský Týn, etc.), but also Annaberg, Saxony, whose area of interest also included the Bohemian Ore Mountains. Those areas were later also harassed by the strong Swedish garrison in castle of Hněvín in Most, which was responsible for many violent actions in pursuit of tax enforcement and intimidation, including burning villages, towns, and castles. It was no wonder that the castle in Most was on top of the list of fortresses to be demolished for safety reasons after the war.³³

Soldiers, Burghers, and Faith

A very significant change in the occupied city concerned religious conditions. In the later stages of the war, although sometimes Catholic

³⁰ Archiwum państwowe Opole, Akta miasta Kluczborka, no. 1598 – Letter from Prince Henry Wenceslas of Minsterberg to Duke Franz Albrecht of Saxony-Lauenburg concerning the captured mayor and councilors from Klucbork, September 5, 1633 (draft).

³¹ MALER, pp. 157–158.

³² BRUNNER, pp. 91–92.

³³ J. KILIÁN, Die nordböhmischen Festungen zur Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges in narrativen Quellen, in: *Die Festung der Neuzeit in historischen Quellen* (= Festungsforschung, Bd. 9), Regensburg 2018, pp. 117–131.

armies occupied Catholic cities (including French ones by the combined Imperial-League-Spanish armies and Bavarian cities by French armies), more often the occupiers were of different faiths than the locals. For this reason, they expelled their ideological rivals (pastors, priests, teachers), unless they managed to flee to safety on their own. Both the Saxons and the Swedes purposefully persecuted Catholic clergy and abducted them for ransom. The parish priest Schemelius from the town of Chabařovice in the foothills of the Ore Mountains managed to escape with his valuables but was murdered by the inhabitants of a nearby village out of robbery motives.³⁴ In addition, captured clergy were usually the target of public ridicule and humiliation. The old Dean of Rokycany had a mitre put on his head by Swedish soldiers, was mounted on a horse and paraded around the city. There was also the local chaplain, who was murdered by Swedish soldiers despite being helpless and ill.³⁵ When a priest did decide to escape, it was often adventurous and dangerous. In Sulzbach, Upper Palatinate, after the surrender of the city, the Bavarian occupiers tried to arrest Pastor Braun, who left us his written testimony. According to Braun, the soldiers arrived in Sulzbach from Amberg, encircled his house, armed with rifles and prepared to fire. His wife and two daughters were very frightened, the house was searched, but when Braun, who had fled to safety in time, was not found by the soldiers, they just left.³⁶ Worse off were the Jesuits, who could not expect much mercy from the Lutheran and Calvinist hordes. In Hildesheim, northern Germany, where they had been since the end of the 16th century, they had for long been a thorn in the side of local Lutheran townspeople, so when the Hildesheim imperial garrison capitulated in 1634, the Jesuits were exiled.³⁷

Abandoned churches and sacred buildings of non-believers were desecrated by soldiers, or at least used for different purposes. In the autumn of 1618, the revolutionaries, under the command of Count Heinrich Schlick, settled in Zwettl in Lower Austria after a short battle with their garrison and armed townspeople. Since there was no fortress in the city, they created their own by fortifying the building of the rectory. Even better fortified was the local monastery, several kilometres outside of the

³⁴ J. KILIÁN, Vražda chabařovického faráře Schemelia, in: *Ústecký sborník historický*, 1–2, 2012, pp. 7–21.

³⁵ H. HRACHOVÁ (ed.), *Rokycany*, Praha 2011, pp. 83–84.

³⁶ A. ECKERT (ed.), *Nordgauchronik von Johannes Braun, Pastor und Superintendent zu Bayreuth. Anno 1648. Pfalzgraf Christian August gewidmet*, Amberg 1993, pp. 343–345.

³⁷ PLATH, p. 146.

city, even more abundantly. They equipped it with cannons and a whole infantry battalion. In contrast, the parish Catholic church in the city was converted into a slaughterhouse and stables for cattle. This was to last for a full seven months, until the imperial commander Henry Duval de Dampierre appeared in Zwettl and forced them to surrender.³⁸ The way invaders turned church buildings into stables and barns is referenced in many contemporary texts.

Clergy then came to or returned to cities that were occupied by armies that shared their faith. Under their protection, they could work here freely – they baptized, married, anointed, and buried. Their services were also sought after by until recently religiously oppressed locals. A particularly large number of expelled non-Catholic priests came to Prague and the cities of the Bohemian Northwest during the Saxon invasion in 1631–1632, but they came episodically, in waves.³⁹ In Prague, returning exiles, in cooperation with non-Catholic priests, buried the heads of the executed revolutionary leaders, so thoroughly in fact that they have not been unearthed to this day. Michel Stüeler, an author of memoirs from Krupka in North Bohemia, describes the case of Christian Troschel, a Lutheran priest who was the deputy pastor of Krupka in the pre-White Mountain period, who had to go into exile beyond the nearby border in 1624 and returned a few years later thanks to the Saxons. The locals, still resistant to re-Catholicization, gave him a warm welcome.⁴⁰ Banning the preaching of non-Catholic clergy in the Bohemian part of the Ore Mountains and Lutherans in general was an impossible task. A similar situation happened when non-Catholic priests arrived in Silesia and northern Moravia during the Danish invasion, or in Palatinate towns after Swedish incursions. Non-Catholic services also became an integral part of everyday life in Moravian towns that found themselves more permanently under the rule of their Swedish garrisons in the 1640s, such as Olomouc.⁴¹

³⁸ D. GRETZEL, *Die landesfürstliche Stadt Zwettl im Dreißigjährigen Krieg*, Zwettl 2004, pp. 21–24.

³⁹ O. KORTUS, Praha za saského vpádu v letech 1631 a 1632, in: *Pražský sborník historický*, 36, 2008, pp. 105–183.

⁴⁰ J. KILIÁN (ed.), *Paměti krupského měšťana, Michela Stüelera (1629–1649)*, Teplice, Dolní Břežany 2013, p. 185.

⁴¹ On the occupation of Olomouc, most recently J. HOFMAN, Mezi mlýnskými kameny – městská rada jako prostředník mezi olomouckou obcí a švédskou armádou (1642–1650), in: *Historica Olomucensia*, 45, 2013, pp. 63–83.

In connection with the occupation, the composition of city councils also changed routinely, if the city was occupied by non-Catholics, catholic councillors often had to leave, and vice versa. While this was the norm, there were also notable exceptions. When the Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, along with the Swedes, occupied Hildesheim in 1634 and immediately ordered the expulsion of Catholics from the town council, a wave of protest arose from among the councillors, even though they were mostly Lutherans. They resented the duke's interference in town affairs and disobeyed his orders.⁴² In the Bohemian royal town of Slaný, returning emigrants, led by the city's former councillor, Václav Pelargus, who had worked his way up to high positions within the Saxon occupation administration, played an important role during the Saxon invasion. At the same time, many of his former neighbours tried to benefit from his position.⁴³

One more brief observation – Jewish diasporas were waged in various ways in the occupied cities, and they served as a significant source of funds for both sides, while at the same time, soldiers liked to sell stolen goods to Jews. This led to some interesting contrasts. For example, the Jews of Hildesheim complained about the immense burden on them, one that led to the impoverishment and shrinking of the local Jewish community,⁴⁴ while their colleagues in Frankfurt, a local rabbi wrote, openly admitted that they had actually fared much better than Christians.⁴⁵

Social Life and Business

It is inconceivable that social life and business in the occupied city could completely subside, that locals would practically stop leaving their homes, or that if they did, they would completely avoid the occupiers. The reality was quite different. Residents came into contact with the soldiers on a daily basis, not only as part of their duty to accommodate them, but sometimes even amicably. They traded with each other, and townspeople were able to obtain valuable goods of questionable origin, but at attractive prices.⁴⁶ Some craftsmen even prospered, as can be seen

⁴² PLATH, p. 297.

⁴³ J. KADERÁBEK, *Nerovný boj o víru. Páni z Martinic a rekatolizace města Slaný (1600–1665)*, Praha 2018, pp. 121–122.

⁴⁴ PLATH, pp. 541–545.

⁴⁵ RIECK, pp. 215–217.

⁴⁶ Stüeler, a burgher from Krupka, noticed that his neighbor Gorge Janich had bought a large amount of stolen goods and made a considerable fortune of them. KILIÁN (ed.), *Paměti*, p. 433.

in the example of Frankfurt. In the Hanseatic port of Wismar, bakeries supplying the garrison profited greatly from the beginning of the Swedish occupation in January 1632,⁴⁷ when the city's commander Caspar of Gramb handed over the city without a fight due to lack of food.⁴⁸ The soldiers became comrades to the townspeople at their evening entertainment, though joint games and drinking often resulted in conflict. Many occupying soldiers also took a liking to the burghers' daughters and either left the city with them or negotiated their release from the army, settled in the town and made a living there (some of them were skilled craftsmen). These mutual relations are best evidenced by registry records, which prove the presence of soldiers, often junior officers, at the baptisms of middle-class children.

Too close relations with the occupiers could however also be seen as collaboration with the enemy. This notion has existed since time immemorial, especially so if the enemy in question was of the same religion, language, mindset, or social origin as the collaborators. After all, for example, a large number of Czech exiles or Germans were part of the Saxon and Swedish armies, and it was possible to converse with them without much difficulty. In contrast some imperial units were composed exclusively of Hungarians or Croats, with whom the communication was much more complicated for Czech and German residents. The resulting language barrier, together with the poor reputation of these units, led to an understandable fear of their occupation of city. The inhabitants of Bohemian cities collaborated primarily with Saxons during their invasion of the country in the early 1630s, for which they were subsequently punished by the Frýdlant Confiscation Commission. Swedish troops were far less welcome in the country, but nevertheless there were many people who were willing to cooperate with them. In Mělník, the town at the confluence of the Elbe and Vltava rivers, after the departure of Field Marshal Johan Banér's troops, who occupied it in 1639, an extensive investigation began into an alleged betrayal that Adam Purkyně was supposedly to committed there by collaborating with the Swedes. The imperial mayor of Mělník accused him of coming out of the city to meet the enemy and revealing to the commanding general the strength of the city garrison and weak points of the walls. During the subsequent attack,

⁴⁷ P. TOBER, *Wismar im Dreißigjährigen Krieg 1627–1648. Untersuchungen zur Wirtschafts-, Bau- und Sozialgeschichte*, Berlin 2007, p. 87.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

many citizens of Mělník were killed and their houses were looted, but not so the Purkyně house, which was supposedly guarded by a group of enemy soldiers. Although the imperial mayor failed to prove the burgher's guilt, Purkyně was never completely acquitted of the accusation and spent some time in prison.⁴⁹ His actions may have been more a result of fear for his family and property than sympathy for the Swedes, but even that was one of the aspects of the time and events.

Unfortunately, soldiers, be they from the invading or friendly armies, also brought various diseases with them, of which the plague often caused the worst damage, possibly even more than military action. In Central Europe, plague epidemics repeated in every decade of war, and one of these bouts took place right in the middle of the militarily hectic years of 1633–1634. This was at the same time as the Kingdom of Bohemia was attacked by Swedish-Saxon armies and, among other things, annihilated the town of Nymburk. In the same year, the plague also engulfed the Upper Palatinate cities. Weiden chronicler Jakob Schabner states that between mid-August and the beginning of November, 1,800 people died in Weiden, including his own wife and many soldiers and officers from the city garrison.⁵⁰ The situation was similar in other cities he writes about, more than a thousand people supposedly died in Sulzbach in the span of five months,⁵¹ in Neumarkt five hundred died from February to November,⁵² and in neighbouring Bavaria it was no different. In August 1633, following the large accumulation of troops, what they called the “Hungarian disease” reared its head in Wasserburg, Bavaria.⁵³ For Silesia, one of the worst plague epidemics during the Thirty Years’ War was the one in 1633–1634. It killed several thousand inhabitants in Nysa⁵⁴ and high numbers were also seen in Namysłów⁵⁵ and in Kluczbork.⁵⁶ Even then, banal intestinal diseases, viruses, and influenza, which soldiers

⁴⁹ J. KILIÁN, *Kauza mělnických zrádců v době švédského vpádu roku 1639*, *Confluens*, in: *Sborník historických a vlastivědných prací z Mělnicka*, 6, 2007, pp. 123–134.

⁵⁰ WAGNER (ed.), pp. 5, 60, 65.

⁵¹ RANK, p. 85.

⁵² RIED, p. 90.

⁵³ M. WILDGRUBER, *Die feste Stadt Wasserburg im dreißigjährigen Krieg 1632–1634*, Wasserburg am Inn 1986, p. 96.

⁵⁴ M. SIKORSKI, *Nysa w kręgu zabytków i historii*, Krapkowice 2010, p. 15. According to the author, it was one of the most tragic events in the history of the city.

⁵⁵ M. GOLIŃSKI – E. KOŚCIK – J. KĘSIK, *Namysłów. Z dziejów miasta i okolic*, Namysłów 2006, p. 147.

⁵⁶ B. CIMAŁA, *Kluczbork: dzieja miasta*, Opole 1992, p. 53.

previously exposed to bad weather brought to the houses of their hosts, killed many. Additionally, soldiers and even the commanders themselves sometimes intentionally spread diseases. In the conquered Landshut, corpses and carcasses were allegedly thrown into the wells to poison them, pharmacies were destroyed and healers were killed so that they could not help the sick and wounded.⁵⁷

It should also be mentioned that cities and their hospitals and infirmaries also served soldiers as places to heal and regenerate. Especially after battles and difficult campaigns, there were always dozens or even hundreds of people who needed medical assistance. In Nabburg, in 1634, the hospital primarily housed sick Bavarian soldiers, with whom the townspeople had conflicts relating to medical supplies, and after the city was conquered by the Swedes, they were replaced by sick and wounded Swedish cavalymen, who cost Nabburg the 812 gold.⁵⁸ The city of Cham received and took care of sick soldiers in 1648.⁵⁹ In Neumarkt, in connection with the siege of Weißenburg, a field infirmary was set up in 1647. The wounded, mostly with injured limbs, were placed in four dedicated buildings, including the local Latin school, while others ended up in local residences.⁶⁰

Conclusion

This study deals with the differences between the arrival of an allied/friendly army and an enemy force using the example of select Central European cities. Cities that refused to surrender to the enemy and were conquered in battle were exposed to greater violence upon their civilian populations, the degree of which depended on the intentions and plans of the enemy's commanding officer, as well as, of course, his ability to maintain discipline among his own men. Victory could be followed by pillaging, murder, rape, arson, as well as torture - most often with the intent of forcing civilians to expose where they hid their valuables. However, this was more the case when the enemy soldiers had to move on soon after the conquest. On the other hand, if a city came to serve the occupying force as a long-term fortified base of operations, it would, on principle, be spared. It would also pay largely the same

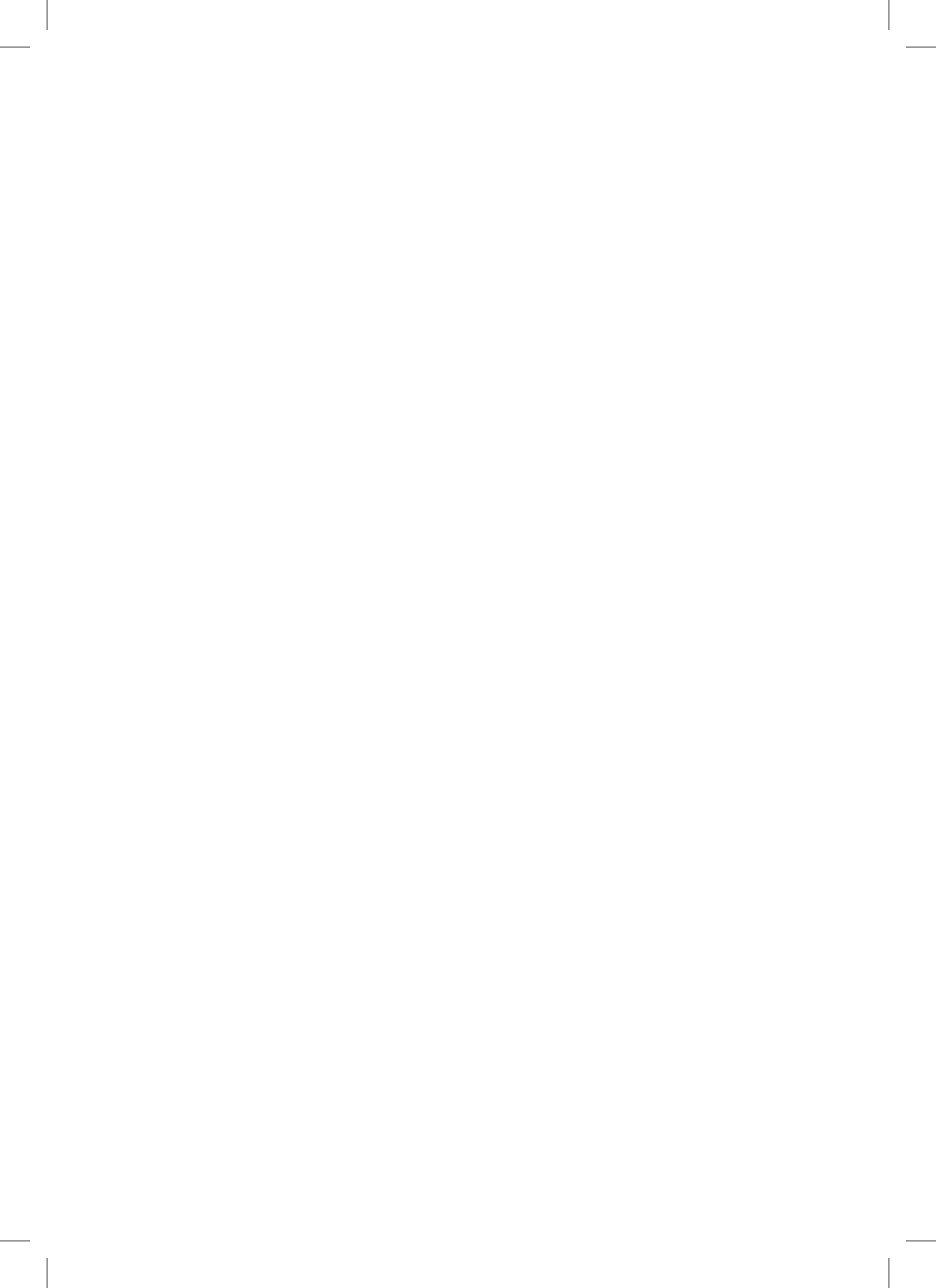
⁵⁷ W. EBERMEIER, *Landshut im Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Das Schicksal der Stadt und ihrer Bewohner im historischen Zusammenhang*, Landshut 2001, p. 106.

⁵⁸ Stadtarchiv Nabburg, Ratsprotokolle, Vol. 46a, fol. 20 and Vol. 48, fol. 2–3.

⁵⁹ Stadtarchiv Cham, Akten, sign. X 22 (1648).

⁶⁰ RIED, pp. 105–106.

responsibilities as before (quartering and supplying soldiers, payment of contributions, participation in fortification work, care for the sick and wounded), just under different masters. However, new occupiers often collected very high protection taxes from the spared cities, and they would only go down to a more tolerable level after a while. In order to enforce the fees, Abductions and imprisonment of leading townspeople in order to enforce the fees, especially councillors, were a regular occurrence. Even worse off were the clergy, who were heavily taxed and had to endure great suffering, including unpleasant ridicule and humiliation. Stronger garrisons of occupied cities could harass the local populace for years on end –attacking the property of disobedient citizens and demanding taxes for themselves under the threat of execution. Religion also saw significant changes under new administrations. Priests returning to occupied cities found that the faith they preached was now illegal, and councillors with the wrong faith often had to relinquish their positions to those of the same faith as the invaders. The defeated town also often saw its tabernacles desecrated and used for storage or even as stables or cattle sheds. Daily life in the occupied cities did change drastically though, interaction between soldiers and residents soon became the norm, from business all the way to marriage. This was especially true in cases of long-term occupation. While it was not always proven, it was inevitable that there would also be instances of townspeople being accused of collaboration after occupying army left. Another result of the long-term quartering of soldiers in the city is that it sometimes contributed to the transmission of infectious diseases (plague and common seasonal diseases) to the civilian population, although whether it was really the fault of the invaders is hard to ascertain.



Quotidian Life of Aristocracy in the First Czechoslovak Republic. The Case of the House of Collalto e San Salvatore

*Jan Koumar**

This text deals with the quotidian life of the Czechoslovakia-based members of the House of Collalto e San Salvatore in 1918–1938. After a general introduction summing up the political and family situation of the House, the attention is paid to the means of transport and travelling, places of residence, children upbringing and languages. Furthermore, the cultural life of the House is addressed: their reading habits, writing activities, their pets and jobs. The social life of the House is brought in focus too, which means the visitors of the aristocratic houses living in the neighbourhood and the relatives are paid attention to. Last but not least, the text deals with the documented diseases that occurred at the House in the followed period and with the approach of the Collaltos to the body functions. [Collalto; Czechoslovakia; Quotidian Life; Aristocracy of the 20th Century]

Introduction

Even though the current historiography does not concentrate only on the political events anymore, a reader of the works dealing with the life of an aristocrat easily falls for a notion, that the life of a nobleman was a life of a permanent politician, construction benefactor, and art patron. From a political point of view, the creation of Czechoslovakia was definitely a stormy time: for aristocracy it meant the abolition of their titles (in December 1918), the land reform aiming to divide the land among the Czech peasantry (it began in April 1919 by adopting the so-called Expropriation Act No. 215), and the abolition of the fideicommissum institution (in July 1924). The rhetoric of punishing former aristocracy for the White Mountain¹ on the one hand, and its merits for the National

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¹ F. PEROUTKA, *Budování státu II.*, Praha 1991, p. 560.

Revival on the other² placed the Moravian aristocrats – who mainly remained Austrians in many ways and considered themselves the Austrian internationals³ – in a difficult position. But the life of nobility did not mean the all-day dwelling in the realm of deeds that are later going to appear in the pages of the history textbooks. If we believed such a view, the Czechoslovak “aristocracy”⁴ would have no everyday procurement and quotidian problems, its members would have to look marbly inanimate.

Luckily, even if we look away from the turbulent politic, the everyday life of aristocracy in the new Czechoslovak Republic does not look inanimate at all. Under a closer inspection, the keen photographers,⁵ sportsmen, tourists, or car drivers⁶ appear. The everyday point of view, such as the one, which chronicles written by common people offer, or which one can find in preserved memoirs of the literarily active aristocrats,⁷ reveal ordinary people.⁸ And exactly these ordinary people are the target of this text: it wants to be a contribution to the research of what the quotidian life of Moravian aristocracy was like in the times of the First Czechoslovakian Republic.

This subject has already drawn some attention of the historians and it had enough time to bear some significant works. The main focus of the historians is the 19th century,⁹ but some attention has already been paid

² J. PEKAŘ, *Omyly a nebezpečí pozemkové reformy*, Praha 1923.

³ Which is how Alfons Mensdorff-Pouilly saw himself (R. ŠVAŘÍČKOVÁ-SLABÁKOVÁ, Šlechtic – velkostatkář. Příklad Alfonse Vladimíra Mensdorff-Pouilly, in: L. FASORA (ed.), *Člověk na Moravě v první polovině 20. století*, Brno 2006, p. 16.

⁴ The fact that the Czechoslovak aristocracy did not “de iure” exist must be mentioned, because their titles were abolished.

⁵ E.g. J. VACA (ed.), *Fotografové šlechtici v zemích Koruny české*, Praha 2017.

⁶ E.g. F. WITTLICH (ed.), *Volný čas objektivem šlechty*, Praha 2016.

⁷ E.g. E. SCHÖNBORN, *Das Leben lässt sich nicht planen: ein Schicksal in bewegter Zeit*, Wolfurt 2016.

⁸ For example, the life of the House of Dubsky in Lysice chateau is a subject of one chapter in the memoirs of B. Sedlák (B. SEDLÁK, *V závětrí Květnice*, Tišnov 2000), similarly, the life of Emanuel Collalto is completely apolitically described in Flesar Chronicle (V. FLESAR, *Kořeny věku. Kronika rodu Flesarů psaná v letech 1423–1923*, Jimramov 2015).

⁹ For example, Zdeněk Bezečný was dealt with aristocratic marriages (Z. BEZECNÝ, *Sňatky české šlechty ve druhé polovině 19. století*, in: V. PETRBOK, *Sex a tabu v české kultuře 19. století*, Praha 1999, pp. 88–93). For more about the relationship between a noble man and a prostitute see A. WAGNEROVÁ, *Bol lásky prodejně: ze života Johanneše Nádherného a jeho milostných družek*, Praha 2013. There is an interesting example of a monography on the aristocratic photographers (P. SCHEUFLER et al., *Fotografové*

to the interwar period of the 20th century too:¹⁰ so far, the relation of the aristocracy to motorsports, farming in Africa, photography, persisting interest in hunting or marriage strategies have been described.¹¹

For studies of the quotidian life aristocracy led in the First Czechoslovak Republic, the House of Collalto e San Salvatore is noteworthy for more than one reason. Firstly, the members of this House never took part in Czechoslovak policy beyond the necessary point, required by the management of their estates. They did not engage in Union of Czechoslovak Landowners (*Svaz československých velkostatkářů*), their signatures can be found under none of the Czechoslovakia-based aristocracy declarations from the beginning of the Second World War,¹² except for the land reform, it can be hardly said they were noticeably touched by the Czechoslovak political events. Secondly, the House of Collalto was of Italian origin, therefore, after 1918, it had to go through a plenty of difficulties to obtain Italian citizenship: while the Italians saw them as Austrians, the Austrians saw them too Italian. Once they acquired Italian citizenship, there was no rational reason to change it for the Czechoslovak one, the members of the House living in Czechoslovakia after 1924, therefore, did not have Czechoslovak citizenship and did not feel Czechoslovak at all.¹³ The last reason, why the House of Collalto is a very good subject for the everyday-life-of-aristocracy studies is the preserved ego-docu-

šlechtici v zemích Koruny české, Praha 2017). For works which do not deal only with the nobility see for example M. LENDEROVÁ – T. JIRÁNEK – M. MACKOVÁ, *Z dějin české každodennosti: život v 19. století*, Praha 2009.

¹⁰ Automobilmism of the Austrian and later Czechoslovak nobility was elaborated very well by Miloš Hořejš (e.g. M. HOŘEJŠ – J. KŘÍŽEK, *Zámek s vůní benzínu. Automobily a šlechta v českých zemích do roku 1945*, Praha 2015). The Kenyan farm of Adolf Schwarzenberg is a topic of Š. Lellková (Š. LELLKOVÁ, *Das verlorene Paradies. Die Farm des Fürsten Adolf Schwarzenberg in Afrika*, in: *Adel und Wirtschaft: Lebensunterhalt der Adeligen in der Moderne*, München 2009, pp. 235–244). For more general work about Czechoslovak aristocracy see J. DOLEŽAL, *Úvahy o české šlechtě v čase První republiky*, in: *Svědectví*, 20, 77, 1986, pp. 39–62.

¹¹ For more about them see E. GLASSHEIM, *Noble nationalists. The Transformation of the Bohemian Aristocracy*, Cambridge, 2005 or also R. ŠVARÍČKOVÁ-SLABÁKOVÁ, *Rodinné strategie šlechty: Mensdorffové-Pouilly v 19. století*, Praha 2007.

¹² See D. JELÍNKOVÁ HOMOLOVÁ – Z. HAZDRA, *Ve znamení tří deklarací: šlechta v letech nacistického ohrožení československého státu*, Praha 2014.

¹³ The family residence Castello San Salvatore near Treviso had to deal with the economic problems after 1918, the castle had to be bought again and the war damages had to be wiped out at last partially. For more about the House's problems with its Italian estates see P. MORO, *Collalto. Storia di un casato millenario*, Roma 2018, pp. 117–130.

ments,¹⁴ numerous letters written by five children of Manfred Collalto to each other or their parents can be found firstly in the found G 169 in Moravian Land Archive in Brno, but the second important source can be memoirs of Giselda Mensdorff-Pouilly, née Collalto. The three-volume unpublished work named *Erinnerungen*¹⁵ presents – mainly in its first and second parts – a detailed (yet given to its nature definitely stylized) view of the everyday life of a Moravian noble family in the times of the First Czechoslovak Republic and the Protectorate.

This text, therefore, wants to concentrate on the quotidian life of the Collaltos in Czechoslovakia between 1918 to 1938, that is on the Czechoslovakia-based House, not on the Czech one. After a general introduction, which only cursorily sums up the political and family situation of the House previously elaborated in other works,¹⁶ the text is divided into six parts, each dealing with one aspect of everyday life. Issues such as diet, fashion, faith, forms of humour, or sex and erotica stay aside – the preserved materials do not allow them to be reconstructed – but the same holds good of hunting and marital strategies – where, on the contrary, the material is so extensive it would make a separate study of a similar length. It can be rightly argued that the description of the everyday life of the Collaltos could be significantly more extensive, and each of the abovementioned aspects deserves a study of its own. However, the aim of this work is rather a general view of the quotidian life of an aristocratic family within a relatively short period of time, than an exhaustive description of its one aspect. Its aim is the reconstruction

¹⁴ This means the written material of the personal character expressing the psychology and opinions of a concrete individual, through which the author's real-world can be seen (see. W. SCHULZE (ed.), *Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in die Geschichte*, Berlin 1996, p. 7).

¹⁵ G. MENSENDORFF-POUILLY, *Erinnerungen*, Bd. 1–3, San Salvatore, Private Archive of Countess Isabella Collalto-de Croÿ.

¹⁶ An excellent work of Eagle Glassheim about the national feelings of Czechoslovak aristocracy must be mentioned, but also works dealing with the relations of nobility and Czechoslovak Republic (e.g. Z. HAZDRA, *Šlechta ve službách Masarykovy republiky: mezi demokracií a totalitními režimy*, Praha 2015, furthermore: D. JELÍNKOVÁ HOMOLOVÁ, *Šlechta v proměnách: osudy aristokracie v Československu v letech 1918–1948*, Praha 2017, and last but not least R. ŠVARČÍKOVÁ-SLABÁKOVÁ, *Mýtus šlechty u nás a v nás: paměť a šlechta dvacátého století*, Praha 2012. About Czechoslovak history there is a bit controversial work of Marry Heimann: M. HEIMANN, *Czechoslovakia. The State that Failed*, New Heaven 2011. For the subject of aristocracy modernisation in the 19th and 20th century see e. g. H. REIF, *Adel im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, München 1999.

of everyday activities of one – politically mainly passive, but culturally influential – aristocratic family living in Czechoslovakia in the interwar period, with the help of the abovementioned documents. Last but not least it wants to be a contribution to the internationally led research of the House of Collalto.¹⁷

The House of Collalto and Czechoslovakia

The House of Collalto e San Salvatore belonged to the ancient Lombardian noble Houses, its properties were located near Treviso in the vicinity of Venezia, but the Moravian fideicommissum was founded only by Rambaldo XIII., who – in 1622 – purchased manor Brtnice (Pirnitz) from Ferdinand II. and later enlarged it by buying manors Černá (Tscherana) and Německý Rudolec (Deutsch Rudoletz). The other members of the House extended the fideicommissum by buying manors Uherčice (Ungarschitz), Písečné (Piesling) and alodial Okříšky (Okrisko) a Pokojovice (Pokojuvitz). In 1822, Francis I. promoted the Moravian property holders (and only them) to the status of Princes with the predicate *Durchlaucht*. The newly established Czechoslovak Republic found Prince Emanuel Josef Anton in the position of the *chef de la famille*. This man – in 1918 just 64 years old – could be safely described as a black sheep of the family.¹⁸ His father Eduard, the third Prince Collalto, died when Emanuel was only 8 years old, Eduard's brother Alfons was appointed a guardian, but it was Emanuel's mother Caroline née Apponyi who had the most important influence on her son's upbringing. Her cultural habits and great generosity were to become her son's important features. However, in 1879, they did

¹⁷ It can be divided into three main lines. The first one deals with the Italian estates of the House. (P. A. PASSOLUNGHI, *I Collalto: linee, documenti, genealogie per una storia del casato*, Villorba 1987 and P. MORO, *Collalto. Storia di un casato millenario*, Roma 2018). The second line pursues the House of Collalto's traces in Austria (e. g. G. BUCHINGER – P. MITCHELL – D. SCHÖN, *Das Palais Collalto. Vom Herzogshof und Judenhaus zum Adelspalast*, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 56, 4, 2002 pp. 402–419). The third research line deals with the Moravian estates of the Collaltos (Z. KAZLEPKA, *Ostrov italského vkusu. Umělecký mecenáš Antonia Rambalda hraběte z Collalto a San Salvatore mezi Itálií, Vídní a Moravou v první polovině 18. století*, Brno, 2011 and J. KOUMAR, *The Last Princes of the House of Collalto e San Salvatore in Moravia*, in: *Historický časopis*, 67, 4, 2019, pp. 633–657). The main unifying point of all three research lines is the Family Archive of the Collaltos deposited in Brno.

¹⁸ For more of his personality and life see J. KOUMAR, *Emanuel Collalto e San Salvatore. Tři pohledy na život „posledního muže starého režimu v Rakousku“*, in: *Moderní dějiny*, 27, 2, 2019, pp. 31–53.

not prevent Emanuel from falling in love with a simple young Viennese girl Irma Büttner, who he had no hope to marry, because she was strictly refused for her lowborn origin by the rest of the family led by his former guardian. Miss Irma was a former model in Hans Makart's atelier and she was all but noble.¹⁹ Since the Moravian-Collalto-fideicommissum Charter eliminated men in unequal marriages from the holder's position and no agreement with the rest of the family was reached, Emanuel and his Irma did not marry and lived in Switzerland or Paris, only in 1890s they were seen together in Vienna or Uherčice. But due to this inappropriate love, all Emanuel's connections with the rest of the family were interrupted and for his successor's children he was only a legendary figure, they only heard of but never met.²⁰

In the newly established republic, Prince Emanuel claimed Czechoslovak citizenship. He had more than one reason for it: he could speak Czech and all his properties except for his Viennese alodial houses were located in Moravia, he also sympathized with the newly established republic which abolished the aristocratic titles. The republican regime announced fideicommissum abolition since its beginning, which did not matter much to the childless Prince, a stranger to his family and the last member of his line. He bequeathed as much of his alodial possession as he could to his wife, nieces, and nephews – children of his sister Juliette – but the fideicommissum properties had to pass to his cousin's lineage, which he did not have a good relationship with. Furthermore, in the case of fideicommissum abolition, he did not have to be afraid of marrying his Irma anymore. The wedding took place in Vienna on 28th May 1919, after 40-year-long relationship, miss Irma then became Princess Collalto. However, the wedding was preceded by an agreement with the future successor, Emanuel's grand-nephew Manfred.

Manfred, the second son of Emanuel's cousin Octavian, was the heir of Italian properties Collalto and San Salvatore. In his younger years, he was farming on a small manor of Teschendorf in Mecklenburg, later, his father handed him over his manor Staatz in Lower Austria – originally

¹⁹ For more about Irma see J. KOUMAR, *Morganatický sňatek aristokrata druhé poloviny 19. století jako sociální deviate: příklad Emanuela Collalto e San Salvatore*, in: *Historická sociologie*, 2, 2022 (in print).

²⁰ Giselda Mensdorff-Pouilly wrote about him: "*We children heard of him as of a legendary figure and we had no idea of his love affair [...] I saw uncle Emanuel only once through the glass windows on his coffin.*" MENSENDORFF-POUILLY, pp. 95–96.

a fief of Ida Colloredo-Mannsfeld. When his older brother died, Manfred took charge of all Italian properties, and after Emanuel's death on 11th December 1924 the Moravian properties as well. At that moment, the land reform was in course there, the northernmost part of the former fideicommissum with chateaus in Černá and Neměcký Rudolec was expropriated and changed into the residual estates, the former manor Písečné at the Austrian border was to meet the same fate. Out of the total Moravian-estate volume 10,756.92 ha the land reform bit off 3,743 ha, that is a little over one-third.²¹

Unlike Emanuel, Manfred Collalto never became a Czechoslovak citizen. He settled in Uherčice and he counted on his children to take over all the properties. He had two sons, older Octavian (Tadi) was supposed to take over the Moravian estates, younger Rambaldo (Rami) the Italian ones. Manfred married off his three daughters quite well. The youngest Polyxena (Pati) married Alfred Josef Lichtenstein²² (Alfi) and after their wedding they lived mainly in Hungarian Högyesz. The middle one Anna (Anni) married Marquis Ferdinand Piatti (Ferdí) and lived with him mainly in Lower-Austrian Loosdorf. The oldest daughter Giselda (Didi) married Eduard (Dodo) Count Mensdorff-Pouilly. Compared to the other sisters, her marriage was the least favourable, Eduard, the fourth son (sixth child) of Count Alfons Vladimír Mensdorff-Pouilly was practically destitute, the couple, therefore, did not have their own residence at the beginning. Manfred's children did not apply for Czechoslovak citizenship either, which backfired on them after the Second World War and even worse in the much later restitutions.²³ Octavian set about administering his estates limited by the land reform vigorously. After his father's sudden death on a heart attack on 22nd July 1940, he succeeded him as the holder of all Moravian estates as was planned. But it was a wartime already, for which he could not even bury his father's body in San Salvatore, but temporarily in Vratěnin cemetery (his body was transported to Italy only in the 1950s).²⁴

²¹ J. VOŽENÍLEK, *Předběžné výsledky československé pozemkové reformy*, Praha 1930, pp. 648, 760, 767, 783, 806.

²² Moravský zemský archiv, Brno (further only MZA), G 169 Collalto Family Archive, cart. 394, inv. n. 259, fol. 60–63.

²³ Detailly and more elaborated see MORO, pp. 128–142.

²⁴ MENSENDORFF-POUILLY, p. 59.

Quotidian Life of the House-of-Collalto members in Czechoslovakia (1918–1938)

Out of the abovementioned members of the House of Collalto, only Prince Emanuel with his Irma and later his successor Manfred with his wife Thekla née Ysenburg-Büdingen stayed in the Czechoslovak territory. Out of Manfred's children, Octavian with his wife Maria Windisch-Graetz resided in Brtnice castle and gradually took over the administration of the estates and Manfred's oldest daughter Giselda Mensdorff-Pouilly stayed in Kněžice, from where she moved to Jihlava at the beginning of the war. Anna, Polyxena, and Rambald with his wife Ida Zeno visited their siblings quite often but never stayed in Czechoslovakia for a longer time. The subsequent text is, therefore, going to concentrate on their everyday life only.

Travelling and Tourism

In the everyday habits of the House of Collalto, the means of transport played an important part. The rhythm of aristocratic life before the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian empire was prominent for its schematic nature: summers were spent in the country residences and winters in Vienna.²⁵ The Moravian aristocracy was also significantly oriented towards Vienna,²⁶ travelling was therefore frequent. However, for the Collaltos between 1924 and 1938 more important than the visits in Vienna were the mutual visits of sisters in Loosdorf, Högyesz, stays in Staatz, and journeys to Italian San Salvatore. Only Prince Emanuel rotated his stays in Vienna with *séjours* in his Moravian estates, his lifestyle stayed faithful to the old monarchic times.

Distance from Vienna to Brtnice was covered mainly by cars. Emanuel Collalto owned *Gräf & Stift, type 40/45 HP*, which he never drove himself, his chauffeur Josef Fritz later went to Manfred's services and retired in the late 1930s with a pension of 1,500 Czechoslovak crowns. Manfred himself was a lover of fast cars. He drove his car *Alfa Romeo 6C 2300B type Corto u. Lungo*²⁷ himself, even though he was not able to repair it when it broke down on the way and was dependent on the help of those around him. He learned to drive fast so he could cover the 700-kilometer journey from Staatz to San Salvatore in one day, if he drove alone.²⁸

²⁵ For closer elaboration see J. ŽUPANIČ, Úvod, in: V. VAVŘINOVÁ – J. ŽUPANIČ – K. BÁNYÁSZOVÁ, *Volný čas objektivem šlechty*, Praha 2016, pp. 7–19.

²⁶ L. HÖBELT, Die mährische Aristokratie in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, in: T. KNOZ – J. DVOŘÁK (eds.), *Šlechta v proměnách věků*, Brno 2011, pp. 245–252.

²⁷ MZA, G. 169, cart. 394, inv. n. 259, fol. 81.

However, when he travelled with his family, they usually went by train, but in post-war Italy the train journeys turned out to be very lengthy and the change in Venice sometimes took half a day. In the second half of the 1920s, the train journeys are therefore rarer, and the family goes to Italy mainly by cars, usually with oversleeping in Villach. Such a demanding journey was not for Manfred himself, therefore a chauffeur, an Italian from Udine – Ugo Franceschini²⁹ – was employed, but for 5–6 people, the rear part of the car was very cramped and uncomfortable. Thanks to the personal testimony of a second driver Mr. Zvěřina, we also know of the second Manfred's car, *Lancia*,³⁰ but we also know of his habit to run over all the poultry he met on his fast drives around Uherčice.³¹

Cheaper to buy than a car was a motorcycle, which allowed Manfred's children to travel independently without borrowing one of their father's cars and drivers. After 1927, when they settled in Kněžice, Giselda and Eduard Mensdorff-Pouilly bought an Italian motorcycle *Moto Guzzi* with a sidecar. Travelling in it was not comfortable, though it was quick, thanks to the motorcycle the visits at the Strachwitz in Zdounky chateau became quite frequent. Hugo Strachwitz, the former Eduard's schoolmate from Kalksburg, and his family, made trips with Giselda and Eduard to Velehrad, Milotice, and other places.³² The motorcycle also helped with shopping, done mainly in Jihlava, where also Octavian and his wife often came to buy things. But unlike his sister, Octavian usually went by car. In 1932 Giselda and her husband bought a car *Tatra 57*,³³ which they then used till the end of the war. That car was hardly reliable, but in an hour, they could reach Manfred in Uherčice, in ten minutes they were at Octavian's in Brtnice and despite the frequent necessary repairs, the car proved good even for longer trips to Boskovice, Nečtiny, Loosdorf and even to Hungarian Högyesz. Eduard (Dodo) quickly learned to drive it, but the family still employed a chauffeur.

²⁸ MENSNDORFF-POUILLY, p. 30. In the Collalto archive there are car his maps of Italy preserved.

²⁹ We can find his wife as a chambermaid in the payroll lists (MZA, F 19 Central Administration of the Collalto Estates, cart. 391, inv. n. 200, fol. 112).

³⁰ L. BLÁHOVÁ, *Motorismus v rodových albech jihomoravských zámků*, in: J. HOŘEJŠ – J. KRÍŽEK et al., *Automobilismus a šlechta v českých zemích 1894–1945*, Praha 2012, pp. 186–196.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

³² MENSNDORFF-POUILLY, pp. 108–109.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

Octavian himself owned a motorcycle too, it was *Jawa*, but the preserved documents do not let us reconstruct how much he used it. Based on the preserved accounts, the American car *Buick*, bought in 1934, must have been used more frequently.³⁴ The *Asap Plzeň* truck was in Octavian's possession too, but it was used for the needs of Brtnice estate. Octavian was a driver like his father, he drove fast though not always safe. On May 7, 1937, while driving his car to Prague, in Jihlava's Schiller Street,³⁵ he collided with another car driven by the son of a local merchant Ervin Goldreich, who later sued him for 60,350 crowns for the car damages and his son's injuries – a surgery and hospitalization was necessary.³⁶ However, cars were used mainly for the distant targets, while around Brtnice Octavian used a six-seat carriage as same as his father, who loved horses and considered a horse-driven carriage a more suitable means of transport. Yet, both men had their pictures taken on the horseback and supported horse breeding. Of course, travelling by car was not always pleasant. The ways near Hungarian Högyesz were dry, covered by dust and animal excrements, therefore in dry summer, clouds of dust would come out the bottom of the car and made not only the journey but also breathing for the passengers very uncomfortable, the refreshing break-outs were therefore necessary.³⁷

Trains were used for journeys to Germany. The first-class tickets were bought, if the first-class carriages were full, then the second class came in handy, nevertheless, for the longer distance, it was considered extremely uncomfortable. When, for instance, Octavian and his sister made a journey to their mother's relatives in Büdingen in 1936, they went by car to Prague, and only from Prague's Wilson Railway Station, they continued by train.³⁸ On the way back, all first and second-class seats were occupied, only the third-class tickets were still left, which Octavian considered so humiliating, that he preferred spending the substantial part of the journey in a restaurant carriage, where he and his sister played cards and ordered one bottle of mineral water by one, so as not to have to return back to their seats.

Unlike the Salms from Rajec, whose journey to Egypt Giselda mentions

³⁴ Its registration-plate number was PB-55724 (MZA, F 19, cart. 408, fol. 613).

³⁵ Today Benešova Street.

³⁶ MZA, G 169, cart. 318, inv. n. 398, fol. 285.

³⁷ MENS DORFF-POUILLY, p. 124.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 175.

in her memoirs,³⁹ the Collaltos travelled only for a family or social reasons and only around Europe. The visits of their Italian estates or Büdingen – the castle which all sisters loved for its ancient and picturesque look – are understandably frequent, the visits of Dresden and Berlin as same as of Hungarian cities are documented. What we would call tourism now – that is travelling for travelling – is not frequent but not rare. For example, at the visit of Mantua, the Collalto siblings silently looked at each other when a guide spoke about a count Collalto who caused terrible damages to the city in 17th century.⁴⁰ The only journey oversee was Prince Emanuel's hunting expedition to Abyssinia, but it still happened under the times of old monarchy, in 1908, he travelled by a liner of Austrian Lloyd company.⁴¹

Places of Residence

As mentioned, the aristocratic way of life with summers spent in Moravia and winters in Vienna was the way of Prince Emanuel's life. After the disintegration of the empire, Vienna kept being his main seat, he owned there a magnificent villa in Heiligenstadt. In his Brtnice castle, the Kielmanseggs – a family his niece married into – lived permanently till 1924, count Max administered the local properties, the countesses together with daughters of the princely inspector Nagl took care of the soldiers during the First World War when the convalescent centre was set up in the castle by Emanuel's decision.⁴² However, for his summer stays, mainly Uherčice were used: he occupied rooms in the north wing of the castle, with the great view of the Blatnice valley, Irma had a right to use them even after his death. Their chateau suite consisted of four rooms, three guestrooms, a corridor, the dining room, the smoking room, the billiard room, and the

³⁹ Ibid., p. 93.

⁴⁰ It was Rambaldo XIII. (1579–1630), historically the most prominent figure of the House of Collalto. Mantua was conquered and plundered by his army in such extent that it caused the displeasure of Ferdinand II, who otherwise kept sympathies for Rambaldo (T. ČERNUŠÁK, *Collaltové na prahu novověku*, in: P. ELBEL – O. SCHMIDT (eds.), *Z Trevisa do Brtnice*, Brno 2019, pp. 57–61).

⁴¹ For more about the company as same as about the oversee travels during the Austro-Hungary monarchy see M. BOČEK, *S nadějí za oceán*, Plzeň 2019, chapters 4–5.

⁴² Státní okresní archiv Jihlava (further on just SOKA), Okresní úřad Brtnice, inv. n. 18, (Chronicle of Brtnice, p. 273). The convalescent centre was originally set up only for commissioned officers, but later it was opened for all soldiers. The costs were on Prince Emanuel's account.

chambermaids' rooms.⁴³ Although after his death, his family complained about his exquisitely bad taste – all furniture was grey or black, mainly carved and as the example of a complete tastelessness a barometer held in the pawns of a six-foot-tall carved bear was used – the complaints probably account for the generation difference. Prince Emanuel was a man of the last century, his grand-niece called him the last man of the ancient regime in Austria,⁴⁴ therefore his style was a style of Hans Makart's atelier, while his grand-nephew and his children's style was completely different.

After Emanuel's death, Uherčice became Manfred's seat. He had the chateau restored, as many as 17 layers of plaster and wall paintings were removed in representation halls,⁴⁵ the long-neglected roof and rafters were repaired⁴⁶ and the chateau was newly equipped with the artefacts from Brtnice and other chateaus. Till 1931, when Emanuel's widow Irma died, the new owners of Uherčice used to meet her there during her summer stays. Their relationship was not cordial, Manfred's sister Marie Therese sighed at her lack of noble behaviour and education,⁴⁷ but Giselda considered her a good-hearted woman, who could have used her husband's family situation to her favours so many times, but never did that.⁴⁸ A photography of Irma dedicated to Thekla Collalto survived in the family archive,⁴⁹ it can be at least said that there were some closer relationships between these two women.

Manfred did not spend his Viennese stays in a family palace at Am Hof square, but more often in *Hotel Ambassador (Krantz)*, where most preserved letters were addressed.⁵⁰ This habit of his could be traced to the times of old monarchy,⁵¹ but there was a trace of personal continuity in it too. Family palais at Am Hof had never been the place where he spent time even before he inherited Collalto estates, hotels were his preferred places even then.

⁴³ MZA, F 19, cart. 398, fol. 64–68.

⁴⁴ M. T. COLLALTO, *Erlebtes und Geschautes*, MZA, G 169, cart. 308, inv. n. 233, p. 348.

⁴⁵ MENS DORFF-POUILLY, p. 99.

⁴⁶ D. HODEČEK, *Dějiny zámku v Uherčicích ve 20. století*, in: *Muzejní a vlastivědná práce*, 41, 4, 2003, pp. 193–201. Hodeček situates the repair to the late 1920s, but it can be said for sure they did not start before the change of the family line and the arrival of Manfred in spring 1925.

⁴⁷ COLLALTO, p. 362.

⁴⁸ MENS DORFF-POUILLY, p. 95.

⁴⁹ MZA, G 169, cart. 467, fol. 362.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, G 169, cart. 396, inv. n. 260.

⁵¹ Z. BEZECNÝ, *Česká šlechta v éře první republiky*, in: T. KNOZ – J. DVOŘÁK (eds.), *Šlechta v proměnách věků*, Brno 2011, pp. 225–230.

Octavian and his wife Marie (Meiny) née Windisch-Graetz moved to castle Brtnice in December 1928. He had the former rooms of the Kielmanseggs adapted for his needs, but the adaptations were necessary even in the representative halls and entrance tower. The renaissance arcades in the palace on the third square were opened again and the annex corridor at the palace entrance was removed. The reason he stated in his application for residence for his stay in Brtnice, was gaining experience in administration of the estates, Manfred paid him the appanage of 20,000 crowns.⁵² The largely permanent stay of the owner's son in Brtnice was welcomed by the locals, Octavian supported the local Scouting Association (*Sdružení svazu junáků skautů a skautek*) which his oldest daughter Alexandra participated in.⁵³ Even after his father died in 1940, Octavian never moved to Uherčice, which his predecessors preferred due to its proximity to Vienna. His wife was soon seen with the governess and Italian teacher of children Elena Sabbatini⁵⁴ on their walks through Brtnice.

As the Guest Book of Brtnice chateau kept between 1928 to 1939 proves, besides the siblings and relatives from the Houses of Mensdorff, Piatti, Windisch-Graetz, and Lichtenstein, the visits of counts Ernesto and Karl Widmann-Sedlnitzky from nearby Luka nad Jihlavou were frequent as same as visits of other Houses: the House of Waldstein, Fürstenberg, Belcredi, Trauttmansdorff, in 1930 Poldi Sternberk appeared, a year later Zdenko Radslav Kinski took part in the autumn hunts, Anna Strachwitz Czernin stopped for a few days, the list could go on and on.⁵⁵ On the other hand, the visits of the Walderdorffs, children of Emanuel's sister were less frequent: the change of the family line in Brtnice brought a cool-down (although not the end) in the relationship with their Klatenbrunn line.⁵⁶ The majority of the visitors appeared between late October and late November when the hunts took place, but many visitors also came in summer. However, the most frequent visitors: the Sternbachs from Třešť, Podstatsky from Telč and Blankensteins from Batelov cannot be localized

⁵² For the application for residence and the appanage lists, see MZA, G 169, cart. 320, inv. n. 433, fol. 42 nn.

⁵³ The number of her legitimation was 30, the surviving documents of paying the membership in the organisation are from 1937 on (ibid., F 19, cart. 398). For Octavian's financial support of Scouting organisation, see fol. 2.

⁵⁴ Ibid., F 19, cart. 391, inv. n. 200, fol. 102.

⁵⁵ See ibid., G 169, book 324, inv. n. 30.

⁵⁶ More about this family line: R. WALDERDORFF, *Klafterbrunn: Geschichte der Familie Walderdorff*, Klafterbrunn 1987.

to one season of the year: they developed mutual friendship with the Collaltos, given also by the proximity of their estates.⁵⁷

By far the worst was the residence situation of Manfred's oldest daughter. After her wedding with Eduard Mensdorff-Pouilly, the couple lived at Manfred's chateau in Staatz, frequent but short are their stays in Boskovice, Nečtiny, and Vienna, where they stayed in the Mensdorff house at Mayerhofgasse. However, the couple had two children soon, the third was expected, and they needed their own place of residence. At first, they moved to Uherčice, where they inhabited the rooms on the ground floor at the grand ball-hall.⁵⁸ Manfred planned chateau Písečné to become a place of his daughter's residence: its location was perfect for journeys to Vienna, and it was situated just a few kilometres from Uherčice. But the land reform expropriated Písečné, and so he came with an idea of accommodating his oldest daughter in Okříšky. In the archival fund Estate Brtnice, a design of a new villa for Okříšky is preserved. It was supposed to stand on the slope next to the old castle, but its construction never even started,⁵⁹ probably due to the financial situation after the land reform. That was why as the last solution, Giselda was offered Kněžice chateau in the proximity of Brtnice after the birth of the third daughter Anna-Polyxena – named after Giselda's two sisters. The chateau consisted of 23 rooms and the Mensdorff family lived there together with 8 servants: František Včelař and his wife from Boskovice, three governesses, two kitchen maids and cleaners and finally with their chauffeur František Staněk, who also took care of the horses Manfred gave his daughter. The living costs were paid from the appanage Manfred paid to Giselda: in 1927 on it was 5,000 crowns, later 7 and 9,000,⁶⁰ but electricity, maintenance (the chateau remained a part of the Collalto estates), milk and meat were also at her father's expenses. Without this financial support, the operation costs of the chateau would be unthinkable, at least in the 1920s

⁵⁷ MZA, G 169, book 324, inv. n. 30.

⁵⁸ MENSITORFF-POUILLY, p. 100.

⁵⁹ MZA Brno, F 16 Brtnice Estate, maps 1111 a 1112. Vila with the side entrance and a sectioned park facade should have its own tennis court and a large garden in the slope above the pond.

⁶⁰ The sum of 5,000 crowns is mentioned by contemporaries in J. VEČEŘA – A. ONDŘÁČEK – O. PEJCHAL, *Kněžice*, Kněžice 1994, p. 108. The letters following Manfred's death and execution of his Last Will from 1941 the sum of appanage is 7,000 and 9,000 (see MZA, G 169, inv. n. 439, cart. 32, fol. II.) Similar, but lower sums were paid to other Manfred's daughters (ibid., G 169, inv. n. 260, cart. 369, fol. 23).

and 1930s, it can be therefore said that from the material point of view Count Eduard married into the Collaltos instead of Giselda marrying into the Mensdorffs.

In the late 1930s when the home education was no longer enough for the children and the transport to schools would be difficult, it was easier to move from Kněžice to the rented villa Budischowski in Jihlava,⁶¹ where the family spent the whole war. Besides the kitchen and the dining room, the magnificent villa in a prominent position above the river valley of the former village Holzmühl could offer 8 big and 2 smaller rooms, in the ground floor a flat of a driver was adapted and Giselda's mother Thekla stayed in the villa with the Mensdorffs almost permanently too. The same reason made Octavian look for some accommodation for his children in Jihlava after 1936 too, but he did not choose anywhere close to his sister. His children, who attend German Volksschule in Jihlava,⁶² were rented a villa at Roseggergasse,⁶³ the street was at the suburb on the way to Brtnice, and Octavian spent some time with children in Jihlava too.

Children Upbringing and Languages

What probably the most reflects the old monarchy habits and their influence on the aristocracy, is children's upbringing in the House of Collalto. If in the 19th century a woman was supposed to have at least four children,⁶⁴ the second fourth of the 20th century made no difference. In aristocracy, even the two and half year pauses between children were not necessary, the noblewomen usually breastfed only a few first weeks: this was the case of Giselda. When her first daughter Leopoldine (Leo) was only a year old, her mother left for a 7-week trip to Rome and Firenze with her husband and his sister Sophie, the daughter stayed with her nanny,⁶⁵ The first son Alexander (Sander) also had his breastfeeding nanny. However, the main person who took care of the Collalto children

⁶¹ Vila was built in 1909 for Wilhelm Budischowsky, the owner of the adjacent leather-work company at Ahornegasse 1 (today Dělnická Street) in Kalvarienberg. Budischowski belonged to the family of entrepreneurs from Třebíč, he set up his own factory in Jihlava. His grave is in today's Kalvárie cemetery a few steps from his villa. The company was hit hard by the economic crisis of the 1930s and in 1934 it bankrupted; all its possession was then owned by a bank.

⁶² The school certificates of the older daughter Alexandra are preserved: MZA, G 169, cart. 469, fol. 61.

⁶³ Today Svatopluka Čecha 13. See *ibid.*, F 19, cart. 391, inv. n. 200, fol. 846.

⁶⁴ M. WINKELHOFER, *Šlechtictví zavazuje: osudy žen v c.k. monarchii*, Praha 2012, p. 82.

⁶⁵ MENSITORFF-POUILLY, p. 93.

was Anna Kotnik. The woman was in family from 1924 and stayed there to bring up all Giselda's and Octavian's children⁶⁶ born and educated in Czechoslovakia. She was respected enough to be taken to Austria after the war, she was to live there in castle Greillenstein with Giselda. Children also had a French governess, madame Rosner.

First two children of Marie Collalto, Octavian's wife, came one by one in a short time (Alexandra was born in 1930, Manfred in 1932), but because her both deliveries were difficult and had to be carried out in a Viennese clinic, the couple waited with the third baby till 1941 (when the second daughter Cecilia was born). Their children also had their own governesses in Brtnice castle: a French one, and Italian one and the Austrian teacher Emma Holzhammer.⁶⁷ Since the children needed a contact with their peers, who could not be chosen from the town children, the visits at the abovementioned Sternbachs at Trest were frequent: they had children of the same age. For the same reason, Octavian and Giselda often visited the Blankensteins in Batelov (Batelau). Both siblings were quite close to them, which can be documented by the fact that the numerous wedding guests who could not be accommodated in Batelov at Konstanz Blankenstein and Gustav Kalnoky wedding in November 1929, slept in Brtnice and Kněžice.⁶⁸

The most important change can be observed in the approach to education. Giselda and her siblings never visited any school – they had a home teacher, a former Kalksburg substitute, but their formal education was not famous at all. That is why in his army questionnaire, Alexander Mensdorff-Pouilly had to fill in “a primary school” with a question mark to the box asking about his mother's education:⁶⁹ he was all but sure about her schools. Education of Manfred's children stood on languages. Giselda, the smartest of all sisters, read and wrote in German, French, and English, all other children could speak these three languages too, they even had English, French and Italian governesses. Mastering Italian was obvious for the Italian noble House, even though Manfred himself spoke it only imperfectly,⁷⁰ because he spent his youth in German Teschendorf and later

⁶⁶ MZA, F 19, cart. 391, inv. n. 200, fol. 20.

⁶⁷ Ibid., F 19, cart. 391, inv. n. 200, fol. 132.

⁶⁸ Giselda mentions five guests, whose name we unfortunately do not know. MENS-DORFF-POUILLY, p. 129.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 31.

⁷⁰ Giselda says that the Italian heritage “[...] was an immense change for our father, he never dealt with the local economy and did not speak the language well, even though he could speak it naturally [...]” Ibid., p. 22.

in Austrian Staatz and before his takeover of the local estates, his visits in Italy were only occasional. Giselda started giving her children the same education she received in her childhood: she taught them herself. Her daughter had to undergo an official examination in Stonařov (Stanner) every half a year, but soon she needed help. First, a governess was hired to help her: a young miss Ottawa from Brno.⁷¹ But in the late 1930s, when the Mensdorff family moved to Jihlava, the home education was already considered insufficient. The owners of the Moravian Collato estates now wanted to educate their children better, but no Viennese schools or (for girls) more traditional Sacré Coeur institution were considered. Giselda's twelve-year-old son Alexander, therefore, went to Děčín in 1936 to start the local college together with Eugen Czernin, and children of befriended Podstatskys and Blackensteins, while the oldest Leopoldine started attending the fourth grade of Oberschule at Jihlava's Joseph's Square, in 1936 in her age of 13.⁷² The other children attended the third, fourth and fifth grade at the opposite Volksschule. Even the five-year-old Johana started attending a Czech kindergarten, her parents aimed to teach her Czech, which they could not speak themselves, but little Johana did not like the kindergarten at all and attended it only for two months.

The approach of the members of the Italian family – who never considered themselves Czechoslovaks – to the Czech language is significant. While Prince Emanuel spoke it as same as his father, Manfred's line, which was not intended to own Moravian estates, never learned it. When it was clear that Prince Emanuel is going to stay childless, Octavian and Giselda started learning Czech, but all they mastered was the beginner's stage.⁷³ Octavian later spoke it, some Czech-written letters from his administrators and employees in quite a familiar tone are preserved from post-war times,⁷⁴ but he probably mastered only simple phrases for communication with his environment, German and Italian remained the main languages of his family.⁷⁵ But even Prince Emanuel, who spoke Czech fluently, did not leave a single letter written in it: all his papers were written in

⁷¹ After the Mensdorffs moved to Jihlava, miss Ottawa started working in Třešť at the Sternbachs.

⁷² Today Náměstí svobody.

⁷³ MENSITORFF-POUILLY, p. 78.

⁷⁴ E.g. MZA, G 169, cart. 318, inv. n. 398, fol. 95–96.

⁷⁵ See her letters in *ibid.*, G 169, cart. 318, inv. n. 398, and also cart. 396, inv. n. 260 and others.

German.⁷⁶ Czech might have been the language he spoke to his servants and employees and it remained like that with his successors, they would never think of writing letters in it. Manfred used to tell his children: “*You are what your people are*” and Giselda’s father-in-law reportedly considered himself a Czech in a frame of the Austrian monarchy, the post-1918 events deeply disappointment him.⁷⁷ It can therefore be hardly surprising, that in the 1930 census, Octavian and his family claimed Italian nationality, while Giselda and Eduard claimed the German one.

Hobbies and Culture

The time of big public celebrations for aristocracy such as carousels,⁷⁸ open-space public performances, carnivals, and live pictures which we can read of in Manfred’s sister’s memoirs,⁷⁹ was over. Celebrations, carnivals, and other feasts were now only of a private nature, fantasy was needed for them more than money.⁸⁰ No art patronage of any Czechoslovak Collalto can be mentioned, there are photographs of the home carnivals, which children did in *commedia dell’arte* style for their grandfather Manfred, however, those were celebrations of a strictly private nature.

Of course, what does not disappear, is the private cultural life such as relation to the books and literature. But even here the shift is visible. While in the library of Prince Emanuel’s grandmother the books by Zola, Hugo, Dumas’s father, and son or by Féval can be found next to a few volumes of Extraordinary Voyages by Jules Verne,⁸¹ in Giselda’s library the adventurous literature prevails. All her family fell for the charm of Karel May’s books, the whole family also wiped at Winnetou’s death.⁸² Giselda herself read mainly historic books by Charlotte Mary Yong. Her mother, Thekla, was also interested in the historical books, her correspondence reveals her long-term interest in buying Memoires (*Souvenirs*) by a French female painter Louise Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. When a Viennese book-

⁷⁶ Ibid., G 169, cart. 391-394, inv. n. 240–254.

⁷⁷ MENS DORFF-POUILLY, p. 82.

⁷⁸ See M. MŽYKOVÁ, *Karusely*, Liberec 2006.

⁷⁹ M. T. COLLALTO, *Aus vergangenen Zeiten*, 1937, Private archive of countess Isabella Collalto-de Croÿ, pp. 6–19.

⁸⁰ P. MEDŘÍKOVÁ, *Šlechta se baví*, in: F. WITTLICH (ed.), *Volný čas objektivem šlechty*, Praha 2016, pp. 63–78.

⁸¹ MZA, G 169, c. 380, i. n. 209, fol. 532–541. Emanuel’s grand-mother Therese Apponyi as same as his mother were from a family with the long literary tradition.

⁸² MENS DORFF-POUILLY, p. 167.

shop-keeper Wilhelm Frick finally found this book for her, Tekla rejoiced over the author's description of her visits to Naples and Rome.⁸³ Octavian bought mainly books about forestry and economy, but his wife read some entertaining literature in German and French, there were books of old legends from Moravian castles in her possession, beside the guidebook of Czernin Palace in Prague or a big reference encyclopaedia.⁸⁴ Unlike the previous-generation library, the missing titles are romances for women, although the 1920s are the golden days of romance novels in Czechoslovakia, the titles of a so called "Red Library" were the bestsellers.⁸⁵

Giselda Mensdorff-Pouilly herself was a literal talent. As a proof, her memoirs can be named, but also the fact that after her move from Kněžice to Jihlava in 1937 she started writing another book of memoirs, which did not survive till now. As a gift for her father's 70th birthday, she found, organised, translated, and re-typed the letters of her ancestor Antonio Rambaldo Collalto⁸⁶ and after her dramatic flee from Nečtiny to Bavaria in 1945 she wrote a short history of the House of Collalto. But even before the end of the war, when she stayed in Nečtiny for longer time, she started an inquiry into a personality of Marie Mensdorff-Pouilly née Lamberg, she retyped her most interesting letters and made them into a small brochure.⁸⁷ Her amateur care of the family archive can be ranked into her past-time activities too. The archive was deposited in Moravian Land archive in Brno by a decision of Prince Emanuel even before the First World War,⁸⁸ but in 1930 it is back in Brtnice castle again, where Octavian's chamberlain Franz Michl arranges it. Giselda's translations of

⁸³ MZA, G 169, cart. 398, inv. n. 270, fol. 9.

⁸⁴ Ibid., F 19, cart. 409, II/5.

⁸⁵ Cf. to D. MOCNÁ, *Červená knihovna. Studie kulturně a literárně historická. Pohled do dějin pokleslého žánru*, Praha, Litomyšl 1996. In Therese Apponyi's library, *Bibliothèque pour les Dames* occupied almost one third of its whole extent.

⁸⁶ The typescript survived in MZA, G 169, cart. 320, inv. n. 442. Antonio Rambaldo (1681–1740) was one of the greatest figures of the House of Collalto. For more about his artistic and political activities see Z. KAZLEPKA, *Ostrov italského vkusu*, Brno 2011.

⁸⁷ The first book of memoirs and the brochure of Marie Mensdorff-Pouilly's letter are mentioned in Giselda's preserved memoirs (MENSdorff-POUILLY, p. 1). She mentions her book of House of Collalto history there too (p. 272). Unfortunately, none of these works of hers survived.

⁸⁸ B. SMUTNÝ, Depozita v Moravském zemském archivu v Brně do r. 1918, in: K. SMUTNÁ – I. ŠTARHA, *155 let archivnictví v českých zemích: sborník příspěvků z konference uspořádané u příležitosti 155. výročí založení Moravského zemského archivu v Brně ve dnech 31. května – 1. června 1994*, Brno 1995, pp. 51–70.

A. R. Collalto letters can prove her interest in the archive arrangement, but the work of both siblings was dilettante at the best.⁸⁹

The cinema was quite a new kind of cultural activities. Octavian and Giselda visited it together with their children in Jihlava shortly before the Second World War started, *Kino Edison* was a few steps from Giselda's Jihlava house, the family usually both a loge there. In Brtnice, Uherčice and Kněžice, radios were operated too. The family meetings, hunts and children's growth were documented by the amateur photography more and more, even though its purpose and execution were not artist: the pictures were supposed to be of a documentary not artistic nature. Most pictures preserved in the Collalto family archive were made by Giselda (they are marked by her handwriting) or her children, only a small fraction of them are from older times.⁹⁰ There are animals in the pictures too. Octavian was a dog breeder, not only hunting dogs were his favourites, but he became a lover of Pekingese Dogs. The bills of the Brtnice vet MVDr. Adolf Stoniš survived and show that Octavian did not regret paying big sums for their treatment.⁹¹ However, their breeding was not always easy: in December 1928 right after his move to Brtnice, one of his dogs was shot by a gamekeeper František Čada.⁹² But dogs were favourite animals in his family for long time. Manfred himself had dachshunds and in Uherčice, he had two poodles. In San Salvatore castle, there was even a dog cemetery with gravestones and names on them.⁹³

The short-term jobs which the members of the House of Collalto engaged in, can be also taken more as a past-time activity. In 1936, Giselda started collecting money from her acquaintances in Jihlava: A Christian organisation *Frohe Kindheit*. When her family got into money troubles, in the late 1930s, Giselda's husband accepted a permanent job too: after a recommendation of his father-in law and brother-in-law he became a director of a brickyard in the Collalto brickworks in Okříšky. Brick-master Prášil was producing there the bricks of his own patent – hollow bricks

⁸⁹ For more about archive and their work there: M. ZAORALOVÁ, Dějiny brtnického collaltovského archivu, in: *Sborník archivních prací ministerstva vnitra*, 2, 1969, pp. 241–257.

⁹⁰ To learn more about the noble photographers before the First World War see P. SCHEUFLER et al., *Fotografové šlechtici v zemích Koruny České*, Praha 2017.

⁹¹ E.g. MZA, G 169, cart. 393, inv. n. 273.

⁹² SOKA Jihlava, OÚ Brtnice, inv. n. 18, (Brtnice Chronicle, p. 199).

⁹³ M. T. COLLALTO, *Von unserer vierfüßigen Freunden*, the private archive of Isabella Collalto-deCroÿ, pp. 6–7.

Jestav, which found so many purchasers in the wide neighbourhood that they managed to draw the languishing brickworks out of the economic crisis. Eduard Mensdorff-Pouilly took over the directing of the brickworks with all energy, he grew fond of the craft,⁹⁴ which was why he stopped working there only when its production was forced to stop by a governmental order in 1942. That time he wrote a letter to Octavian, in which he announced his resignation to the position and apologized for being a stubborn employee at times.⁹⁵

Social Life

The frequent visits of the Collaltos at the aristocratic families in the neighbourhood were already mentioned above. But the social life did not consist only of them, even at the journeys – if possible – the members of the House of Collalto preferred staying with the related or befriended aristocrats. That is why in Venice they overslept in the Morosini palace many times,⁹⁶ Countess Morosini – in her youth a renowned beauty who Emperor Wilhelm courted – gave big cocktail parties which the Collaltos liked participating in. After the younger Manfred's son Rambald married Cecilia Zeno, the family stay in the Venetian Zeno palace, in the proximity of *Basilica dei Frari*. Venice was attractive for its culture, beaches – the afternoons could be spent in Lido. While in Vienna Manfred like staying in hotels, on his family journeys it was considered only the last and mainly emergency option. Therefore at Giselda's trip to visit the Khevenhüllers in Dresden in 1937,⁹⁷ she preferred staying at Countess Schall's to staying in a hotel.

Autumn hunts were the rituals, which were not meant only for men, women participated in their evening social part too. Octavian was often invited to hunt in Bechyně at the chateau of the Paars, his hunting tickets

⁹⁴ Here, I have to disagree with Lothar Höbelt, who claims the Collaltos recalled their Italians roots in the war time and came to Brtnice just to hunt, while their brickwork was directed by a Mensdorff. L. HÖBELT, *Die mährische Aristokratie in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, in: T. KNOZ – J. DVOŘÁK (eds.), *Šlechta v proměnách věků*, Brno 2011, pp. 245–252. Before and during the Second World War Octavian resided in Brtnice almost permanently and the reason why Eduard Mensdorff directed his brickwork comes into account of his fondness of the craft and bad family financial situation in the late 1930s.

⁹⁵ MZA, G 169, cart. 318, inv. n. 398, fol. 1.

⁹⁶ MENSCHORFF-POUILLY, pp. 85–86.

⁹⁷ MZA, G 169, cart. 396, inv. n. 260, fol. 189.

survived in the archive.⁹⁸ In the hunting time, in Brtnice, his wife was often visited by her brother Karl and her mother Alexandra, married again to Ervin Hohenlohe.⁹⁹ The Hunting Passes prove the regular Octavian's presence at the Sternbachs autumn hunts together with young baron Wiedersperg from Plandry (*Preitenhof*) or with the Count Blankenstein from Batelov, the hunts were a social occasion. At the hunt in Panenská Rosíčka on the November 18, 1936, he for example hunted with baron Nádherný, Prince Rohan, baron Geymüller a professor Zbořil.¹⁰⁰

Hunting was not the only occasion to meet. The visits at the Salms in Rájec, at the Herbersteins in Velké Opatovice, or at the Kalnokys in Letovice are frequent. After the move to Uherčice, the family often visited the old baron Wražda in the neighbouring Police, the Berchtolds – the former Uherčice owners – were visited by Manfred in Budkov and the most frequent visits of the whole family were in Jemnice at the Pallavicinis, where Manfred's daughters grew fond of Irma Pallavicini née Szechényi. She and her husband were humorous people, and even if Irma was feared by some, the Collaltos liked her very much.¹⁰¹ Till the old Count Waldstein in Třebíč died, he was often visited by Giselda and Octavian too, the 91-year-old man was admired for his mental freshness and a permanently good mood.¹⁰²

In Brtnice, Octavian and his wife were often invited to theatre performances, however, there is no evidence of their presence in them. Thanks to the fact the Central Directory of the Collalto Estates had its main office in the castle, its director had a prominent role in the town. The transfer of the friction between the citizens and the family living in the castle to the director can nicely be observed. While he was accused of all the problems that occurred, Octavian – despite the abolition of the aristocratic titles – was addressed only as a Prince and his relations to the town's people were perfect. When the director Josef Schoch retired in 1929, they cheered up a lot: under his management of the estates, a lot of cost cuts happen and all town applications for financial support were strictly refused. Even though it was Manfred who stood behind these decisions, the town officials dealt mainly with the director of his office, Manfred with Octavian therefore could keep distance from all the unpopular savings.

⁹⁸ Ibid., cart. 318, inv. n. 398, fol. 348.

⁹⁹ Ibid., F 19, cart. 391, inv. n. 200, fol. 149.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., G 169, cart. 398, inv. n. 275, fol. 13–18.

¹⁰¹ MENSENDORFF-POUILLY, p. 100.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 117.

However, the overall social life of the Collaltos during the First Republic stagnated. There were no major celebrations, Brtnice did not see any Venetian nights in the park pond anymore: they still took place under the reign of Prince Emanuel under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but never again in the First Czechoslovak Republic. The social life happened only in mutual visits between the noble families, and it shifted to their private sphere.

Health and Intimacy

The less we can follow great public events, the more we can concentrate on the intimate life. Diseases made a necessary part of it, they did not avoid the Collaltos and their children in Czechoslovakia, on the contrary, they witnessed them since their childhood at their governesses. In 1918, their English governess miss Nay was diagnosed the myoma, which she was supposed to get operated in Vienna, but her fear of surgery and doctors made it impossible. Before the operation she had a strong anxiety attack and had to be transferred back to Staats without any surgery. The Italian governess died with tuberculosis right after the end of the First World War.¹⁰³ Manfred's wife, Princess Thekla suffered from tuberculosis too, before the First World War she had it treated in the Alpine Sanatory in Caux (she stayed in the monumental Caux-Palace). But besides this one curative stay, she never seemed to have any lung problems again. In November 1928 here daughter Anna Piatti was diagnosed the eye tuberculosis, she had to undergo an eye surgery made by a famous Viennese eye doctor Josef Meller.¹⁰⁴ Her surgery went well but caused Anna's miscarriage, however, the fact that her tuberculosis did not get to her brain outweighed the sorrow.

Frequent childbirths in the second quarter of the 1920s were not easy. Marie Collalto, Octavian's wife had such a hard first delivery, that for a few days, the doctors in Třebíč were afraid of her and her baby's life, she eventually had to be transferred to Vienna for Caesarean section.¹⁰⁵ In general, the deliveries are more often undergone in the sanatory, and the home environment is considered insufficient. Giselda's third delivery therefore happened in one sanatory in Brno, it was complicated and took her a long time to recover.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁰⁴ For more about his fame see F. A. J., Professor Dr. JOSEF MELLER (Vienna), in: *British Journal of Ophthalmology*, 33, 1949, pp. 653–654.

¹⁰⁵ MENSENDORFF-POUILLY, p. 131.

By far the most hit by diseases was Princess Thekla. Since 1911, she suffered from bad migraines, which largely prevented her from her social life and travelling. She took her stays in Kněžice as a treatment, the good air and calm atmosphere of a small village helped her recover. However, in 1928 she was hit there by a stroke which resulted in a right-side paralysis and speech impediments. In 1930, another stroke worsened her speaking even further. Yet despite her two strokes, she lived for twenty more years.

The body was given a rest and a proper treatment in spas: spa *séjours* were the necessary part of Prince Emanuel's life. He repeatedly visited Karlovy Vary, where he cured his indigestion: he died of the burst duodenal ulcer in 1924. Manfred visited Mariánské lázně, where he took the treatment quite seriously, in two weeks he spent there, he was able to lose 14 kilos since he drank only local mineral water and took baths.¹⁰⁶

Parents understandably wanted to protect their offspring from the childhood illnesses, but they were not successful in it. In 1928 Giselda's children suffered from measles, in 1930 Octavian's children were down with scarlet fever. Appendectomy seems to be the operation of the period. Two of Giselda's children underwent it, even though they had no troubles, their father, Eduard Mensdorff-Pouilly had the same surgery made in Jihlava only in a local anaesthesia. In all cases the reason for the surgery was only a recommendation to get rid of the potentially dangerous blind gut.¹⁰⁷

All the body's weaknesses were considered humiliating and ridiculing, therefore the prevention of the diseases was preferred to falling ill. That is why a toilet – essentially a place of physical needs – was not allowed to be mentioned openly, let alone the activity people did there, defecation was seen as a humiliating body weakness. This demonisation of basic body functions made the children subconsciously connect the sixth commandment – that is the sin of the body – with the toilet. When eight-year-old Anna Collalto confided the priest that she had sinned against it by going to the “cabinet”, her younger sister Polyxena had to make it clear that what Anna considered the sin was simple defecation.¹⁰⁸ Actually, in Giselda's memoirs, the toilet is called “a certain place” or “a cabinet”,¹⁰⁹ such euphemisms were clearly intended to prevent ridiculing those who

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 166.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 68.

use it. When the young Eduard Mensdorff-Pouilly went to the toilet in Staatz one morning, he got arrested there for long because his future father-in-law was telephoning in the hall and would see him coming out of the room.¹¹⁰ Using the toilet was a thing too humiliating to admit, therefore Eduard preferred staying there until Manfred finished his long-distance call.

Conclusion

When comparing the family life of the Collaltos with the analysis Radmila Švaříčková-Slabáková made about the family of Alfons Mensdorff-Pouilly,¹¹¹ we must understandably find many similarities and differences. The similarities include the sympathies to the habits of old monarchy and transnationalism. But the personality of Prince Emanuel offers us more than clinging to old times: one can find there personally motivated sympathies towards the new Czechoslovak Republic. All his life, Emanuel wrote in *Kurrent*, strictly required formal approach and contacts, however, his marriage was morganatic, and he showed little respect for family traditions and strategies. The situation of the Collaltos in the First Czechoslovak Republic was thus primarily marked by the change of the family line. It can be seen in Emanuel's successors, where also generation gap plays a part. Unlike the Mensdorffs, the letters of the Collalto siblings to their parents are never formal, their writing style is freed from *Kurrent* and high German, they are personal. Despite the fact that Giselda married into the House of Mensdorff-Pouilly, and she had deep respect for Alfons Vladimír¹¹² she never adopted his new-family habits fully. No Manfred's child, however, repeated Emanuel's unequal marriage lapse, the marriages were to be strictly equal (the first one of Leopoldine Mensdorff-Pouilly with Josef Wiedersperg took place only in the wartime, the other ones even in the post-war period, which is why this text does not deal with them).

The quotidian life of aristocracy in Czechoslovakia therefore changes. While Prince Emanuel kept his old pre-Czechoslovak habits: he spent

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ R. ŠVAŘÍČKOVÁ-SLABÁKOVÁ, *Šlechtic – velkostatkář. Příklad Alfonse Vladimíra Mensdorff-Pouilly*, in: L. FASORA (ed.), *Člověk na Moravě v první polovině 20. století*, Brno 2006.

¹¹² She mentions the usage of German in Boskovice, as same as the fact that he would be surprised if anybody wanted him to write a letter in Czech. MENSCHORFF-POUILLY, pp. 157–160.

winters in Vienna and summers in Uherčice, his successor moved to Uherčice as to more or less permanent residence, his son started living in Brtnice, and the oldest daughter in Kněžice. Visits of Vienna are documented but they are rare, the visits of the siblings and other Czechoslovakia-based aristocratic families are more frequent. For any travelling, cars were used, in the late 1920s the withdrawal from the train journeys can be followed, for the short-distance journeys around Bohemia and Moravia, the motorcycles were used. If the train was used as a means of transport, only first-class seats were bought, the lower-class seats were considered degrading for the family status. In the late 1930s Giselda and partly also Octavian move to Jihlava to facilitate children's school attendance, the journeys to the other aristocratic families do not stop, but the visits in Vienna are not documented for this period at all. Change of the place of residence relates to the change of the children's education. Because Giselda and her siblings never visit any school and were home educated, at first, she carried out the education of her children in a similar way – herself, and later with the help of the governess – but in the late 1930s this style of education is not considered sufficient anymore, the same approach can be found at Octavian's children (who were younger than Giselda's).

As far as the language is concerned, Prince Emanuel could speak Czech, while Manfred's family never learned it. Octavian's Czech was later good enough to read and slowly speak with people around him, but for the rest of the family, the main language of communication was German and Italian. The social life of the Collaltos during the first republic stagnated. There were no major celebrations, all social life took place only in mutual visits between the noble families, it was therefore moved into their private sphere. The generation-change can be observed in reading habits: the adventure novels are getting popular, while interest in romance for ladies declined. But the leisure time was no more served by books only: the radio and in late 1930 s also cinema took a great part of it, together with pets and Giselda's literal endeavours. A distance from the body functions is maintained, the body is treated in spas and its diseases are not rare at all, yet the anxious distance is kept from defecation and even from the word "toilet", which links to it.

Greater changes were, of course, to happen during the war, wartime brought new problems together with the transformation of everyday life. Even greater changes were brought about by the post-war period. Giselda and her daughter's husband J. Wiedersperg crossed the border

from Nečtiny to Bavaria on foot and then on the roof of a train carriage, Octavian's Moravian properties were confiscated, Octavian himself left Czechoslovakia disappointed and broken to spend the rest of his life and his brother's estates in Italy, where he died in 1976. That, however, is already another chapter.



As a Nationality among the “Internal Enemies” of State Socialist Hungary, Reasons and Everyday Life in the Fifties, especially regarding Zala County¹

*Lóránt Bali**

The 620-kilometer-long Yugoslav-Hungarian border was an area of the so-called Little Cold War in the 1950s. The aim of the study is to present the social and political characteristics of the fifties along the Mura, based on the example of Zala County. In addition to describing world political events, he presents the functioning of the internal affairs bodies of the authoritarian system. He describes in detail the preparations for fortification for the war clash. In addition, his knowledge of the 56 events that brought about domestic political change.

[Small Cold War; Zala County; Fortification Works; Military Defence Systems; Events in 56]

Introduction

In terms of the short twentieth century, the fifties, also the first half of it, were perhaps the most critical period for domestic nationalities. The aim of the study is to present the historical environment of Hungary at the time and the direct domestic and foreign policy antecedents of its development by presenting some case studies. The accommodation area of the Hungarian South Slavic² nationality in Hungary was concentrated on the former 620 km Yugoslav-Hungarian border area. It had therefore

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² I used the terminology of the era in the text. It meant the uniform name of the Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian population, in line with the nationalist policy of the state socialist Tito Yugoslavia.

a significant impact on the people's daily lives who lived here. An agrarian population with a low level of bourgeoisie did not have a leading intellectual. The region was the activity zone of the little Cold War, so in addition to the defence aspects of the military confrontation, I also present the socio-economic aspects.

Historical Background

On December 21, 1944, the Provisional National Assembly held its inaugural meeting in Debrecen, which elected the Provisional National Government. The President of the National Assembly was Béla Zsedényi, a university professor, and the chairman of the government was Miklós Bála Dálnoki. Due to the transport and communication difficulties caused by the war situation, a 23-member Political Committee was elected, which replaced the parliament with broad powers. It had powers of legality and the members automatically accepted the decisions of the organization with the members of the National Assembly. So democratic values have been damaged from the very beginning. After the formation of the new political constellation, Hungary declared war on Hitler's Germany on December 28, and on January 20, 1945, a delegation led by Foreign Minister János Gyöngyösi signed a ceasefire agreement in Moscow. As part of this, \$ 200 million in compensation was paid by the Soviet Union, 70 million to Tito's Yugoslavia and 30 million to Czechoslovakia. The size of the Hungarian army was limited to 8 divisions, and we undertook to ban far-right organizations. The first free elections, held on November 4, 1945, were won by the Independent Smallholders' Party, because of which Zoltán Tildy became the head of government on November 15. One of the most important measures of the new National Assembly on February 1, 1946, was the establishment of the state form of the republic. Under pressure from the FAO,³ the Communists and Social Democrats took part in the government, overrepresenting their election results. István Dobi, Mátyás Rákosi and Árpád Szakasits became state ministers. The last two also reached the rank of Deputy Prime Minister later.⁴

³ Federal Audit Office.

⁴ K. SALAMON, *Hungarian history 1914–1990. National Textbook Publisher*, Budapest 1998, p. 322.

Political Lawsuits projecting Proletarian Dictatorship

The Hungarian Brotherhood, founded in the early 1930s, was the first victim of the conceptual lawsuits. The aim of the organization was the political upliftment of the Hungarians and the service of their socio-economic progress. Several old military officers and generals were members of the organization, making it easy to charge them with a conspiracy to have a military line. Therefore, at the end of 1946, the State Defense Department (SDD), together with the Military Policy Department of the Armed Forces, carried out an investigation in which several smallholder politicians were involved. On January 5, 1947, the *Szabad Nép* wrote the following in their article on the matter: *"We don't know what else will turn out. But it is already obvious that the conspirators tried to make contact with the reactionary wing of the smallholder party, trying to use the smallholder party as a legal cover. And that this could have happened, the leadership of the smallholder party is not innocent."*⁵

The Communists, led by László Rajk, pushed the matter until 11 deputies were expelled from the Independent Smallholders' Party. On February 14, Béla Kovács, the general secretary of the smallholder party, was suspected by Rajk of knowing about the conspiracy. The faction refused to waive his immunity, he voluntarily participated in the FAO investigation, after which he was taken by Soviet military authorities to the Soviet Union, where he was imprisoned for 8 years. After that, it became clear that the liquidation of a smallholder headquarters was the goal of the Communists. The last victim was the Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, who was also accused during his trip in May 1947 of being involved in the conspiracy. The prime minister, who feared his little boy, after receiving his child, signed his resignation statement, making the largest parliamentary party, the political elite of smallholders, and his party was completely destroyed by the Rákosi-led clique. During the "blue-card" elections held on August 31, 1947, the Communist-led Electoral Alliance of the Hungarian National Independence Front won 61% of the vote, making it the sole leader of political life. He strove the complete liquidation of the opposition and the full service of the Soviet Union. The Information Office of the European Communist Parties, Cominform, was established in September 1947, with the task of promoting the establishment of European proletarian dictatorships.⁶

⁵ Ibid., p. 183.

⁶ Ibid., p. 332.

Development of Soviet-Yugoslav Relations and their Impact on the Hungarian-Yugoslav System of Relations

After World War II, Yugoslavia authentically copied the Stalinist system, becoming one of its most loyal followers. This can be explained primarily by the fact that the Yugoslav party leader Tito, had not returned until the German occupation, was an employee of Cominform from 1935 and successfully learned the “profession” alongside Stalin. He was among the first to build the Soviet model. As early as April 11, 1945, the two countries signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation, and in January 1946, the Soviet-style constitution of the Federal People’s Republic of Yugoslavia was ratified.

At the twilight of the new bipolar world order, Tito’s longing for regional leadership in south-eastern Europe was soon deteriorated. This was compounded by its financial disputes with the US, which led the Americans to use their air force as a means of exercising their pressure. They violated Yugoslav airspace several times, at least once the South Slavic Air Force shot down a plane. In addition to the West, the initially friendly Soviet Union also watched with increasing criticism of Josip Broz’s policy, whose main supporter in the multi-ethnic country was a force with a partisan ideology estimated at nearly 700–800 thousand people, which represented significant military potential. There are several conceptual confusions in the analysis of the development of the Soviet-Yugoslav conflict. We must point out that the outbreak of the conflict is connected to Stalin’s name. Although Tito looked up at him and was afraid of him, he nevertheless became too autonomous, thus posing a threat to the Soviet sphere of interest in the Balkans. He intervened in the conflict in Greece, provided financial support to Albania and attempted to form a confederate alliance with Bulgaria and Albania.⁷

The actual deterioration of Yugoslav-Hungarian relation began with the Rajk trial and then with the exclusion of Yugoslavia from Cominform. On September 30, 1949, like the other socialist countries, we terminated our agreement on cooperation and mutual assistance with Yugoslavia, and from 1950 onwards, a hostile relationship was established between the two countries, laden with minor military conflicts. In the daily press, the subject was constantly on the table either civilized or sometimes

⁷ Z. MÉSZÁROS, The turn of 1948 in the relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, in: S. A. TÓTH (ed.), *“At the southern ends...” Studies on the Cold War conflict between Hungary and Yugoslavia in the Bačka Region*, Budapest 2009, pp. 67–72.

less civilized way. Tito was given the following adjectives: "enemy of the Hungarian people", "imperialists' chain dog", "mercenary of imperialists and fascists". One of the unfortunate results of the negative political processes was that a tense political atmosphere became commonplace in the counties on the southern state border and had an impact on the daily lives of the population living there.⁸

Clashes between the SSD and the UDB on the Zala Section of the Hungarian State Border, as well as other Aspects of Insurance

The Yugoslav-Hungarian political and military opposition, already presented above, had affected the daily lives of people living along the state border. As I mentioned earlier, more than 3,400 people had been deployed from the 15 kilometres border strip. First and foremost, the system considered enemies: officials from the Horthy era, priests, nuns, kulaks, former gendarmes. It was only possible to stay in the security lane with a separate entrance. Those who may have dissociated into Yugoslavia jumped out from a frying pan into the fire, as the UDB soon, several times by force, recruited them and made them return to Hungary as a forced spy. The following is a more detailed detail about the deportations:⁹ *"The eviction of unreliable individuals from the border area began at dawn on June 23 in our county. The population in the villages became aware of the incident only in the morning, when the people to be evacuated were packing and leaving for the loading place. At the start of the deportees, smaller and larger groups gathered in some places in the villages and stations, who watched the deportees as spectators and then went to the daily field work. By providing adequate assets in the affected villages under the direction of the County Committee and the District Committee, the local Party Organizations mobilized the folk educators (agitators) in the early hours of the morning to adequately inform the population about what had happened [...]."*

Seeing the population to be evicted, in the village of Semjénháza in the district of Letenye, a resident of Semjénháza Trojkó Risó ran around the village and mobilized the women not to let the priest be taken away when they learned that it was not the priest who wanted to be taken, they calmed down, but they were still telling that if the

⁸ Z. HAJDÚ, Hungarian-Yugoslav relations in the period of the Cold War (1948–1955), in: *The State Border of Baranya in the XX. Century*. HM Military History Institute and Museum, Pécs, Budapest 2008, pp. 69–77.

⁹ A. MOLNÁR, Historical reading book of Zala county. Expulsion from the Yugoslav border. Report of the County Committee of the MDP to the Central Management on the course of the deportations and the related mood of the population (details) June 23, 1950 Zala County Archives. Zalaegerszeg, 1996, pp. 346–348.

priest had been taken away, they would have lied in front of the car. There is peace in the villages everywhere, in most places the usual daily work is being done. Most of the deportees were missing by relatives and neighbors [...].

In the village of Tótszentmárton, where a kulak was evicted, who was a member of our Party until 1948, an enemy organized group about 15 people were standing in front of the village hall shouted that there was an Nyilas' rule, the old communists were taken away. At this as well as in all other actions, the enemy tried to create an atmosphere, so e.g. when the deportees went to the standing ones one of the kulaks said, 'today to me, tomorrow to you' [...].

The mood is particularly dangerous, which manifests in places by this notion of 'good kulaks', where it is said that he was not a bad person. This is what the reactionaries are trying to do with it and thereby feeling pity for the displaced. Especially in the morning, while the emigrants were able to get in touch with the villagers, they themselves tried to intimidate the population. In Leteny e.g. one of the kulaks said, 'The same is waiting for us as in '44 for the Jews.' In Csömödér village, a larger group was watching the evacuated people at the railway station, then they dispersed and went to work at the request of the outside army. Resistance was expressed by the displaced in the form of escaping. Thus e.g. from Murarátka, Ramocsa, Nemespátro, Csömödér evicted people escaped, in the morning, from whom several were arrested by the police and the eviction was carried out.

In an urban context, voices could be heard in the market in Nagykanizsa, where the women entering from the village were speaking in whispers about the deportation. In general, there is a lot of surprise among the right-side parties, and so in Szeptenek and Szentgyörgyvölgy, the kulaks who are not marked for deportation also said that they would pack up because they did not know when it would be their turn [...]. In Nagykanizsa, there is a particularly strong confusion in the groups of lawyers. Officials from MAORT factory, who are usually quite volatile, also refrain from expressing an opinion.

The deportation was received with enthusiasm by the poor peasantry and thus mainly by the PA. In Letenye e.g. PA members say this should have been done a long time ago. In Nemesnép and Szentgyörgyvölgy, comrades and non-partisan agricultural proletarians are almost despising the fact that not all the kulaks were taken away [...]."

An armed incident occurred near Rédics on August 17, 1953, at 1:30 p.m. From the Yugoslav side, a fire was opened to border guards János Kaitszki and László Tiliczki from an MG-42 machine gun. The firefight was ended by Tiliczki, who fired the Yugoslav machine gunner. On the same day, Imre Gőz the SSD boarder guard was shot from the other side in Tótszerdahely. Perhaps the biggest incident publicity occurred on

December 19, 1951, at Letenye on the island of Mura. Where 10 Yugoslav citizens felled trees on the island under four internal protections. An exchange of diplomatic notes took place, and until the summer of 1952 the debate was on the table. The Szabad Népe reported on it.¹⁰

Military Political Aspects of the Yugoslav-Hungarian Little Cold War

The short democratic period after World War II proved to be short for cross-border cooperation between the two states to begin. From 1949 onwards, bilateral relations deteriorated, and in the 1950s the 621 km long Yugoslav-Hungarian border¹¹ was almost completely cut off¹² and



Figure 1. Protection lanes in the southern defence system.

Source: SRÁGLI, p. 59.

¹⁰ J. JAKUS, Secret War along the Southern State Border in the Early 50s, in: *Central European Publications*, 16, 2012, pp. 42–54.

¹¹ On December 1, 1918, the Kingdom of Serbia-Croatia-Slovenia was exhibited, which from 1929 was called the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. From 31 January 1946 to 28 April 1992, it was the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

¹² The Soviet Union rejected Yugoslav confederate aspirations in the Balkans. As a result of tensions, on June 21, 1948, Cominform sentenced Tito, whom he had already called an imperialist spy in 1949, in a decision made in Bucharest. As a result of the former events, Hungary terminated its five-year economic agreements with Yugoslavia in June 1949.

became an area of open military and political confrontation. In the summer of 1951, fortification work began, a 430 km long protection zone was established, which was reinforced with minefields, wire fences and concrete fortifications. As a result, none of the previously planned socialist heavy industry developments were realized in the border areas.¹³

The ideas of Hungarian force development had been constantly changing with the deterioration of bilateral relations. In the autumn of 1949, the draft "Petőfi" military plan envisaged an army of 53,000, in the spring of 1950, "Rákóczi" defined it as 65,000, and then in the same year, "Kossuth" defined it as 135,000. The official name of the army became the Hungarian People's Army, which already in 1952 held nearly 230,000 soldiers with weapons. In addition, the SSD, the police, and the border guard also assisted in defence activities with almost 50,000 people. A new security factor, not yet known in military policy, had been introduced, the so-called border guard. This resulted in the creation of an area of 9,000 km² involving six counties, 15 districts, 310 settlements, where nearly 300,000 people were affected because of various internal security measures. Significant evictions had been carried out among social groups that were unreliable to the system. In two phases, more than 3,400 residents over the age of 16 were displaced, several of whom resided in Yugoslavia. The rear border of the narrower border area was at a depth of 15 km, and there were also a 2 km, a 500 m, and a 50 m lane where only border guards could move.¹⁴

Draft Military Geographic and Operational Direction of the Southern Battlefield, with Special Regard to Zala County

In the study area, only the Drava and the Mura constitute an actual military barrier. Both come from the central and peripheral areas of the Alps. The largest body of water is discharged in late spring and summer. There is snowmelt in the Alpine catchment in May, and the weak secondary autumn maximum is caused by Mediterranean cyclones. The ever-fluctuating water level and the rapid, swirling flow of the rivers were a major obstacle, would have been crated, especially in the event of an attack involving a significant infantry stock. In addition, the meridional

¹³ HAJDÚ, pp. 69–77.

¹⁴ L. SRÁGLI, *Fortress. History of the Establishment and Dismantling of the Southern Defense System 1948–1958*. Association of Town and Village Defenders. Hungaria Nostra. Budapest 2007, p. 136.

valley, and the hill network of the Zala Hills are unfavourable. Due to the geomorphological features, the road network is winding, the superstructures are usually narrow. Unsuitable for the rapid movement of heavy vehicles and troop vehicles, the denser-than-average forest cover could have been a good disguise for the Zala and Vas units of the Hungarian People's Army.¹⁵

Military defence plans in the 1950s also included an attack on Yugoslavia in terms of protecting the southern border. The ways in which the war would have been broken out, were imagined by the Hungarian warlords in the following ways:¹⁶

"1. Western powers are launching offensive operations on the main battlefield, from the west, against the peace camp to which Yugoslavia will join from the south.

2. The imperialists begin their attack on the socialist countries at the same time as Yugoslavia.

3. Yugoslavia will start military operations on its own, primarily against Hungary, to which the Western imperialists will join in time."

As a result, the Hungarian People's Army envisioned a southern operational direction and a southwestern operational direction. From the point of view of Zala and Vas counties, the latter contained priorities. I will focus on the immediate border zone later. The Szentgotthárd-Muraszemenye section is 70 km long. The topography has significant relief energy and is covered with forests. Only auxiliary Yugoslav attacks were anticipated. The other section of the Muraszemenye-Barcs facial line was 98 km long. The border is protected by the Mura and the Drava, on the Gola-Bjelovar section on the left bank of the Drava the river provides a Yugoslav bridgehead. The tactical activity of our southern neighbor was expected on the Goričan-Kotor-Drava line on a 20–25 km front line. On the Hungarian side, this is practically the Letenye-Tótszerdahely-Molnári-Murakeresztúr section. We will cover the shootings and spy activity here later. In the ideas of 1950, VII. number of protection areas had been designated, of which the Murakeresztúr-Gyékényes-Somogyudvarhely 46 km section is relevant for the Zala section. In contrast, the final division of the district

¹⁵ J. SUBA, *A deli védelmi rendszer. I. Ravasz. (szerk.) Betonba zárt hidegháború: Az 1950-es években épített déli védelmi rendszer kutatása és feltárása Budapest, Magyarország: HM Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum 2010, pp. 91–162.*

¹⁶ J. JAKUS, Conflict Situation between Hungary and Yugoslavia at the Beginning of the Cold War. The State of the Hungarian People's Army and its War Plans against Yugoslavia in the early 1950s, in: S. A. TÓTH (ed.), *"At the southern ends..." Studies on the Cold War conflict between Hungary and Yugoslavia in the Bačka Region*, Budapest 2009, p. 79.

was completed, which was concentrated between the Danube and the Tisza and in the direction of Lenti-Nagykanizsa.

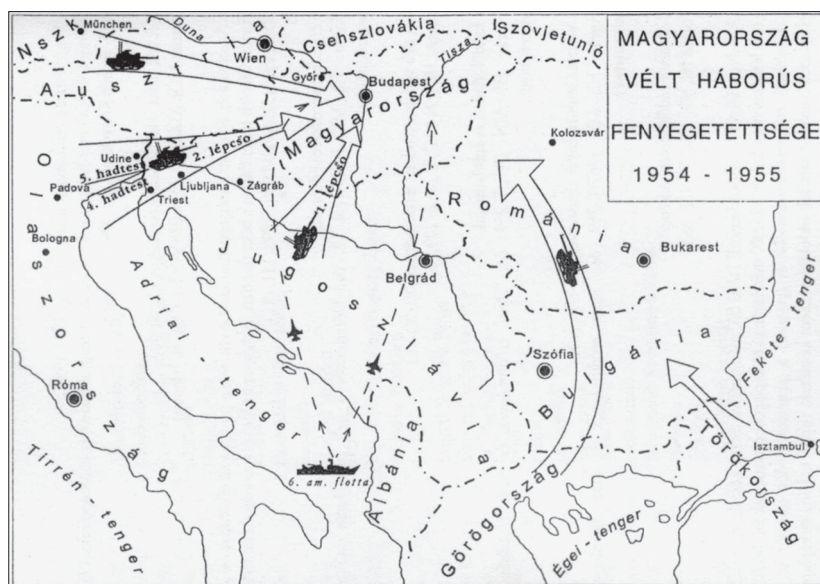


Figure 2. The perceived threat of war to Hungary in the early fifties.

Source: SRÁGLI, p. 56.

The last-mentioned district was important from the point of view of national economy. The area of Bázakerettye provided the backbone of Hungarian oil production at this time. In a war situation, its loss would have temporarily paralyzed the functioning of the country and the army. The main elements of the system of technical fortifications were reinforced concrete elements, expanded with earth-wood firing stations, the objects of the SPS (Southern Protection System) can be grouped according to the following: artillery fortifications (firing stations), minesweeper firing stations, machine gun fortifications, tank and assault rifle firing stations, observation posts, shelters, battle and traffic trenches, technical obstacles, sham fortifications. Their raw materials are usually: adobe bricks, sticks, bricks, stone, reinforced concrete, natural stone-concrete. A total of 91 protection districts were built out of the planned 223. Two of them were completed in Vas County and 2 in Zala.¹⁷

¹⁷ SUBA, pp. 91–162.

The protection zones implemented in Zala and Vas counties are listed below. The number in front of the code number is the four digits of the battalion's defensive district, the slashed letters are the centre's outposts.

Table 1. Established districts and supports of the first defence zone (main protection belt) in Zala and Vas counties (SUBA, p. 113.)

1000 Őriszentpéter	1019 Tótszentmárton
1002 Bajánsenye	1021 Semjénháza
1005 Nemesnép	1025 Murakeresztúr – DK – 2 Km
1006 Resznek	1027 Zákány
1007 Belsőárd	1010 Kútfej – K – 2 km
1008 Rédics	1011/a Lovászi-K-2 km
1012 Tornyiszentmiklós	1013 Ri
1015 Murarátka	1017 Letenye

Table 2. Established protection districts and supports of the first and second positions of the first defence zone in Zala and Vas counties (SUBA, p. 114.)

1129/a Lovászi	1130/a Tormafölde
1175 Csesztreg	1176 Lenti
1179 Szepetnek	1180 Bajcsa

Table 3. Established protection districts and supports of the second and third defence zone in Zala and Vas counties (SUBA, pp. 115–116.)

1242 Csömödér	1226 Galambok	1243 Nemesvid
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Zala County

On the Zala section, they were prepared for an attack from the southwest. In the first place, aggression was expected from the Rijeka-Trieste direction. The border area of the county is with full small villages, its two most important cities are Nagykanizsa and Zalaegerszeg. The production and processing of crude oil in Zala was one of the greatest importance at the level of the national economy. The battalion protection districts and mile-

stones were established in the county as we can see in the followings.¹⁸

Table 4. The battalion protection districts and milestones established in the county were as follows (SUBA, p. 138.)

I-006 1005 Nemesnép	I-007 1006 Resznek
I-008 1007 Belsőárd	I-009 1008 Rédics
I-011 1010 Kútfej-K-2 km	I-012 1011/a Lóvász-K-2 km
I-013 1012 Tornyiszentmiklós	I-014 1013 Dobri
I-016 015 Murarátka	I-017 1017 Letenye
I-019 1019 Tótszentmárton	I-021 1021 Semjénháza
I-023 1023 Fityeháza	I-024 1025 Murakeresztúr-DK-2 km
I-1-04 1129/a Lovászi	I-1-05 1130/a Tormafölde
I-2-02 1175 Csesztreg	I-2-03 1176 Lenti
I-2-07 1179 Szepetnek	I-2-07 1180 Bajcsa
II-01 1242 Csömödér	III-05 1226 Galambok

Most of the battalion defences and squadrons followed a 15-kilometer border. Their primary goal was to secure the Lenti-Murakeresztúr section. There were several important transport lines to be protected in terms of team movements: the main road connecting Letenye with Nagykanizsa, the Murakeresztúr-Gyékényes railway main line running near the border line, and the MAORT facilities in Nagykanizsa, Lovászi, Bázakerettye, Budafa.¹⁹

Characteristics of Everyday Existence as a Nationality on the Border

The daily lives of people living along the border were significantly determined by the nature of the state border and the way it was guarded. I have already analysed the specifics of the method of guarding above, but the political geographical nature of the border must also be addressed. The international literature distinguishes between two types of boundaries: “*frontier*” and “*boundary*”. The term frontier is perhaps closest to our word turf, but we don’t usually use it in common parlance. And the content of the report is much broader than our turf term. The meaning of boundary is simply limited to the boundary line. In the Hungarian interpretation,

¹⁸ SUBA, pp. 91–162.

¹⁹ Ibid.

the frontier is nothing more than a border zone of different quality, a demarcated area. Everyday life on the Yugoslav-Hungarian border was defined by a 15-kilometer frontier and the distance from it. In the so-called border zone, entry and exit were restricted by administrative means, and the detention of the detention facilities was continuous. Approaching the border itself was strictly forbidden, and a pressure lane and other technical equipment were used to prevent it. Border areas have been avoided by major infrastructure and industrial investments. Obviously, our areas along Yugoslavia are small villages, with no or only partial centre settlements. Therefore, the political considerations of the settlement of the age, the underdevelopment of small villages, the pumping of capital into industry, exponentially worsened the sense of comfort and living standards of the population in the fifties. The events of '56 aimed at overthrowing the proletarian dictatorship could be traced back to these processes, among others.²⁰

1956 Events and Some Aspects of their Retaliation in Zala

In the October 24 issue of the daily newspaper run by the county organization of the HDP, the events of the previous day were assessed as counter-revolutionary activity, even just in the first issue of the following day. The day featured two issues, the second with a nationally coloured frame and commenting on reality faithfully. The biggest demonstration in Nagykanizsa was on October 26, which was attended by students of the city as well as employees of MÁV and Post, as well as a section of the Défense Forces. The crowd invigorated the events in the capital and demanded the resignation of Rákosi and Gerő. During the parade, Kosuth's song was sung, and the Anthem was recited at the 48th statue. On October 26 was also marked by peaceful demonstrations in Zalaegerszeg. On the 27th, however, bloody events also took place in Zalaegerszeg and Nagykanizsa. At the county seat, the crowd demanded that István Dénes, the first secretary of the County Committee, come out of the headquarters of the party committee and stick with them. He refused to do so and threatened the crowd to retreat and form a workers' council. Even after this was formed, they refused to retreat, to which the answer was a gunpowder, in which seven were wounded and two died. In front of the building of the party committee in Nagykanizsa, young people

²⁰ T. HARDI – Z. HAJDÚ – I. MEZEI, *Borders and Cities in the Carpathian Basin*, Pécs, Budapest 2009, p. 374.

demanding guns were opened fire, and several were wounded. In front of the Pannonia Hotel, a young woman was shot dead by the army units.²¹

The Kádár consolidation was not the friendliest in its initial stages. After the defeat of the revolution by the Soviets, only the police units were in good condition to secure the new order, but they proved to be few. The SSD disbanded, the army was not completely reliable. Therefore, a new army organization called “puffs” was formed from trusted communists, former Hungarians called “ÁVOSOK”, loyal police and military officers. Their duties were later taken over by the Workers’ Guard, which was formed in February 1957. Below I quote the meaning of some of the actions of puffs to illustrate the nature of their activity and their habitus:²²

“1956. XII. 13. Crushing a women’s demonstration. The first act of the newly formed army century. The Armed Forces together with the use of weapons (alarm shooting) and then it was necessary to shoot among the crowd in the evening, when the crowd wanted to free the detainees. The demonstration was disrupted by the century together with the army.

On May 14, 1957, together with the army, the border guard, and the headquarters, we combed the Nagykápolnok forest in search of counter-revolutionaries. During this certification, Army Captain Ferenc Sény was wounded by a counter-revolutionary bandit, who then died of his injury.

On March 14, 1957, the General Staff, the Army, the Border Guard, and the Squadron carried out a demonstration procession in the county with full armament, which the workers received with great reassurance, seeing the strength.”

The above quotations show well that the army with brute force, not estimating human life, retaliated against the events of October 56th. The language of the reports reveals low-skilled, uneducated people. In several cases, they came from the low social classes (servants, day laborers, workers) of the short civil period before and after World War II.

Since the late 1950s, there had been easing between the countries of the socialist bloc and the “separate traveller” Yugoslavia. Opening to Western Europe had also begun. This opening to the west connected our southern neighbour as an intermediate country in Hungary’s export-import system: many products that could not be imported directly for Hungary, mainly retail consumer goods, came to Hungary through Yugoslav private imports. Thus, from the mid-1960s, cross-border relations revived. We distinguish two types of these, in relation to the

²¹ MOLNÁR, pp. 346–348.

²² Ibid., pp. 372–373.

two countries, they are organized locally and centrally. To develop the cooperation, several centrally organized fact-finding and suggestion courses were held.²³

Summary

In socialist state Hungary in the 1950s, the armed and geopolitical confrontation with Yugoslavia determined the lives and everyday life of the South Slavic nationalities living along the border. The "big politics", the confrontation between the blocs, the exclusion of our southern neighbour from Cominform also left its mark on the lives of everyday people. Preparations for war and the horrible sums spent on armed defence hindered the country's socio-economic development. In addition, our Croatian, Slovenian, Serbian nationalities were stamped by Tito's chain dog, degrading them to an anti-regime, second-class citizen. A historical snapshot of contemporary archival sources are testimonies of how the state power acted against them and how it encouraged the majority society to do so. The two-sided change of attitude after '56 was only slowly being reflected in everyday socio-economic life. Actual relief did not begin until the 1960s.

²³ P. GOLOBICS, *Possibilities of Cooperation of Border Regions in Southern Transdanubia*, Pécs 2001, pp. 28–29.

Social and Economic Development of Akoko Society under Colonial Rule¹

*James Olusegun Adeyeri**

The Akoko people are domiciled in the eastern part of Ondo State, and northeast Yorubaland, Nigeria. In 1897, Akokoland was conquered and brought under British rule. The transformatory impact of British colonial rule, especially in relation to Akoko economy and society still require scholarly attention. Between 1897 and 1960, Akokoland underwent a considerable degree of socio-economic transformation under British rule. In the social sphere, Western education provided Akoko indigenes with the requisite training to take up employment in the local administration workforce. The introduction and promotion of Christianity by European/expatriate missionaries and the colonial officials significantly undermined Akoko traditional religion, which the Akoko people resisted albeit briefly and unsuccessfully. Economically, British rule bequeathed to Akokoland a modern road network, which marked a clear departure from the pre-colonial road system in terms of socio-economic utility value. This was, however, accompanied by the introduction and use of forced labour. The evolution and growth of cash crop economy and the introduction of British currency created a new commercial *elite* of Akoko middlemen, leading to higher purchasing power and the transformation of Akoko architecture. The intensive drive for cash crop production and the attendant scarcity of land resulted in frequent land disputes and food crisis. This study, therefore, examined the role of British rule in Akoko economy and society between 1897 and 1960, with a view to identifying the significant social and economic transformations during the study period. It concludes that British rule served as an agent of positive and negative socio-economic transformation in Akokoland.

[Akokoland; British Rule; Agitations; Reforms; Socio-Economic Transformation]

Introduction

In Akokoland, which comprise about 40 towns/kingdoms such as Ikare, Oka, Akungba, Ipesi, Ifira, Ogbagi, Okeagbe, etc, multiple languages

¹ I acknowledge and express gratitude to the Center for the History of Global Development, Shanghai University, China for its Fellowship/Funding support towards this study.

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and value patterns hold sway. Akoko territory is very hilly and rugged, which poses a challenge to communication, development and other socio-economic endeavours. This paper is a historical reconstruction of the social and economic development of Akoko society under colonial rule. It examines the significant social and economic changes in Akoko society during the era of British rule from 1897 to 1960. The study draws on primary sources including the Chief Secretary's Office, Annual Reports and Intelligence Reports files, oral data as well as some existing secondary data. The discourse covers the spheres of religion, education, public works, health services and evolution of cash crop economy.

Religion

Prior to British rule, traditional religion was firmly rooted in Akokoland. Like other Yoruba people, traditional religion among the Akoko rested upon four major principles which include: belief in one Supreme Being, belief in the existence of spirits and supernatural forces in the universe, belief in deities/lesser gods, and lastly, a devised system by which the Supreme Being could be approached through the divinities (spirits) or *Orisa* for the needs of man.² In pre-colonial Akoko society, the Supreme Being was known by various names across the various towns and villages. For example, Isua people called him *Osinni*, Ikare called him *Oosa*, *Osulu* or *Oloun*, while Oba called him *Eleda*, just to mention a few. He was seen as the creator who had power over life and death. Thus, they feared his wrath and therefore worshipped him by means of praise and offering of gifts via religious ceremonies. To win God's favour, the people devised certain rules and regulations, which could modify, and steer their behaviour away from evil acts and thus help them avoid the manifestations of evil forces in the form of ailments and catastrophic situations. Aside ethical issues, the Akoko also associated happenings around them as well as their life activities such as climatic conditions, important events like birth, death, planting and harvesting seasons with the worship of the Supreme Being.³

In most Akoko communities, the prevalent divinities were the *Imole* (*Orisa*) in some other Yoruba communities) and *Egungun* (masquerade).

² J. A. ATANDA, *A Comprehensive History of the Yoruba Peoples up to 1800*, Ibadan 2007, pp. 161–162; R. A. OLANIYAN, *Nigerian History and Culture*, Essex 1985, p. 235.

³ V. K. OLUGBANI, *Anglican Church and its Impact on the Muslim and Traditional Religious Communities in Akokoland, 1909–1951*, B. A. Long Essay, Adekunle Ajasin University, Akungba, Akoko 2008, p. 23; R. SULE, 95 years, (personal communication, Imuren Quarters, Epinmni-Akoko, 13 May, [2013–05–14]).

The *Imole* could either be a person believed to have been deified at death, or a river spirit, while the Akoko notion of *Egungun* aligns with the concept of reincarnation in a materialised form, that is, a costumed figure or masquerade. A few illustrations would suffice here. In Oyin, there were four *Imole*, which included *Imoleohun*, *Imolevenje*, *Imoleoto* and *Imoleoloni*. The people also had two types of masquerades called *Egungun Gbede*, which came out once annually during the *Akaraltan* (Bean Cake) festival and signified the presence of the ancestors in their midst. In addition to these, the people worshipped *Sango* (God of Thunder) who was consulted during illness and drought, and to locate mysteriously stolen goods. In Okeagbe, prominent *Imoles* included *Ene*, *Olomi*, *Imene* and *Aya*, while the masquerades included *Egungun Gbede*, *Oluderi*, *Ede*, and *Aborogin*. In Oyin, the Okeagbe people also worshipped *Sango*. In Erusu, the people worshipped *Imole Olu* and *Egungun Arimisewa*. Arigidi people worshipped *Imole Amo* and *Esi* alongside *Egungun Ede*, while Oba people worshipped *Ogun* (God of Iron), *Orisa Alala*, *Orisainuri*, and *Orisaklenmen*.⁴

Ifa consultation was a common practice across Akokoland. In the various towns and villages, it was usual to consult *Orunmila* to regularly decipher the fate of the community. Some of the findings served as a veritable protection and guide for the communities in terms of moral and ethical values. As an illustration, in Isua, it was discovered through *Ifa* that if the married women avoided adultery, and the appropriate rituals are performed, the kingdom would no longer face the trauma of external attacks.⁵ As a whole, the nominative effect of indigenous religion on social life in pre-colonial Akoko society was wholesome. If nothing else, it ingrained a general belief among the people on the need to steer clear of evil acts and social vices such as injustice, brigandage, adultery, dishonesty etc as a precondition for God's favour.

Although Islam had reached Akokoland through the activities of the Nupe invaders and traders in the 19th century, the subsequent penetration of Christianity around 1896 had a revolutionary impact on social and economic developments within the areas thereafter. The advent of Christianity in Akoko can be traced to the activities of returnee converts consisting of former slaves, dispersed soldiers from the Kiriji-Ekitiparapo

⁴ Oba B. L. OLUSOLA, 58 years, The *Oloyin* of Oyin (Personal Communication), *Oloyin's* Palace, Oyin-Akoko [2014-06-04]; T. ADAMOLEKUN, Religious Interaction among the Akoko of Nigeria, in: *European Scientific Journal*, 8, 2012, pp. 44-45; OLUGBANI, p. 27.

⁵ OLUGBANI, pp. 26-27.

war, and some people who had travelled to towns like Abeokuta, Ijebu, Badagry, Warri, Lagos, Oshogbo, and Iseyin to acquire training in vocations such as carpentry, bricklaying, and tailoring. Back home, these elements which included Samuel Olamudun, Akiti, Isaiah, Omosanya and Akere introduced their new wealth of education and religion to their townsmen and women. Despite the stiff opposition to this new “idea”, Omosanya successfully mobilised the returnee converts in Oba to establish the Anglican Church. Thus, it was from Oba through Ikare that Anglicanism penetrated other *Akoko* towns.⁶

The dawn of colonial rule marked a watershed in the spread and consolidation of Christianity throughout *Akoko* territory. The pioneering initiatives of the aforementioned elements of *Akoko* extraction were buoyed by the combined efforts of British colonial officials and some foreign missionaries. In particular, the support and protection granted by the colonial District Officer during the early decades of the 20th century were crucial for the evolution and growth of Christianity in the area. It needs to be stated that Archdeacon L. A. Lennon, who is generally acknowledged as the consolidator of the Christian mission in *Akokoland* and architect of modern *Akoko*, benefited immensely from these colonial backing. Indeed, on his arrival in Ikare, from Oba (where he first settled and worked), Lennon approached the District Officer for assistance to establish an Anglican mission in *Akokoland*. The protection and support the latter subsequently granted the early Christians in *Akoko* made it possible for them to carry on their religious activities with minimal opposition from the Muslims and traditionalists. By this token, Anglicanism soon permeated the rank of *Akoko* towns and villages like Ipesi, Oka, Okeagbe, Isua, Ajowa, etc. The fortunes of Christianity in *Akokoland* were further bolstered by the appointment of Lennon as District Officer (in acting capacity) following the incumbent’s trip to Britain on leave.⁷

⁶ M. AJAYI, 80 years, farmer (Personal Communication), Oba-Akoko, [2014–06–04], and O. IJALAYE, 55 years, Teacher (Personal Communication), Oba-Akoko, [2014–06–04]; NATIONAL CONCORD, 22 December 1984; A. OGUNTUYI, *A Short History of Ado-Ekiti*, Akure 1952, p. 67; see also, J. F. A. AJAYI, *Christian Mission in Nigeria, 1841–1891: The Making of New Elite*, London 1965.

⁷ Bishop FAGBEMI, 74 years (Personal Communication), Erusu-Akoko, [2014–06–01]; and Oba K. OLUSA, 73 years, the *Oludotun* of Iludotun (Personal Communication), *Oludotun’s Palace*, [2013–06–01]; J. L. AKEREDOLU, *Introduction of Christianity into Akoko*, Owo 1986, p. 36; ADAMOLEKUN, p. 46.

The introduction and entrenchment of Christianity in Akoko society, however, amounted to a widespread and permanent erosion of the people's tradition and culture. To start with, the earliest missionaries left an ineffaceable stamp on the indigenous religion, denigrating it as idolatry and heathenistic. They despised Akoko names and instead prodded the people to adopt European names. Christian converts were encouraged to jettison indigenous mode of life, belief system, moral and civic responsibilities. Olomola lucidly described the scenario thus: *"In many places, fanatical Christian converts turned against indigenous religious practices and customs to the extent of exposing the religion and customs as unbecoming, the gods as mere artifacts, their worship and festivals as 'pagan' practices. Converts abandoned those civic responsibilities which conflicted with the tenets of their new found faith, no longer contributed in money and in kind to lineage and community sacrifices, refused chieftaincy titles, violated with frightful nonchalance the traditional conventions such as respect for traditional authorities and indigenous sanctions. Gradually but steadily the tap-roots of Yoruba culture were being uprooted. [...] The converts accepted only the authority of their mission, an alien organization, which transcended ethnic and cultural considerations. Indeed, converts no longer regarded themselves as merely as citizens of their respective communities but as members of a universal congregation or brotherhood of Christians."*⁸

All these inevitably facilitated the enduring destruction of Akoko traditional norms, values, and institutions.

The reactions of resilient Akoko traditionalists to the denigration of tradition and customs sometimes resulted in violence. In Ikare, in 1915, a group of Christians were abducted and severely beaten by traditionalists during the *Gidigbe* worship. In Auga, Joseph Ilegbemi, the town's Christians leader, was beheaded at the *Egungun* shrine in 1916. In Arigidi, the church built in the previous year was burnt by angry adherents of traditional religion. In Isua, in 1917, the *Olisua* authorised the seizure of Bibles and other Christian literature and threatened to burn them in order to stem the tide of the impunity among the ranks of the town's Christian converts. Even the Church Missionary Society's (CMS) agent in the town was not spared as he was beaten severely, while his wife was thoroughly threatened.⁹

⁸ I. O. OLOMOLA, *Pre-Colonial Patterns of Inter-State Relations in Eastern Yorubaland*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ife, Ile-Ife 1997, pp. 300–302.

⁹ F. AMINU – W. KOLAWOLE, *Akokoland: History and Distinguished People*, Ibadan 1997, p. 78; Chief ADEBAYO, Farmer (Personal Communication), Isua-Akoko, [2013–04–16].

Despite these and other expressions of resistance, Christianity and its concomitant effects had, however, come to stay in Akokoland. In fact, by the 1920s, missions like the Church Missionary Society (CMS), Roman Catholic Mission, Salvation Army and the Wesleyan Mission had become firmly entrenched in many Akoko towns.¹⁰

Education

Western education was a corollary of the rise of Christianity in Akokoland. It was introduced in the area by expatriate christen evangelists, as was the case in other parts of the colonial state. But before this, the pre-existing system of education in the area was the indigenous type. Indigenous education in Akokoland, like in other parts of Yorubaland, essentially centred upon inculcating indigenous knowledge, moral and societal values and norms, and vocational skills in members of the various communities.¹¹ Prior to 1913, literary education in Akokoland operated on the platform of adult literacy evening lessons arranged by former slaves like Solomon Babajide and A. Adeyemi of Ipesi and Omuo respectively. During such lessons, Christian converts received instructions on how to attain comprehensive understanding of the Yoruba alphabets. These foundational efforts received huge encouragement as from 1913, when the CMS acquired the services of Catechists to serve as evangelists in the Akoko District. In the various Akoko towns, they provided informal lessons and Sunday school classes, which covered instructions on character moulding and hygiene, among others.¹²

Archdeacon Lennon's arrival, however, marked a watershed in the evolution of western education in the area. Indeed, his assumption of duty as Assistant Superintendent of Owo District Church Mission in 1920 marked the dawn of formal western education and socio-economic advancement in Akokoland. It is necessary to note that there was no single primary school, let alone secondary or territory institution, in the whole of Akoko when Lennon arrived. He tackled this stiff challenge headlong through a combination of measures. First, he developed a harmonious relationship and understanding with both the British colonial officials and the Native Authorities within the district. He also embarked upon

¹⁰ S.A. APALOMO, 58 years, Teacher (Personal Communication), Ogbagi-Akoko, [2014-06-03]; J. H. BEELEY, *Intelligence Report on the Akoko District*, National Archives Ibadan (further NAI), C.S.O. 26/3, 292667, 1934, p. 88.

¹¹ *Chief* ADEBAYO, [2013-04-16].

¹² AMINU – KOLAWOLE, p. 80.

a familiarisation tour of the area during which he engaged in wide consultations with Akoko monarchs, chiefs, and church officials on the crucial importance of education and the need to establish schools in their various domains. It is on record that he subsequently secured the needed backing from the traditional authorities and church leaders in his zealous quest for the propagation of western education in the area. But he also faced resistance from Muslims, and elements who may be regarded as resilient traditionalists who were more interested in utilising their wards for farm work and other domestic duties rather than allowing them to attend mission schools where they could be indoctrinated with Christian and western ideas. Nonetheless, western education gradually replaced indigenous education. By 1921, through Lennon's staunch advocacy, six primary schools had emerged in Ikare, Isua, Omuo, Akunnu, Akungba and Arigidi. The curriculum of the early schools in Akokoland covered English language, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Religious and Moral teachings, and Agricultural, while the girls received additional training in cookery, laundry, knitting, tailoring and other fields that could prepare them for successful matrimonial lives.¹³

The granting of a separate district to Akokoland by the CMS and the inauguration of the Akoko District Provincial Church Council in 1925 further boosted the growth of western education in the area. Again, through Lennon's determined campaign and efforts, by 1926, schools also emerged in Okeagbe, Oka, Ikaram, Oba, Irun, and Ogbagi, and by 1927 up to eleven Akoko towns had their own schools. A major challenge to most of these schools was the dearth of qualified teachers, due to paucity of funds. The immediate implication of an unqualified teaching staff was substandard academic work and output. In addition, the colonial government refused to provide the needed grants. However, by 1930, Lennon had surmounted this challenge as all the twenty-two schools within Akoko districts were qualified for government subvention. After a long delay caused by government policy and reluctance, Akoko got its premier post-primary educational institution in 1947 with the creation of Victory College, Ikare. This was followed by the establishment of other schools such as the secondary school for boys founded in Ikare in 1947

¹³ J. B. OGUNDANA, Ikare, in: G. O. OGUNTOMISIN (ed.), *Yoruba Towns and Cities*, Ibadan 2003, p. 30; AMINU – KOLAWOLE, pp. 81–82; I. A. AKINJOGBIN, *Milestones and Concepts in Yoruba History and Culture: A key to Understanding Yoruba History*, Ibadan 2002, p. 82.

and the African Church Grammar school established in Oka in 1957.¹⁴

Early secondary schools in Akoko, like their primary school counterparts, also faced the challenge of funds and the accompanying problem of inadequate staff. As an illustration, Lennon had to go out of his way to solicit funds from the colonial administration and Akoko leaders to tackle this challenge. In his appeal for funds for Victory College, Ikare, he emphasised the importance of the institution to Akokoland so long as the stakeholders are willing to invest in its development. He gave assurances that the prevalent difficulties in terms of adequate staffing would be overcome once fund was available to recruit expatriate teachers with requisite qualifications. To serve as encouragement, he informed Akoko Federal Council Officials about the pledge by a Technical Teacher from Jamaica to resume work in the college once they were prepared to fund his trip to Nigeria. The Akoko Village Heads subsequently promised to intensify efforts on the voluntary contributions and to make available the total amount collected before 5 May 1951.¹⁵

British colonial government's ambivalence towards western education in Akokoland (unlike in the Northern Emirates) changed due to the realisation of the necessity of training the people for support services to the administration. Thus, the government brought emphasis upon the teaching of English Language in all classes at the expense of native (Akoko) dialects. In the upper classes, such as Standard 5 and 6, the History syllabus was dominated largely by European topics. Moreover, the syllabi of other subjects (perhaps except for Geography) were, to a great extent, British in outlook.¹⁶ The overall impact of this type of education on Akoko was an admixture of benefits and adversities. On the one hand, the introduction, management, and development of western education fostered an attitude of cooperation within and among the various Akoko communities since the leading personalities had to converge and consult periodically over matters bordering on the schools' stability and progress.

¹⁴ NAI, Ondo Prof. 1306, Vol. 111; NATIONAL CONCORD, 22 December 1984; AMINU – KOLAWOLE, p. 85.

¹⁵ NAI, Ondo Prof. *Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Akoko Federal Council*, 28 April 1951.

¹⁶ E. O. OMOBORINBOLA, 102 years, Lay-Reader (Personal Communication), Okele Quarter, Akungba – Akoko, [2013–05–14]; see also J. S. COLEMAN, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*, Benin 1986; S. FSQAHAM, *Government and Mission Education in Northern Nigeria, 1900–1919*, Ibadan 1966, p. 24; C. W. ORR, *The Making of Northern Nigeria*, London 1965, p. 266.

Western education also equipped Akoko indigenes with the requisite training to take up employment in the local administration workforce. On the other hand, however, western education caused a decline in the labour force available for farm work as many people developed aversion for agricultural work. The new type of education engendered a negative perception of indigenous societal values among the now literate Akoko elements. In addition, the newly acquired literacy forced labour migration to cities in quest of greener pastures.¹⁷

Public Works

The prime motive for British imperialist undertaking in Akoko territory (like in other parts of Nigeria) was the desire for economic exploitation of Akoko resources. The area experienced a dearth of capital projects during the first two decades of British rule. In terms of road construction, what existed in Akoko up to the closing years of the third decade of the 20th century were pedestrian trade routes consisting of dirt roads and several rope bridges.¹⁸ However, plans had commenced earlier in 1920 (after the transfer of Akoko District to the Southern Provinces) to transform the existing roads by expanding and making them conducive to motor transportation¹⁹. Consequently, by May 1923, a bridge across River Osse had been constructed. The immediate significance of this was that motor transportation from Akoko to Kabba via Owo became possible. The first through road in the Akoko area (Owo-Kabba-Lokoja road via Ikare and Ikaram), which construction began in 1922 was opened to traffic in 1927. This was complemented by supplementary work in the

¹⁷ A. A. SANNI, 83 years, Retired Public Servant (Personal Communication), Isalu Quarters, Epinmi-Akoko, [2013-05-13]; E. O. ADEOTI, 60 years, Senior Lecturer, and Head of Department, History and International Studies, Lagos State University (Personal Communication), Ojo, [2013-04-02]; J. O. AFOLABI, 70 years, Associate Lecturer, Lagos State University, (Retired Public Servant), (Personal Communication), Ojo, [2013-04-02]; J. B. OGUNDANA, OkeAgbe, in: G. O. OGUNTOMISIN (ed.), *Yoruba Towns and Cities*, Ibadan 2003, p. 72; N.A.I. Ondo Prof. *Minutes of the Meeting of Akoko Federal Council*, 30 September 1950; A. L. MABOGUNJE, *Yoruba Towns*, Ibadan 1962, p. 11.

¹⁸ J. O. ADEYERI – J. B. ADEJUWON. The Implication of British Colonial Economic Policies on Nigeria's Development, in: *International Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Sciences*, 1, 2012, p. 1; A. OLOWOOKERE A.K.A 'Omo Kola', Cloth Weaver/Farmer/Kolanut Trader (Personal Communication), Epinmi-Akoko, [2013-05-13].

¹⁹ NAI, Ondo Prof. 4/1,2, Annual Report, Owo Division, 1920-1921.

form of cement culverts and semi-permanent bridges in the years that followed. The Ikare-Ogbagi-Irun Road was built and opened to traffic in 1927. Unlike the Owo-Kabba-Lokoja road via Ikare and Ikaram, the culverts of this road were of temporary construction.²⁰ It is important to note that both roads served as a boost to communication, trade, and commerce around the Akoko-Ekiti axis. In particular, the opening of the roads inspired a significant change in the direction, volume, and nature of the trade in Irun cloth and cocoa from Ekiti Division.²¹

The Ikaram-Idoani road that passes through Isua was opened in 1930. This road, which had semi-permanent culverts and was free from difficult slopes, served as a vital communication link, particularly from the administrative perspective. And with the completion of the Oka-Isua Road, it became possible to cover extensive areas including Oka, Owo, Isua, Ikare and Ikaram via motor transport. The construction of the Arigidi-Okeagbe-Omuo road commenced in 1928 and was opened for vehicular use in 1931. The Oka-Epinmi-Isua road was opened for motor use in July 1932. The road comprised cement/dry stone culverts all through and a 40-foot semi-permanent bridge near Epinmi. Similarly, the Okeagbe-Oyin-Omuo road was constructed during the same period. It is necessary at this juncture to mention a significant aspect of British colonial rule in Akokoland, the use of forced labour. According to evidence, *curvee* was initially operated in form of supply of human portorage, but later deployed for the building of infrastructure like roads, Native Administration blocks, etc. To be specific, forced labour accounted for the construction of the Okeagbe-Oyin-Omuo road,²² mentioned earlier. The use of *curvee* can be explained by Britain's reluctance to commit British funds to Akoko's development in line with her imperialist motive in the area.

However, in 1949, the colonial administration declared its readiness to aid the tune of 50% of total cost of feeder roads in the province. This came on the heel of a programme of roads and feeder roads earlier drawn up, with the hope that financial aid would come from surplus funds of the Cocoa Marketing Board towards its completion by 1955.²³ Under this

²⁰ NAI, Ondo Prof. 26/2, 11874, Annual Report, Owo Division, Vol. 1, 1923, 62.

²¹ M. A. OGUNYEMI, *Local Migration in Irun: An Outline of the Movements of Irun People Since 1900*, B. A. Long Essay, University of Ibadan, Ibadan 1964, p. 18; BEELEY, pp. 13, 15–16.

²² OGUNDANA, p. 71; BEELEY, p. 14; N.A.I. Ondo Prof. 4/1,16, Annual Report, Owo Division, 1932.

²³ NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of Meeting of Akoko Federal Council, 23 March 1949.

project, roads such as the Epinmi-Ugbe, Ifira-Afo, and Erusu-Okeagbe feeder roads were completed.²⁴ By this time too, the Isua-Ibillo-Osse Bridge had been constructed, while plans were already in place to tar Owo-Ikare Road and construct a bridge, the Omuo-Igbagun Bridge, over the stream which separated Akoko and Yagba territories.²⁵ In its entirety, colonial Akoko road network was largely rudimentary by modern-standards. However, it marked a clear departure from the pre-colonial road system in terms of reach, sophistication, and socio-economic utility value.

Health Services

Health services in Akoko suffered severe neglect by the colonial authorities, especially during the first three decades of colonial rule. The Lokoja Hospital (the only one in the Northern Provinces at the time) devoted its services largely to the British political officials and European traders to the detriment of the indigenous population. During the period when Akoko was under Kabba Province, there was no single medical officer throughout the province. In fact, this sort of official neglect of provision of health services was principally responsible for the large number of deaths recorded during disease epidemics in Akoko territory and other areas of Kabba Province during the 1910s.²⁶ Even when Akoko joined the Southern Provinces, the entire Ondo Province (which included Akoko District) had no medical officer. However, in 1922, Archdeacon Lennon and his wife established the first modern health service delivery facility in Akokoland, the Faith Dispensary, at Ikare, to serve the entire area. In 1930, a dispensary was created in Owo and was visited periodically by the Medical Officer of Benin. In 1932, the colonial administration established additional dispensaries at Omuo, Ikaram and Oka.²⁷ By 1952,

²⁴ Oba F. OLADUNJOYE, 75 years, the *Ajana* of Afa (Personal Communication), *Ajana's* Palace, Afa-Akoko, [2014–06–04]; NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, 14 October 1950; N.A.I. Ondo Prof. Minutes of Meeting of Akoko Federal Council, 5 May 1951; see also, B. O. ADEWUMI, *Erusu: The Histories of Our Times*, 2009, p. 29.

²⁵ NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of Meeting of Akoko Federal Council, 9 March 1951; N.A.I. Ondo Prof. Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, 26 May 1951.

²⁶ National Archives Kaduna (further NAK), Loko Prof. 7/11, 3646, Quarterly Report, Kabba Province June 1910; NAK. Loko Prof. 10/3, 112P, Annual Report, Kabba Province, 1914.

²⁷ NAI, Ondo Prof. 4/1, Annual Report, Ondo Province, 1930; N.A.I. Ondo Prof 4/1, 16, Annual Report, Owo Division, 1932.

a dispensary and maternity centre had been opened at Akungba and Ikare respectively. An Infectious Diseases Hospital had also been established at Ikare, while the government had initiated steps to build a rural health centre in the town,²⁸ and in 1960 a dispensary was opened at Erusu.²⁹ However, the aforementioned public health facilities suffered from poor funding, infrastructure and management. There is evidence to show that even in the closing decades of British rule, dispensaries in Akoko District did not receive adequate medicines and other medical supplies and did not get the required administrative supervision by the Medical Officer supposedly in charge of the area.³⁰ Not surprising, therefore, the overall performance of the colonial administration in terms of public health service delivery in Akokoland during the period under study was poor.

Economy

Akoko indigenous economy, that was principally agrarian and subsistent in nature experienced significant transformation during the period under study. One of such changes was the emergence of an export-based (cash crops-oriented) and monetised economic system around the last two decades of the 19th century. Two related factors largely accounted for this development: first, was the contact with Christian missionaries, and second, the activities of British colonial authorities. With the entrenchment of *Pax Britannica* and British rule since about 1897, new cash crops such as cocoa, cassava, coffee, kolanut and tobacco began to receive increasing patronage and cultivation among the people, while the production of pre-existing ones like palm produce and rubber also expanded.³¹ While information regarding crops like cassava, coffee, tobacco, and rubber remain scanty, evidence suggests that by 1928, through the pioneering

²⁸ NAI, Ondo Prof. 172B, 1/1 Touring Notes by CLARK, S. C. Health Superintendent, Ondo Province, 12 January 1952; NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, 2 May 1950; NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of Meeting of Akoko Federal Council, 4 November 1950. NAI, Ondo Prof. 172B, 1/1, Inspection Notes of CLARK, P. L. S. Health Superintendent, Ondo Province, 10 January 1951.

²⁹ ADEWUMI, p. 29.

³⁰ NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of Meeting of Akoko Federal Council, 23 March 1949; NAI, Ondo Prof. 1723, 1/1, Touring Notes of CLARK, S. C. Health Superintendent, Ondo Province, Akure, January 1952.

³¹ NAI, Ondo Prof. 11874, 26/2 Annual Report, Ondo Province, 1936.; J. Evert, Report of an Expedition to Ekiti, Akoko, Kukuruku – and other Countries by His Excellency Sir Gilbert Carter (1896), NAI, 147/105; F. LEIGH and T. DAWODU, (1897). Letter to Acting Resident, Ibadan. NAI, 147/114.

efforts of farmers such as Olupona, Asaoye and Adeosun (who had worked as labourers at Ibadan) cocoa and kolanut production and trade was in full swing among many Akoko communities. In places like Irun and Ikare, migrant Hausa elements increasingly participated in these economic activities either as traders or labourers in the plantations. By 1933, the stream valleys in the forest areas were already flourishing in young cocoa trees, while the upper slopes were full of kolanut trees.³² The choice of plantation locations in respect of these two crops was based on the appropriateness of the soil types: the relatively fertile soil of the stream valleys were appropriate for cocoa, and the stony soils of the upper slopes suited kolanut trees.

During the years that followed, largely due to the expanding activity of the Cooperative Produce Market Society, nearly every family possessed a cocoa and kolanut plantation in the town forest. Increasing pressure on the town forest compelled a gradual switch to the outer forest areas that were though far off, were more fertile. Indeed, farmers in many Akoko towns such as Ogbagi, Oka; Isua, Ikare, Irun, Supare, etc embarked on a massive drive for plantations in the outer forests. Given the expanding demand for labour on the cash crop plantations, even women had to play an increasingly active role in agriculture, including joining their husbands to harvest cocoa and kolanut proceeds; thus, diverting their attention and commitment away from traditional activities like spinning and weaving of cotton, as well as long distance trade.³³ The bulk of the produce were sold in the local markets. However, some of the cocoa farmers sold their products to traders at Ise and the cooperative stores at Ikare, while their counterparts in kolanut production sold theirs at Agenebode in the defunct Bendel State.³⁴

Oil palm production and trade also expanded significantly during the period. Historically, Akoko soil (especially the forest areas) was reputed to be very rich in oil palm. The palm trees grew wild in the bush, although

³² OGUNYEMI, pp. 26–29; I. OLADELE, 99 years (Personal Communication), Ikun-Akoko, [2012–02–26].

³³ NAI, Ondo Prof. 11874, 26, Annual Report, Ondo Province, Vol. xv, 1938; OGUNYEMI, pp. 42, 29; I. AJIBOYE, 96 years, farmer (Personal Communication), Igbede Quarter, Ipe-Akoko, [2013–04–15].

³⁴ Oba A. MOMOH, 76 years, the *Olukare* of Ikare (Personal Communication), *Olukare's* Palace, Ikare-Akoko, [2013–06–02]; E. AYODELE, *Change in Agricultural Economy of Ipesi, Ifira, Sosan and Isua-Akoko of Ondo State*, B. A. Long Essay, University of Ibadan, Ibadan 1979, p. 15.

only those in the cultivated areas were tended. However, the arrival of Urhobo groups from former Delta Province around 1930 occasioned a radical change in Akoko palm oil/kernels industry. Overtime, waves of Urhobo migrants built isolated hamlets in different parts of the Akoko forest where they leased oil palm grooves from the indigenes. It is important to point out that palm trees in the plantations and in yam plots were never leased out but tended by the indigenes.³⁵ A plausible explanation for this is that oil that accrued from the plantations served the vital purpose of meeting the demand of local consumption.

Nonetheless, a substantial volume of palm oil and kernels from both the Urhobo farms and Akoko plantations were exported. Some portion of this was sold to middlemen from Ibadan, Ilesha, Oshogbo, and the North, among others. But of greater significance was the participation of British companies such as Messrs John Holt and Company Ltd, Messrs Miller Brothers Company Ltd, and the Niger Company Ltd. etc who dominated the Akoko oil palm produce trade for the most part of the first three decades of the 20th century.³⁶ In response to the twin-problem of competition from the southern traders (earlier mentioned) and adulteration of palm kernels by them, the British companies engaged the services of some indigenes as trade agents within the Akoko territory. The agents were required to inspect the palm kernels put up for sale by the middlemen in order to identify and avoid the purchase of adulterated produce. In addition, they were mandated to work for the growth of British commerce within their various domains. Indeed, from the fourth decade of the 20th century, production, and prices of cash crops, especially palm kernels, palm oil and cocoa experienced a phenomenal rise.³⁷

The evolution and growth of cash crop economy in Akoko district was complemented by the introduction of British silver and copper money during the early phase of colonial administration. This had several impor-

³⁵ I. B. AJIBOYE, 96 years, farmer (Personal Communication), Ipe-Akoko, [2013–04–15]; OGUNYEMI, p. 26; R. GARVIN – W. OYEMAKINDE, Economic Development in Nigeria since 1800, in: O. IKIME, (ed.), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan 1980, pp. 498–499.

³⁶ OLADELE, 99 years (Personal Communication), Ikun-Akoko, [2012–02–26]; A. A. SANNNI, 83 years, Retired Public Servant [Personal Communication], Isalu Quarter, Epinmi-Akoko, [2013–05–13].

³⁷ *High Chief* PT. OGUNTIMEHIN, the *Arua* of Ogbagi (Personal Communication), [2012–03–17]; J. OKEREJI, 100 years (Personal Communication), Isalu Quarter, Epinmi-Akoko, [2013–05–13]; See also NAI, Ondo Prof. 11374, 26/2, Annual Report, Ondo Province, 1936.

tant effects on the economy and society. First, the widespread acceptance of the new medium of exchange further heightened the cultivation of cash crops by Akoko farmers. Second, it gave rise to a new commercial *elite* of Akoko middlemen who increasingly acquired wealth through the purchase of cash crops, particularly cocoa, kolanut and palm kernel from the farmers.³⁸ Third, the increased purchasing power offered by the new money, which intensified the desire for various socio-economic utilities brought about considerable expansion in trade between the Akoko and other people in places like Lokoja, Osogbo and Kabba. It was from these places that important materials like sewing machines, nails, corrugated roofing sheet, bicycles, wristwatches, among others, first reached Akokoland. Fourth, given the very limited access to motor transport, the danger and other challenges involved in human portorage to distant territories (some of which were mentioned earlier) compelled many people from various Akoko towns to travel in groups thereby broadening their outlook, and also serving as an integrative factor. In addition, the increased cash flow and purchasing power accruable from cash crop production and commerce transformed Akoko architecture considerably. By the closing years of colonial rule, nearly all the old thatched roof houses had been replaced by modern buildings roofed with corrugated iron sheets.³⁹

The new emphasis on cash crop economy, however, generated some negative developments. Unlike in the pre-colonial era, frequent occurrence of land disputes between Akoko towns became widespread because of the intensive drive for cash crop production and the attendant scarcity of land. Food crisis also emerged. Due to the increasing attention devoted to cash crop production, food crop production (especially yam) suffered considerable neglect such that by the post-second World War years the latter had become secondary to the former. Indeed, by 1949, food scarcity had become so severe that the authorities resorted to several urgent steps to ameliorate the situation.⁴⁰ In 1949, both the President

³⁸ G. B. OGUNJEMIYO, 88 years, Farmer (Personal Communication), Igbede Quarter, Ipe-Akoko, [2013-04-15]; KINSMEN of *Chief* ADEBAYO (Personal Communication), Isua – Akoko, [2013-04-16].

³⁹ A. OLOWOOKERE, [2012-05-13]; NAI, Ondo Prof. 11874, 26/2, Annual Report, Ondo Province, 1923.

⁴⁰ NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of Meeting of Akoko Federal Council, 21 and 22 October 1949; NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of Meeting of Akoko Federal Council, 15 November 1949.

and District Officer admonished the farmers to devote greater attention to cultivation of yam and other food crops as nobody could eat money. In 1950, the Akoko Federal Council initiated a proposal to make Friday a school farming day during which all children would have to work on their plots of land allocated to them under the supervision of the school's Agricultural Science Teacher. Also, in 1950, Local Agricultural Committees were introduced to encourage the people to produce more food crops. As a follow up to this, a Group Farming Scheme was established in the Ikaram- Akunnu axis in 1951. Under this scheme, the colonial government was to lease out land to between 500 and 600 farmers for cultivation under the supervision of an Agricultural Officer. This was meant to be a pilot scheme to be replicated in some other parts of Akoko District.⁴¹ However, there is yet no evidence to ascertain the degree of success achieved by these measures within the remaining period covered by this study.

Conclusion

This paper explored the transformatory impact of British rule upon Akoko society between 1897 and 1960. It illustrated the significant changes in the social, cultural, and economic organisation of the people during that period. In the sphere of religion, the introduction and subsequent entrenchment of Christianity had a revolutionary impact on socio-economic developments in the area. Although Christianity made significant contributions to Akoko society, particularly in the fields of education, health, and other social services, it led to an enduring destruction of the people's traditional norms, values, and institutions. The new religion set many of the people against their indigenous belief system, moral and civic responsibilities. The overall impact of colonial educational policy in Akokoland was a mixed blessing. The introduction, management and development of western education fostered cooperation and collaboration within and among the Akoko communities. Western education provided valuable technical and professional training to Akoko indigenes in such vocations as tailoring, carpentry, and bricklaying. It also equipped the people with the required training for employment in the local

⁴¹ NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of Meeting of Akoko Federal Council, 23 March 1949; NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of Akoko Federal Council Meeting, 30 November 1950; NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of Meeting of Akoko Federal Council with the Resident, 22 September 1950; NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of Meeting of Akoko Federal Council, 9 March 1951; NAI, Ondo Prof. Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, 30 June 1951.

administration establishments. Nevertheless, the new type of education promoted a negative perception of indigenous social values among the newly literate Akoko elements. It brought about a decline in the labour force available for farm work because many pupils became averse to agricultural work. Moreover, the newly acquired literacy caused labour migration to cities in quest of better opportunities.

In the area of public works, British rule brought about significant changes across Akoko territory. Although the area suffered a dearth of capital projects during the first two decades of colonial rule, a network of modern roads soon replaced the old caravan routes. Though the new road network facilitated improved communication, transportation, economy, and general living conditions among the Akoko, construction of some of the roads were in some cases achieved through the extraction of forced labour from the people. Health services, like road construction, also suffered initial neglect by the colonial authorities. From the 1920s to the end of colonial rule, modern health service centres were established in several Akoko towns. Nonetheless, the overall performance of the colonial administration in terms of public health service delivery in Akokoland was poor. Akoko indigenous economy underwent transformation under colonial rule. The introduction and growth of a cash crop oriented and money-based economy significantly affected the society. The new medium of exchange (British coins) heightened cash crop production by Akoko farmers. A new commercial *elite* emerged from the ranks of Akoko middlemen who increasingly acquired wealth through the purchase of cash crops from the farmers. The increased purchasing power facilitated by the new money intensified the desire for socio-economic utilities and caused considerable expansion in trade between the Akoko and other people in relatively distant territories. The extensive commercial interactions broadened the outlook of many Akoko indigenes and also served as an integrative factor among Akoko people as a whole. However, cash crop economy resulted in some negative developments such as food crisis and frequent land disputes.



British Colonial Administration and Inter-group Relations in Yorubaland: The Case of Remo Groups in Sagamu, Southwestern Nigeria

Oluwaseun I. Soile – Babatunde A. Odunlami†*

The appearance of the Europeans on the West African coasts as well as the establishment of colonial rule is one of the defining moments in Nigerian history. This has brought about a profound impact on the socio-economic and political development of the people of Nigeria. Beyond this, the indirect rule policy, and its attendant elevation of some traditional chiefs, altered in a very fundamental way how many different groups in Nigeria had interacted with one another for centuries. The consequence of this was the incessant inter-group conflicts and confrontations during the colonial and post-colonial periods. This is particularly the case with the Remo groups in Sagamu, a town that owed its establishment to the nineteenth-century warfare that engulfed Yorubaland. The general insecurity of the period forced many Remo towns to come together for defence and survival between 1862 and 1872. Politically, each confederating town in Sagamu maintained its identity and independence. However, this arrangement was altered with the conferment of paramountcy on the *Akarigbo of Ofin* over other traditional rulers in the town by the British colonial government on August 4, 1894. This has often generated intra-group conflicts and crises which have been prevalent in the town since that time. It is against this background that this paper seeks to examine the impact of British policies and administration on the often-confrontational intra-group relations in Sagamu, particularly between the *Ofin* and *Makun* groups. This paper argues that British colonial policies did a lot to strain intra-group relations in Sagamu. The paper adopts historical research methods. Given this, both primary and secondary data constitute the main sources of information for the study.

[Colonial Administration; History; Intra-group Relations; Sagamu; Yorubaland]

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Introduction

The establishment of Sagamu in 1872 can be situated within the prevailing political and security situation in Yorubaland in the nineteenth century.¹ Without any doubt, the Yoruba internecine warfare of the period triggered by the decline of the Old Oyo had enormous political and socio-economic consequences on Remo townlets and villages. Most of these settlements were frequently subjected to devastating military raids, particularly from the Egba army. While some survived these incursions, many were destroyed and annihilated. Those that survived only did so by coming together to form stronger units of resistance and defence. Consequently, new settlements such as Ikenne and Sagamu emerged with new forms of social arrangements. In Sagamu, there emerged a confederal political arrangement among the thirteen hitherto independent Remo villages and townlets that came together to establish the town. The townlets are Ofin, Makun, Sonyindo, Epe, Ibido, Igbepa, Ado, Oko, Ipoji, Batoro, Ijoku, Latawa and Ijagba.² The two most prominent and largest of these Remo groups are Ofin and Makun groups.

The founding of Sagamu seemed to be based on some form of unwritten agreement among the federating Remo towns and villages. First, unlike similar formations in Yorubaland such as Abeokuta and Ogbomosho, there was no consensus on hierarchy among the traditional rulers of the independent townships that came together. Second, the federating townlets continue to exist as independent sovereign political entities within the newly found town. Each townlet had its markets, political system and knew its boundaries. Hence, a unitary political system was absent in Remoland. This situation however was meant to change with the imposition of colonial rule and its attendant indirect rule system in the area. By and large, British recognition of the paramountcy of the *Akarigbo* over Remoland came on the heels of an agreement signed with *Akarigbo* Oye-bajo establishing a British protectorate over Ijebu-Remo in August 1894.³

The promotion of the *Akarigbo* of Ofin as paramount ruler over other

¹ A comprehensive account of the 19th Yoruba warfare can be found in J. F. A. AJAYI, *The Aftermath of the Fall of Oyo*, in: J. F. A. AJAYI – M. CROWDER (eds.), *History of West Africa*, Vol. II, London 1974, chapter 5; see also J. F. A. AJAYI – R. S. SMITH, *Yoruba Warfare in the 19th Century*, London 1964.

² O. O. OLUBOMEHIN, Sagamu, in: G. O. OGUNTOMISIN (ed.), *Yoruba Towns and Cities*, Vol. I, Ibadan 2003, pp. 101–112.

³ O. AYODELE, *History of Remo Thirty-three Traditional Towns (Remo Metalelogbon)*, *Migration to 2008*, Sagamu 2008, p. 295.

Remo groups strained the fraternal relationship that existed among them to the point of hostility till this present-day. A typical example was the crisis that ensued in Sagamu between Makun and Ofin as a fall-out of the performance of traditional burial rites for late Oba Moses Sowemimo Awolesi, the *Akarigbo* of Remo in 1988. Looking at the various accounts of the incidents as reported in the news media, one might be led to erroneously conclude that the confrontation was triggered by disagreement over the kind of traditional rites to perform and where to perform them. However, a proper understanding of the historical, as well as the socio-political dynamics within the town, is necessary to uncover what sparked off tension and unrest between the two Remo groups. The issues involved are steeped in the origin of the town as well as the type of socio-political relations that existed among the constituent groups, particularly the Makun and Ofin groups before the establishment of colonial rule in the area.

The main purpose of this study, therefore, is to examine the impact of the British colonial policies and administration on the often-confrontational intra-group relations in Sagamu, particularly between the Ofin and Makun sub-groups of Remo. In achieving this objective, the study starts by discussing the traditions of origin of the Remo people in general, and Makun and Ofin sub-groups in particular. Thereafter, the traditional patterns of relationship between the two groups before integration in 1872 shall be examined. An attempt will also be made to x-ray the socio-political connections that have existed between the two groups in the aftermath of integration and the founding of Sagamu in 1872. The study presents a case for communal understanding and its implication for social and political stability by considering the communal rivalry and competition that have bedevilled the development of the town since its inception. It concludes by observing that despite the variations in their traditions of origin and distinctive social and political organisations, the Remo groups had a lot of things in common and had co-existed as brothers before the imposition of colonial rule in the area.

The Origin of the Remo Groups

The traditions of origin of the Remo people hold that there were thirty-three Remo towns that came under two major waves of migration. The first one was directly from Iremo Quarters in Ile-Ife about 1000 B.C. under the leadership of Eneyi Amunigbuwa.⁴ The second one came from

⁴ T. PEDRO, 87 years, Oral Interview, Sagamu, 1986.

Ijebu-Ode, though they claimed to have earlier migrated from Ile-Ife.⁵ Today, however, “*the Remo area now consist of eleven principal village groups, of which the largest, Sagamu, consists of thirteen villages which combined for defence in 1872, the remainder of the original thirty-three villages having been destroyed in war*”.⁶ As a result of these migrations, there are various versions as regards the origin of Remo people. It is also important to state that there are various traditions one would find in various towns as being their story of origin. The complex nature of the traditions of origin of many Remo towns is further buttressed by the fact that even within the same town, groups or sections have different traditions of origin. In Ikenne, for instance, a prominent family, the Onafowokans, has their cognomen as “*omo a fidi pote mole*”. Afidipote is a ruling house in Ijebu Ode, so they probably have an affinity that dates back in history. However, within the same Ikenne town, a quarter claimed to recognise the authority of the Akarigbo of Ofin.

According to one tradition,⁷ which is popular in Ijebu-Ode, Olofin Ogbolu left Ile-Ife and became the first *Ajalarun* of Ijebu-Ife. He was also responsible for the establishment of Odogbolu, where the first Akarigbo was born by one of his wives. However, at an age not given, the Akarigbo offended his father and was banished to Remo, where he met the *Alara* and the *Elepe*. The other tradition, which is also popular in Ijebu-Ode, has Ijebu-Ode links.⁸ This tradition holds that Obanta, the first *Awujale*, while coming from Ile-Ife wrestled with the head of a village known as *Igbo*, who would not allow a passage through his village. In the wrestling match, Obanta defeated Olu-Igbo, after which he cut off his head. He later asked the wife of Olu-Igbo, Aka, to carry the head in a wooden tray and follow him on the onward journey to Ijebu-Ode. Aka, according to the tradition, was pregnant. Another account claims that Aka was sent away by Obanta with the head of Olu-Igbo, which she was carrying. Whatever is the true account, Aka gave birth to a boy who was later given the name, Akarigbo meaning ‘Aka carried Igbo’. The tradition goes further that

⁵ S. ADEGOKE, 76 years, Oral Interview, Ijebu-Ode, 1987.

⁶ M. H. Martindale *Inquiry Report, 1937, Summary and Conclusions*, Ibadan 2009, p. 1.

⁷ This tradition is recorded in A. F. ABELL, *Intelligence Report on Remo*, Ijebu-Remo District File No 1935, Agency Mark B1216, National Archives Ibadan, 1937.

⁸ S. ADEGOKE, 76 years, Oral Interview, Ijebu-Ode, 26 February 1987; see also T. O. OGUNKOYA, The Early History of Ijebu, in: *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, 1, 1956, pp. 48–58; O. O. AYANTUGA, *Ijebu and Its Neighbours, 1851–1914*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1965.

when Akarigbo became of age, he was dispatched by *Awujale* to find a new land which turned out to be the present-day Remoland.

The third tradition⁹ is more popular and may be regarded as the official tradition in some Remo towns. It is official in the sense that it has been accorded acceptance, at least by some Remo towns as the correct version of their origin. This tradition maintains that Oba Igimisoje, while other versions say it was Eneyi Amunigbuwa, led a migration from Iremo Quarters in Ile-Ife at about 1,000 B.C. This group first settled at Okun-Owa, and later moved to Ofin Orile where they settled down. The groups that regard this tradition as sacrosanct include Ilisan, Ilara, Irolu, Akaka, some parts of Ikenne, majority of Ode-Remo people, and eleven of the Remo towns that formed Sagamu in 1872.¹⁰

Looking at all the traditions of origin, there are several questions to be asked. Do we regard the whole of Remo as having come from Ijebu-Ife? What explanation does one give for the group that claims direct descent from Ile-Ife? However, it must not be forgotten that the tradition that exists in Epe and Ilara asserts that they left Ile-Ife together with Ofin and other Remo groups.¹¹ Hence, if the earlier tradition which claims that *Akarigbo* of Ofin, for that was the initial title, met *Elepe* and *Alara* in Remo and the Epe and Ilara people claim that they left Ile-Ife together, then the validity of the earlier traditions stands to be doubted. Taking the second tradition about Aka, Obanta and Olu-Igbo, one might be tempted to disbelieve this tradition. How could it have been possible for Aka to have carried the husband's head for so long, one may ask? The derivation of the name, Akarigbo from *Aka ru ori Igbo*, maybe more mythical than real.

The question one may ask further is what could be said to be responsible for the contestation and crisis that attended the burial rites of the late *Akarigbo*, Oba Moses Sowemimo Awolesi in 1988? To find an answer to this, one may need to take a peep into the colonial history of Nigeria in general and that of the Ijebu and Remo in particular.

In May 1892, when the Ijebu expedition was embarked upon by the British, there was an existing treaty signed with the Ijebu in January 1892. Again, after the expedition, there was another separate treaty signed

⁹ A. ADEDOYIN, 73 years, Oral Interview, Sagamu, 1987; A. SONEYE, 72 years, Oral Interview, Ikenne, 1980.

¹⁰ M. H. Martindale *Inquiry Report*, 1937, p. 2.

¹¹ L. MAKANJUOLA, 65 years, Oral Interview, Sagamu, 1987; G. J. OLAWUNMI, *Elepe* of Epe, 75 years, Sagamu, 1987. See also M. H. Martindale *Commission of Inquiry Report* in possession of Sopolu Library, Ikenne, Ogun State, Nigeria.

with the *Akarigbo* of Remo on August 4, 1894, by the same British. It was with this treaty that Remo territory became part of the Colony of Lagos. Consequently, both the Ijebu and Remo were separated administratively as Remo was administered as part of the Lagos Colony.

By 1914 when the Nigerian state was born, there was the need for political reorganisation. Thus in 1917, the creation of provinces came up with the whole of Ijebu forming a province. The Ijebu province consisted of areas formerly under Remo and which up till this period were administered separately from the Ijebu area. However, the Remo group felt dissatisfied as a result of this administrative development. From that time until about 1937, there were several petitions written by the Remo group so that they might be separated from the Ijebu. Following four strong petitions written by the Remo on 7th June 1922, 9th June 1933, 26th June 1933, 16th January 1936, all addressed to the Colonial Governor calling for the autonomy of Remo, the Martindale Commission of Inquiry was set up by the Colonial Government on 18th August 1937. The Terms of Reference given to the Martindale Commission are very instructive, most especially the seventh one which says:

*"In view of the fact that the Akarigbo of Ijebu-Remo migrated from Ile-Ife as a crowned Head, and that his descendants form the nucleus of the Remo District to this day, there is no historical sanction for the subordination of the Akarigbo of Ijebu-Remo to the Awujale of Ijebu-Ode, which was affected on the formation of the Ijebu Native Administration by Gazette Notice No 104 of the 13th September, 1917."*¹²

It would be seen from the foregoing that the two parties involved must have brought traditions to justify their positions. It must not be forgotten that *"the writing or the transmission of history whether we like it or not is in part a political system. Each generation reinterprets the myth of origin to fit the present reality"*.¹³ One may therefore contend that those traditions which originated from Ijebu Ode and are very popular there may be attempts to legitimise the claim of Ijebu-Ode suzerainty over Remo, most especially since they became popular from 1937 when Martindale Commission of Inquiry was set up.

As for the third tradition which claims direct descent from Iremo Quarters in Ile-Ife, many things point to the probable validity of the

¹² M. H. Martindale Inquiry Report, 1937, p. 6.

¹³ B. A. ODUNLAMI, *Socio-Political History of Ikenne from the Earliest Times to 1960*, B. A. Long Essay, Department of History, University of Jos, 1981, p. 122.

tradition. For instance, the Irewo Quarters still exists today in Ile-Ife and the people of that place still maintain socio-cultural links with those in Remo. Moreover, “*there is also the fact that the Ife traditional title of Yeye Oba of Ile-Ife has always been a preserve for the Remo people*”.¹⁴ Not only that, the Remo claim to Ile-Ife origin is in line with other traditions of other Yoruba groups. However, it must be pointed that it should not be taken for granted that all Yoruba groups migrate from Ile-Ife.¹⁵ What is certain is that taking into consideration all available facts, one may accept Remo’s claim to Ife origin. It should also be pointed out that this tradition does recognise the existence of a group that came into Remoland as a result of direct migration from Ijebu-Ode.¹⁶ What it has refused to accept is that the traditional head of all original Remo, Akarigbo, evolved from Ijebu-Ode.

The Traditions of Origin of Makun

In the popular Remo traditions of origin narrated above, there is one group that does not share in any of the versions – Makun. For them, there are two schools of thought about the traditional history of the town and a plethora of traditions of origin. The first of the two schools is that which traces the origin of Makun people to Ile-Ife. According to the story, Makun people were led out of Ile-Ife by two brothers, Arapetu and Liworu. They left Ile-Ife with various traditional paraphernalia, the most important of which was the beaded crown. These, the story indicates, were secured through the influence of their mother, Ewusi, said to be a princess of the Ife royal family. In their southward journey, the people did not have any permanent settlement until they got to Ijebu Ode, where they settled for many years.¹⁷ The second school is that which upholds that Makun people are an offshoot of Ijebu Ode. According to the tradition, Makun was the son of Obaruwa, the tenth *Awujale* of Ijebu Ode. Obaruwa reigned

¹⁴ O. O. OGUNBOMEHIN, *The Struggle for Political Autonomy: Ijebu-Ode-Ijebu-Remo Relations, 1892–1938*, B. A. Long Essay, Department of History, Ogun State University (now Olabisi Onabanjo University), Ago-Iwoye, 1986, p. 13.

¹⁵ For full details see R. HORTON, Ancient Ife: A Re-Assessment, in: *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, 9, 4, 1979, pp. 69–149; A. OBAYEMI, The Yoruba and Edo-speaking Peoples and Their Neighbours before 1600, in: J. F. ADE-AJAYI – M. CROWDER (eds.), *History of West Africa*, Vol 1, London 1976, pp. 196–263.

¹⁶ Some of these towns are Iperu, Makun, Epe, and some parts of Ikenne. It must also be pointed out that this conclusion has been arrived at on different occasions. See ABELL, p. 2; AYANTUGA, p. 23; H. M. Martindale *Commission of Inquiry Report*, p. 4.

¹⁷ AYODELE, p. 171.

after *Awujale* Ofinran and *Awujale* Obaganju was Obaruwa's successor.¹⁸

Apart from the Ile-Ife and Ijebu-Ode thoughts on the Makun origin, there are many different traditions of origin among the people with each either supporting the Ile-Ife or Ijebu-Ode school. Let us examine four prominent traditions. The first one talks of one Nonuwa and Osobiriya, both Princes of Ile-Ife, who migrated and settled at Ijebu Ode. While resident at Ijebu Ode, Nonuwa went out hunting and before he came back, Osobiriya, his brother, had died. The sad loss made Nonuwa to be disillusioned about the area and in protest moved to Agbele, where he was made king and ruled until he died in 1852. The second version still recognises Nonuwa as a Prince, but more specifically as the grandson of *Awujale* Obaruwa of Ijebu Ode. Because of an offence committed by him, he was banished from Ijebu Ode. He later settled at Agbele. The third version talks of a different migration from Ile-Ife. The party stopped at Ijebu Ode, where they helped the *Awujale* to defeat an Ondo army, which had constituted a challenge to him. The tradition indicates that the *Awujale* settled the party and sent them away for fear that they could take over his kingdom. They subsequently moved to Agbele, where they were accommodated by Igbepa and Ibido communities.¹⁹ The fourth tradition talks of Egba origin. Though the tradition talks of Makun Omi as a primary place of convergence, they were dispersed from this point because of a dispute with the Egba people. They then moved to Agbele.²⁰

There are a few observations to be made about these versions of Makun origin. The first observation is that the first three traditions establish direct link with Ijebu-Ode. There is also the agreement that they were settled at Agbele before moving to join other groups in Sagamu in 1872. The claim that Nonuwa died in 1852 makes his personality a recent one *vis-a-vis* the original migration of other Remo groups, which dates to 1000 B.C. Finally, the fourth tradition is too contradictory in geographical explanation. The mention of Egba in relation to Makun-Omi clearly makes this so. The location of Egba forest (the present Ibadan area) or in their present location is a far location from Makun-Omi, which is in the Ogun Waterside area. Moreover, the silence on Arapetu and Liworu in the Ijebu Ode versions of Makun origin calls for concern for a discerning

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁹ A. OTUSANYA, *Onigbepa* of Igbepa, 60 years, Oral Interview, 1990 conducted by Kolade Oke-Owo.

²⁰ G. J. OLAWUNMI, *Elepe* of Epe, 75 years, Oral Interview, Sagamu, 1989.

researcher. The two foremost quarters in Makun today are Ojutun and Agbowa, which are descendants of Arapetu and Liworu respectively.²¹ The question of what could be responsible for these versions of Makun origin shall be answered in our subsequent discussion of events that followed 1872.

Be that as it may, there are certain conclusions one may arrive at from the various accounts of the migration of the Remo people. These are that there were two groups of people that migrated into Remo at different times. The first group migrated directly from Ile-Ife while the other was the subsequent migration from Ijebu-Ode. Over time, the two groups have come to accept each other as one. As regards the date of these migrations, one may put it between 500 A.D. and 1,500 A.D. when the great dispersal from Ile-Ife probably took place.²² Looking at the traditions of origin above, one can see clearly that Sagamu cannot be regarded as a single town; but a conglomeration of towns. Again, not all the towns that came together to form the confederal arrangement claim common origin, most especially the Makun people. This particularly accounts for some of the bitter rivalry and conflicts that arose between Ofin and Makun within the town. Not only this, but events also leading to the formation of Sagamu in 1872 were to be responsible for the conflicts of the twentieth century.

Relationship between Makun and Ofin before 1872

Having got to Remo area, the people of Ofin settled at Okesensen near Majopa stream within the present-day Rubber Plantation, while Makun settled at Agbele on the way to Owode-Egba. At their various settlements, each had benefitted immensely from its geographical position. The arrival of Europeans and the beginning of European trade between the Coast of Lagos and the interior of Yorubaland made Ofin which was strategically located on the route to become very important and rich. It is on record that as early as 1852, the *Akarigbo* of Ofin was contacted for the signing of a treaty on 18th March. The treaty enjoined the *Akarigbo* “to ensure the suppression of the slave trade, abolition of human sacrifice, promotion of commerce and the protection of Christian missionaries”.²³

²¹ AYODELE, p. 172.

²² HORTON, p. 87.

²³ B. O. SOEWU, *A History of Sagamu, 1872–1938: A Study in Political Integration*, B. A. Long Essay, Department of History, Ogun State University (Now Olabisi Onabanjo University) Ago-Iwoye, 1987, p. 42.

Makun was also growing commercially and militarily. For instance, it is on record that she had clashes with Egba on several occasions.²⁴ The extent of her power and influence could be seen from the fact that when there was an agreement by all other Ijebu people to close their trade routes against Ibadan, Makun could afford to defy this order. One can therefore see economic rivalry existing between the Makun and Ofin groups. This rivalry was what probably degenerated to the 1862 Makun War in which the Ijebu-Ode, Egba, and some other Remo towns, except for Ode, Ipara and Epe, joined hands with Ofin to destroy Makun. Ibadan came to the assistance of Makun with a very small force, which was not enough to prevent its defeat.²⁵

The 1862 Makun War and the subsequent defeat of Makun brought to the fore certain dynamics in the relationship between the two groups. One is that none of them could win any war against each other without the support of other groups. Secondly, if the two of them should continue to fight one another, they both stood the risk of losing their privileged economic position to other powerful groups like Egba, Ijebu, and Ibadan. *“Thus, it may have been to bring the trade (and its incipient rivalry) under control that a political association or union was sought to regulate the trade”*²⁶ and also provide enough security for everybody. However, it may be necessary to point out that the *Ewusi* of Makun and his followers never gave the *Akarigbo* any serious recognition. One can therefore conclude that their coming together in 1872 to form Sagamu was the coming together of two major unfriendly foes and others who were seriously involved in the politics of the time. This was to have a serious effect on the relationship between Makun and Ofin to the present day.

Relations since Integration: 1872 up to the Present

The coming together of the thirteen townlets that formed Sagamu in 1872 was supposed to be greater in number. However, some villages like Ikenne, Ilisan, Iperu, Ogere, Ipara, and others backed out for several reasons. For

²⁴ A good example is the Makun-Egba/Dahomey War of 1851 in which the Egba/Dahomey warriors attacked Makun at Badoore and sacked the town and Makun people fled to Ikorodu. Under a new Balogun, Olumeru, Makun forces reorganised and marched from Ikorodu to Badoore, attacked the Egba who had taken occupation of the Makun settlement. The Egba suffered heavy defeat and driven out of Badoore. This was in 1852.

²⁵ AYODELE, p. 175.

²⁶ SOEWU, p. 34.

those of them that agreed to come together, there was a fundamental question that was not resolved, and this has to do with what should be the political status of the rulers of the communities coming together. It was a question of each community being allowed to operate independently. This was observed by Governor G. T. Carter when he visited Sagamu in February 1894. He said that Sagamu consisted of “*many kinglets and a weak Akarigbo*”.²⁷ This was because the kings of the various communities made efforts to jealously guard their supposed independence, the political arrangement notwithstanding.

However, the influence of the *Akarigbo* grew tremendously during this period due to a combination of factors. As earlier pointed out, as far as 1852 the *Akarigbo* had been approached by the British for the signing of a treaty. To add to this, the position of the *Akarigbo* as *primus inter pares* in Remo had been enhanced by the compromising stance of other Remo towns. This was demonstrated when most of them did not raise an eyebrow in the relationship between the *Akarigbo* and the British. On the other hand, it might be argued that the other Remo towns kept away from dealing with the British out of ignorance. Unable to appreciate the enormous benefits derivable from such a relationship, they decided to keep away. It may have also been due to the prevalent distrust and suspicion of the ‘white man’ whom some Ijebu towns and villages viewed as lepers because of their complexion.²⁸

Consequently, by the time of the August 4, 1894, Treaty with the *Akarigbo*, which was supposed to be a treaty with the Remo people, only *Akarigbo* and his chiefs were parties to the signing of the Agreement. This was to thereafter confer on the *Akarigbo* the title, *Akarigbo* of Ijebu-Remo. Despite this, it must be mentioned that in 1894 during the visit of Governor G. I. Carter to Remo, the *Akarigbo* admitted that he was never respected by other rulers and their subjects. Subsequent upon which the Governor promised to enhance his authority by stationing Hausa soldiers in the area as long as he could sign a treaty with British colonial authorities.²⁹

²⁷ B. A. AGIRI, Lagos-Ikorodu Relations, 1894–1950, in: A. ADEFUYE et al (eds.), *History of the Peoples of Lagos*, Ikeja 1987, p. 204.

²⁸ E. A. AYANDELE, External Relations with Europeans in the Nineteenth Century: Explorers, Missionaries and Traders, in O. IKIME (ed.), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan 1980, pp. 373–374.

²⁹ For more on this, see Document No. 39 African West No. 475 from G. T. Carter of Lagos to the Marques of Ripen, October 2nd, 1894, in possession of Chief Noah of Ikorodu.

The period following the signing of the Treaty of 1894 marked active rivalry, which although did not result to open hostility but permanently kept them apart. The Treaty gave the Ofin people an advantage of enjoying some privileges. When there was the need to site a health centre, a post office in the area, only the *Akarigbo* was consulted. The *Akarigbo* also received a stipend of one hundred pounds (£100) annually for signing the treaty which the other rulers did not receive. All these played a major role in heightening the rivalry among the Remo communities and most especially between Ofin, Makun, and Epe. The other two, Makun and Epe, therefore felt if they could get their rulers recognised by the Colonial Government, they would enjoy some of these privileges enjoyed by the *Akarigbo*. It was this that led to the Epe Crown Crisis of 1903 in which the *Ooni* of Ife was invited to Lagos by the Colonial government.³⁰ This resulted in the colonial authorities denying the *Elepe* the use of a beaded crown, with a fine of one hundred pounds (£100) on him, which was to be paid to the *Akarigbo*. Although this consolidated the position of *Akarigbo* as a paramount ruler in Remoland, it nonetheless further exacerbated the hostilities that had existed.

The creation of Provinces in 1917 and the lumping of Remo with Ijebu was to further worsen existing problems. Iperu, one of the towns in Remo, applied to the *Awujale* of Ijebu for a crown in 1925 and this was granted it. This made the *Ewusi* of Makun also apply for the same in 1927. This was quickly opposed by the *Akarigbo* further worsening the already precarious political situation in Sagamu. The then *Ewusi*, Sotinwa, was unsuccessful in his bid until he died in 1929. However, when the issue came up between 1929 and 1938 a new political development was already brewing in the area.

The *Akarigbo* of Remo in conjunction with some other Remo Kings petitioned the colonial authorities for the separation of Remo from Ijebu Province. While this struggle was on, Makun, Epe, Isara and Akaka opposed it. However, the *Elepe* withdrew from this opposition to join hands with the *Akarigbo*, thereby leaving Makun as the only opposing group to *Akarigbo* and his cause in Sagamu. By 1938, the *Akarigbo* and his supporters won the case and Remo was granted autonomy. It was after this that the new *Ewusi* Olukokun II reopened the issue of the crown. Though he knew the *Akarigbo* had been granted autonomy, he still applied

³⁰ G. J. OLAWUNMI, *Elepe* of Epe, 75 years, Oral Interview, Sagamu, 1989; see also, *Sunday Tribune*, The Elepe Crisis of 1930, June 1987.

to the *Awujale* of Ijebu-Ode. This is a further indication that despite the reality of the period, the Makun people were still not prepared to recognise the authority of the *Akarigbo*. Though the *Akarigbo* protested this development, *Awujale* gave *Ewusi* a crown with the colonial authorities acquiescing. This was to be the last time any *Oba* in Remo was to get his crown from Ijebu-Ode.

Apart from all that has been mentioned above, there were other instances when Makun and Ofin had to clash. For instance, when in 1934 the *Ewusi* was appointed the President of the Sagamu Native Court to replace the non-performing President, who happened to be the *Olisa* of Ofin. Ofin protested this development and suggested that instead of having *Ewusi* as the President, another person, either the *Balogun* or *Oluwo* of Ofin could be chosen to replace the *Olisa*.³¹ Another area of dispute is the most important market in Sagamu. This market is located at the boundary between Ofin and Makun. While Makun people claim that they established the market in 1862 when they moved to Sagamu and therefore referred to it as *Obu Makun*,³² the Ofin group claim it is their own and to them, the market is known as *Falawo*. Most importantly, *“the market was connected with Ofin deities which were worshipped regularly when funeral rites (called Ifobu Oku) of important persons are performed”*.³³ The crisis over the ownership of the market had led to the establishment of Odemo Inquiry in 1958. This Inquiry ended their report by suggesting that Ofin should be the largest part of this market. The report says:

*“The basis of this decision was not on who actually founded the market, but the decision was based on the fact that given the situation of the market, (on the modern boundary between Makun and Ofin), Ofin should get the larger share because of certain landmarks in the market were nearest to Ofin.”*³⁴

Communal Rivalry and Implications for Socio-cultural Stability

Looking at the political history and inter-group relations among the Remo groups before the formation of the Sagamu confederacy in 1872 and ever since one would observe apparent socio-political tension within the town. The different communities that came together all have their different grievances, which was to affect their relationship. They all have

³¹ A. ADEDOYIN, 73 years, Oral Interview, Sagamu, 1987.

³² *Obu* is the Remo/Ijebu word for ‘market’.

³³ SOEWU, p. 56.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

their different values and cultural peculiarities, which they all cherish and guard jealously. It is in the light of this that one can understand the crisis that followed the death of the *Akarigbo* in 1988 and the rites of passage that were to be performed.

One, it must be realised that though Sagamu may appear as a single, unified town, to the people of the town, they are different political entities. This is because each of them has its traditional ruler (*Oba*), *Iledi*, *Osugbo* – all that constitutes a complete traditional setup of a town. Two, when an *Oba* dies, the performance of burial rites is essential in all communities. Though those rites may not be made public for traditional reasons, those who perform them are very conversant with the processes. These rites are also believed to be essential if the towns are to be in peace. However, this is only relevant to the domain of the late *Oba*. Three, there have been great rivalries and hostilities between Ofin and Makun quarters/towns in Sagamu over the ages. These rivalries have spread to several facets of their social and political lives. The performance of burial rites, particularly for a late king, involves some essential areas of the town. This involves the closure of the main market in the town for three months and a ban on any social outing for the same number of months.³⁵

However, since there has been a dispute over the most important market in the town, there was bound to be a dispute over the performance of traditional rites. In the circumstances under discussion, the establishment of British rule did not have a direct consequence on the performance and observance of traditional rites. However, the political decision of the British in conferring superior authority to the stool of *Akarigbo* invariably heightened tension on rites associated with the institution. While one party (Ofin) saw their *Oba* as representing the whole town of Sagamu, because he had been so declared by the August 4, 1894, Treaty and as such, any rite connected to the institution should be seen as binding on all quarters and residents, the other party (Makun) did not regard the *Akarigbo* as representing beyond Ofin territory and were prepared at all times to challenge any violation of this.

These divergent positions had contributed immensely to creating social tension and conflicts since 1894. Also, since the various quarters regarded themselves as independent towns with separate traditional institutions such as *Oba*, they were bound to dispute the performance of burial rites for a dead *Oba* in a domain where the *Oba* is still alive. Above

³⁵ G. J. OLAWUNMI, *Elepe* of Epe, 75 years, Oral Interview, Sagamu, 1989.

all, if this could have been compromised, the age-long political rivalry between Ofin and Makun would have made this impossible.

The summaries that can be reached on the issue are:

1. It has led to the imposition of superior authority on an individual king in a supposed *primus inter pares* arrangement.
2. It has favoured unequally one party against another in government patronage.
3. Though rivalry had existed before the establishment of British colonial rule, it was done diplomatically to attract commercial patronage rather than a forceful expression of superiority and independence.
4. It has influenced the adoption of traditions of origin, which in all circumstances may not explain the actual origin, thus bringing historical distortion.

Concluding Remarks

The issues involved in the 1988 inter-communal crisis in Sagamu were more than the performance of burial rites for a passing monarch. The age-long political rivalry between two prominent quarters within a confederal town that is supposedly monolithic exacerbated the situation and heightened issues beyond the ordinary. Events that took place did not suggest that the people are ready to forget their differences and rivalry. Until, and unless, the major contending powers are properly schooled on the possible implication of the continued contention and competition for their corporate existence, they will continue to have frictions now and then.

There has been an increase in communal conflicts in Nigeria in the recent past. A number of these communal conflicts had been a consequence of government policies. For example, the Ijaw-Itsekiri conflict in the Niger Delta had been attributed to the creation of local governments and the issue of the location of administrative headquarters. In taking such decisions, however, those responsible for such acts have in most cases ignored the significance of historical facts about such communities. Attempts were not usually made to investigate the history of the communities involved and therefore be wisely guided. In most cases, political and influential figures have ensured that their communities get government patronage and support without any recourse or regard to historical antecedents. The consequence, most often than not, is the resurrection of old rivalries and tension. It is therefore important that in taking major

policy decisions that affect traditional institutions and communal politics in Nigeria, the services of the professional historian must be sought. When done, it can go a long way in avoiding unnecessary conflicts and ensuring stable polity for the country.

Becoming Olorisa: Ede Town (Nigeria) in the Making of Ulli Beier and Susanne Wenger

Siyan Oyeweso – Raheem Oluwafunminiyi‡*

This paper examines the place of the historic Yoruba town of Ede, southwest Nigeria and the institution of Timi (traditional title of all Ede kings) in the evolution and development of Ulli Beier and Susanne Wenger's thoughts on Yoruba art, culture and religion. At Ede, under the guardianship of its king, Timi John Adetoyese Laoye I (1946–1975), Beier and Wenger were introduced into Yoruba culture and its religious cults and belief systems. Beier, in particular, was also introduced to the prominent traditional rulers in Yorubaland who were generally regarded as the custodians of Yoruba heritage and culture. This paved way for many of his discoveries and experiences on African cultures and religion where he was exposed to vast troves of sacred arts, rites, artefacts and the divination system of the Yoruba. Similarly, Wenger acknowledged that she was introduced into the mysterious world of the Yoruba belief systems by the Ajagemo (head of *Obatala* cult in Ede). The pair later became the purveyors and propagators of Yoruba art, culture and religions, although each one followed different approaches. They went on to influence and preserve Yoruba belief systems and culture. Beier was instrumental to the propagation of Yoruba talking drums and the recording of traditional history, festivals and *Oriki* (praise poetry) of Ede. Wenger, on the other hand, became a priestess and member of several cults in Osogbo. The paper draw its analysis on the use of secondary sources.

[Initiation; Ajagemo; Ede; Ulli Beier; *Olorisa*; Timi Laoye I; Yoruba; Susanne Wenger]

Introduction

Ulli Beier and Susanne Wenger's arrival in Nigeria in the early 1950s is particularly significant for the study and knowledge of Africa.¹ Before this

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period, Africa was generally labelled as a continent whose people had no history that mattered to the rest of human civilisation. This view was mostly represented in the works of British historians like Hugh Trevor-Roper who was of the view that Africa was a 'dark continent' and, therefore, was of no concern to the historian.² Other Western academics and writers that joined in this argument include Georg W. F. Hegel,³ Reginald Coupland,⁴ Andrew Foote,⁵ Charles Seligman,⁶ among others. Seligman, in particular, went further to assert that any remarkable achievement found across African societies emerged through the influence of the Hamitic race.⁷ Also, in Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, Africans were said to come last in the evolutionary stage of the development of all human race.⁸ Due to these unverifiable claims, the peoples of Africa were said to be incapable of contributing anything on their own without mentorship.⁹ The humanity of Africans was also looked upon with suspicion. One of the greatest implications of this was that Western scholars wondered if Africans were ever conscious of themselves, their environment and what happened to them at any point in time.¹⁰ In every respect, the sense of the history of Africans was seriously challenged by these Eurocentric views and scientific theories. Certainly, this appears to be the height of insensitivity to the development of other societies and the inability to move outside the cocoon of Western culture.

Incidentally, the attitude of these apologists for colonialism was not shared by some other Western intellectuals.¹¹ Beier and Wenger, both Europeans, for instance, believed in the people of Africa and their culture.

² H. TREVOR-ROPER, *The Past and Present: History and Sociology*, in: *Past and Present*, 42, 1969, p. 6.

³ G. W. F. HEGEL, *The Philosophy of History*, New York 1956, p. 99.

⁴ R. COUPLAND, *Kirk on the Zambezi: A Chapter in African History*, Oxford 1928, p. 3.

⁵ A. H. FOOTE, *Africa and the American Flag*, New York 1854, p. 207.

⁶ C. G. SELIGMAN, *Races of Africa*, London 1930, p. 85.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸ D. N. REZNICK, *The Origin of Then and Now: An Interpretive Guide to the Origin of Species*, Princeton 2009.

⁹ For a more explanatory discussion, see E. NWAUBANI – K. O. DIKE, Kenneth Onwuka Dike, "Trade and Politics", and the Restoration of the African in History, in: *History in Africa*, 27, 2000, pp. 229–248.

¹⁰ F. FUGLESTAD, *The Trevor-Roper Trap or the Imperialism of History: An Essay*, in: *History in Africa*, 19, 1992, pp. 309–326.

¹¹ See, for instance, G. DEVENEUX, *The Frontier in Recent African History*, in: *The International Journal of African Studies*, 11, 1, 1978, pp. 63–85.

While other Europeans found it insalubrious to think of any unique African culture or relate with the people, Beier and Wenger found solace and comfort among the African nay Yoruba people. Truly, there is no denying the fact that these two figures also found an enduring mission and career in life among the Yoruba whom they met on arrival in Nigeria. While Beier, after his time in Nigeria, continued to promote and expose different aspects of Yoruba arts and culture to the global community, Wenger became a strong patroness of the Osun Osogbo Sacred Grove which was later listed as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 2005. Beier and Wenger did not just relate with the Yoruba community, they were also initiated into the different aspects of culture and tradition of the people. These initiations were of a different kind for Beier who notes that “*such rituals as was performed [...] was more a gesture of friendship than a serious initiation,*”¹² while Wenger had gone through a more than ten years initiation into *Obatala*,¹³ *Sonponna*¹⁴ (later *Alajere*)¹⁵ and was part of the *Ogboni*¹⁶ cult. She was a high priestess and one of the most important spiritual reference persons in these Yoruba cults. This aptly explains the huge difference in their affiliation with Yoruba religion and belief systems as well as their approaches to Yoruba art and culture. Whilst, for instance, Beier paved the way for upcoming Yoruba artists to share their works around the world, Wenger was deeply involved in Yoruba religion as a priestess of *Osun*,¹⁷ which is the divinity that plays host to her artistic activities.¹⁸ This, notwithstanding, one of the imprints of these cultural influences could be seen in traditional Yoruba names Beier (Obotunde Ijimere, Sangodare Akanji and Omidiji Aragbalu), and Wenger (Adunni Olorisa) received in some Yoruba towns like Osogbo, Ilobu and Otan Aiyegbaju. At this point, one might ask how Beier and Wenger were able to infuse their lives into a culture once deprecated by their forebears who had worked in Africa. It is important to examine the extent of their involvement in this culture, their contributions to these communities and who their major influences were. Truly, these issues are very important and

¹² U. BEIER, *The Return of the Gods: The Sacred Art of Susanne Wenger*, Cambridge 1975, p. 52.

¹³ *Obatala* is the Yoruba divinity of creation and compassion.

¹⁴ *Sonponna* is the Yoruba divinity associated with suffering and disease.

¹⁵ *Alajere* is an ancient Yoruba deity.

¹⁶ The *Ogboni* was a very powerful political institution and secret society in Yorubaland founded originally to worship the earth.

¹⁷ *Osun* is the Yoruba divinity associated with the river and fertility.

¹⁸ BEIER, p. 35.

necessary in the reconstruction of the history of the Yoruba in this period and the activities of Beier and Wenger in Africa. Answers to the questions above can be found in Ede, the ancient Yoruba town where the duo spent two fruitful years after newly arriving in Nigeria.

Ulli Beier and Ede: Forging an Enduring Relationship

Ede is a Yoruba town in present-day Osun State, southwest Nigeria. Historically, the town was founded as an Oyo military outpost in the 15th century under the leadership of an Oyo warrior-prince and a fiery archer.¹⁹ Ede today is very expansive as it covers such neighbouring communities as Sekona, Oloki, Alajue, Owode and a host of others. The area was predominantly inhabited by groups who were adherents of Yoruba traditional religions until the 1820s when Islam was introduced by some itinerant preachers from the north of the country. Ede has since been recognised as a Muslim town by the sheer size of its Muslim population but there is also a considerable number of Christians and adherents of traditional religions in the town.²⁰

While Beier and Wenger would continue to be celebrated in different parts of the world, the impact of Ede town in their lives cannot be underestimated. For Beier, it was here that his quest for an African life different from the colonial and Western-imposed tradition in the then University College, Ibadan (now University of Ibadan) was first fulfilled and developed. His testimonies bear witness to this position when he points out that he was employed to teach Phonetics at the University College, Ibadan, but found himself moving out of the department and the ghetto around the university campus after only one year.²¹ In the university, he was cut off from the everyday life of the local people and their culture and that the colonial character of the university was simply intolerable because it imposed the British syllabus on Nigerian students.

Beier was among the few Europeans who rose above the feeling, idea and myth of racial superiority of the Caucasoid race. His view on modernisation was not synonymous with westernisation. He was perhaps among the first persons to have observed the contradiction in the colonial education so cherished by African people as an instrument

¹⁹ On the early history of Ede, see S. OYEWESO, *Ede in Yoruba History*. Lagos 2002.

²⁰ I. NOLTE – K. OGEN – R. JONES (eds.), *Beyond Religious Tolerance: Muslim, Christian and Traditionalist Encounters in an African Town*, Woodbridge 2017, pp. 1–30.

²¹ U. BEIER, *In a Colonial University*, Bayreuth 1993.

of modernisation and development. He was saddened at the contempt with which Europeans viewed African cultures but was more baffled with the shocking rejection of African culture by the African students at the University.²² While he concluded that the racial arrogance of the European was born out of ignorance and unwillingness to appreciate and learn, he was shocked at seeing African students who were born into and lived the culture rejecting their heritage.²³

One of the methods Beier adopted to demystify the idea of this inferiority complex in African students was to engage them in critical debates. From these debates, he observed that African students misconstrued the concept of education and the idea of modernisation. These African students defined education from the purview of the technological West, a means to escape the “gory” pictures of the African past and a key to unlock privileges that independent Nigeria would offer. Beier’s answer to the African students’ inferiority complex was to explain that even Europe, the model for the cherished modernisation and development, was in a dire situation.²⁴

Still, on the deplorable effects of Western education on African culture and society, Beier found significant gaps in the Free Universal Primary Education scheme introduced by the then Government of the Western Region under the leadership of Chief Obafemi Awolowo.²⁵ While Beier was not opposed to the noble idea to provide every child in the region access to primary education, he objected to the scheme because it lacked not only philosophical backing but had no acknowledgement of traditional/cultural practices and values. He engaged the then Minister of Education for the region, Stephen O. Awokoya, in a critical debate over the issue²⁶ but discovered that it was a wasted effort because most educated elites running the government were already brainwashed and immersed in the assumption that Western education and Western religion were inextricably linked. Beier was surprised that despite the enthusiasm of these politicians for the scheme, the governing elite failed to consider one important factor – what awaited thousands of young

²² U. BEIER, *The Attitude of the Educated African to His Traditional Art*, in: *The Phylon Quarterly*, 18, 2, 1957, pp. 162–165.

²³ W. OGUNDELE, *Omoluabi: Ulli Beier, Yoruba Society and Culture*, Bayreuth 2003, p. 43.

²⁴ BEIER, *The Attitude*, pp. 162–165.

²⁵ See A. AJAYI, *The Development of Free Primary Education Scheme in Western Nigeria, 1952–1966: An Analysis*, in: *Ogirisi: A New Journal of African Studies*, 5, 1, 2008, pp. 1–2.

²⁶ OGUNDELE, p. 46.

children in terms of employment opportunities after their education? The implications of this for African society were a mixed bag of consequences. While Western education brought what British anthropologist, John Peel, refers to as *Olaju* (civilisation/modernisation),²⁷ the number of people seeking white-collar jobs drastically increased beyond opportunities that the government could provide.²⁸ Western education also did not address the pressing needs of the people as it failed to serve as a stabilising and moral force.²⁹

Ironically, while the products of western education were becoming estranged in their primary society, neither were they absorbed into the anglicised circles of their dreams. Based on this uneasiness, Beier was compelled to join the Department of Extramural Studies, which provided him with absolute freedom to introduce courses in African literature to his students. To do this effectively, he needed to interact with the local population not only to know more about them but to explore various means needed to convince them about his teachings. He had his first meeting with one of the most important custodians of the Yoruba culture, the Yoruba *Obas* (kings). Timi John Adetoyese Laoye I (1946–1975) of Ede was the first among the *Obas* who received him. Giving his testimony later, Beier notes that: “I was extremely lucky that the first Oba I met was Timi Laoye of Ede. In order to encourage his people to attend extramural classes, he joined my course for a whole year. He also became my mentor. Through Timi Laoye, I very soon felt completely at home in Yorubaland. He took pleasure in educating me about his culture and on rare occasions when he could not answer my questions, he called in his aunt, the *Iya Sango* in the palace.”³⁰

After the initial contact with Timi Laoye, Beier relocated to Ede where he lived from 1952 to 1954 before he moved to Ilobu, another Yoruba town. During this period, he did not live in Oke District Office where the colonial officer was stationed or an isolated place in Ede but in the market square very close to the king’s palace. This allowed him to pay regular

²⁷ J. D. Y. PEEL, *Olaju: A Yorba Concept of Development*, in: *The Journal of Development Studies*, 14, 2, 1978, pp. 139–165.

²⁸ M. KRIEGER, *Education and Development in Western Nigeria: The Legacy of S.O. Awokoya, 1952–1985*, in: *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 20, 4, 1987, p. 662.

²⁹ For an excellent study on this position, see S. OSOGBA – A. FAJANA, *Educational and Social Development during the Twentieth Century*, in: O. IKIME (ed.), *Groundwork of Nigerian History*, Ibadan 1980, pp. 571–600.

³⁰ OGUNDELE, p. 20.

visits to Timi Laoye to chat, interact and see the everyday life of the town personally.³¹ Until the time of Beier's death, he continued to speak of Timi Laoye as one of his mentors.

While in Ede, he experienced and understood the complexity and beauty of Yoruba social and political systems. There, he learned about the Yoruba royal courts, and patterns of relation and interaction between the king and the people. He observed that obeisance paid by African people to their rulers did not translate into inferiority and neither was it a sign of weakness nor pretence. While revering their kings, the Yoruba people were not precluded from criticising their rulers politely. Another important observation Beier made at Timi Laoye's court in Ede was the refinement of the Yoruba legal system which placed significant emphasis on arbitration, reconciliation and amelioration over litigation.³²

Perhaps, it is important to mention, as indicated earlier, that Beier was introduced to many religious cults as part of his mentorship under Timi Laoye at Ede. Beier's biographer, Wole Ogundele, notes that "*It was the Timi who introduced him [Beier] through his aunt, the Iya Sango, to the Sango cult and other Yoruba religious cults*".³³ According to Beier, when Timi Laoye saw his interest in the Yoruba culture: "*He invited me to all religious festivals in Ede and even insisted on initiating me into the Ogboni society because he said when I become more deeply involved in the culture and more confident, it would open many doors to me.*"³⁴

At Ede, Beier was introduced to the *Ogboni* society and the *Sango* cult. This new relationship with these traditional agencies paved way for many of his discoveries and understanding of Yoruba cultures and religion. He learned about some important and sacred arts, rites, artefacts and divination systems of the Yoruba.³⁵ Beier discovered, for instance, some marvellous carvings in the *Sango* shrine which were never displayed in the public. Some of these images were later exhibited in Ibadan, Salisbury (now Harare), and Prague together with Timi Laoye and his palace drummers in attendance. Through this involvement with the *Ogboni* cult, Beier was able to understand that the agency was not a mere talking shop

³¹ BEIER, *In a Colonial University*, pp. 11–14.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

³³ W. OGUNDELE, Rereading Beier, in: *African Quarterly on the Arts*, 2, 3, 1998, pp. 61–65.

³⁴ Ulli Beier's Images: Stories of Receding Culture, *Guardian*, 7 March 2006.

³⁵ O. RAHEEM, The Ulli Beier Archives at the Centre for Black Culture and International Understanding (CBCIU), Nigeria, and a Summary of Holdings, in: *Africa Bibliography*, 2020, p. 20.

of the elders but an important socio-political organ of the Yoruba people. He observed that the cult was able to effectively perform its political or judicial functions because of its all-encompassing membership. The *Ogboni* society was like a central cult for all *Orisa* (Yoruba divinity) cults. Thus, every action of the *Ogboni* cult represented the joint decisions of all the senior *Olorisa* (devotee of a Yoruba divinity) members.³⁶

More importantly, this relationship, begun thanks to the fiery-tempered Iya Sango, allowed Beier to join priests and priestesses of other Yoruba communities in different religious and cultural ceremonies. He worshipped every *Ose* (week) with the *Erinle* cult in Ilobu and attended the *Sango* ceremonies in Ila-Orangun and Otan-Ayegbaju, two Yoruba towns. Ogundele recalls that “these were [Beier’s] spiritual soul-mates, people in whose company he felt most at home and from whom he learned so much, such that if he had been born a Yoruba person, he was certain that he would have been a Sango devotee”.³⁷

At the same time, while he was immersed in the religious cults in Ede, he was never in doubt about Timi Laoye’s exceptional skill and mastery of the talking drums. Beier discovered that these drums, apart from being an instrument of entertainment, also had powerful symbolic roles and rich meanings in Yoruba culture. Interestingly, many of these drums could not be played except on special occasions,³⁸ while some could not be displayed publicly except in the shrines of the divinities.³⁹ Indeed, it is only those immersed in the cults who have the privilege to know and understand the difference between these drums.⁴⁰ Beier was one of these privileged few. Therefore, his fascination with the talking drums influenced his decision to become one of the promoters of Timi Laoye’s exhibition on the talking drums in different parts of the world. He would later advise Timi Laoye to document his knowledge on these drums for future reference.⁴¹

³⁶ OGUNDELE, *Omoluabi*, pp. 69–70.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ An example is the *òsìrìgì* traditional drums popular among the Ifè people of southwest Nigeria. See A. ADESOJI, Of Orality and History: Songs, Royalty and Traditional Agency in Yorubaland, 1910 to the Present, in: S. ADERINTO – P. OSIFODUNRIN (eds.), *Third Wave of Historical Scholarship on Nigeria: Essays in Honour of Ayodeji Oluwoju*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2012, pp. 98–100.

³⁹ A. A. SESAN, Gender Dialectics of Yoruba Drum Poetry, in: *Rupkatha Journal*, 5, 2, 2013, p. 172.

⁴⁰ U. BEIER, The Talking Drums of the Yorùbá, in: *African Music Society Journal*, 1, 1954, pp. 29–31.

To a very large extent, Beier appeared to have been overwhelmed by his new awakening and experience at Ede such that he wanted to know everything he could about the Yoruba. Through Timi Laoye, he extended his friendship to other Yoruba towns and communities like Ilobu, Osogbo, Okuku, Ile-Ife, Owo, and Akure. This was also the beginning of his friendship with several other Yoruba kings like *Oba* Samuel Adenle, the *Ataoja* of Osogbo; *Oba* Moses Oyinlola, the *Olokuku* of Okuku; *Oba* Olaoesbikan Oyewusi, and successor to *Oba* Moses Oyinlola; the *Ooni* of Ife, the *Olowo* of Owo, the *Orangun* of Ila, the *Ogiyan* of Ejigbo, and *Deji* of Akure. Despite his friendship with these kings, Beier had a very intimate relationship with the Timi because he served as a worthy mentor, while his intimacy with the *Olokuku* was that of two good friends.⁴² Also, beginning with his association with women in Ede, Ulli Beier discovered their true position in African societies. Before this time, the common notion about African women within Western circles was that they were dull and passive, prodded at the instigation of men.⁴³ But Beier's experience among Yoruba communities proved this theory wrong. His relationship with Yoruba women showed that they were an important and respected segment in any Yoruba community who held significant positions germane to the peace and stability of their communities.⁴⁴

Beier's relationship and interest in Ede could be said to be a mutually beneficial experience. As he discovered and nurtured his interest in Yoruba cultures and pantheons at Ede, he was, in turn, instrumental to the educational and cultural growth and development of the town. As indicated earlier, he established one of his extramural classes at Ede, which was attended by many people including Timi Laoye. This class served as an avenue for knowledge production and a means of exchange of ideas about the peoples' culture.

⁴¹ The product of this discussions led to the publication titled; Timi of Ede, Qba LAOYE I. Yorubá Drums, in: *Odu*, 7, 1959, pp. 5–14.

⁴² L. OLAGUNJU – B. SALAM – O. OLADEJI – W. OGUNDELE, *Oyinlola Olokuku: Every Inch a King*, Osogbo 2005.

⁴³ For a detailed analysis, see N. MUSISI, The Politics of Perception or Perception as Politics? Colonial and Missionary Representations of Buganda Women, 1900–1945, in: J. ALLMAN – S. GEIGER – N. MUSISI (eds.), *Women in African Colonial Histories*, Bloomington 2002, pp. 95–115.

⁴⁴ In Search of One's Head: Paul Onovoh talks to Ulli Beier, Bayreuth, 27 February 1997. See also O. OLAJUBU, *Women in the Yoruba Religious Sphere*, New York 2003.

He played an important role in facilitating the historical documentation of the people of Ede. Although he considered Timi Laoye as his mentor, he encouraged him to document the history of Ede as well as write an autobiography. Therefore, a significant factor in the production of a traditional account of the history of Ede was authored by a teacher, E. A. Olunlade, and edited and annotated by Beier. A historian and distinguished scholar, the late Isaac Akinjogbin, translated the manuscript into English from Yoruba which was eventually published by the Ministry of Education in 1961.⁴⁵ Beier also encouraged Timi Laoye to document the *Oriki* (praise poetry) of all Timi that had ruled in Ede from inception to Laoye's era. This led to the publication of the book by Timi Laoye titled, *Oriki ati Orile Awon idile ni Ile Yoruba ati Ekeeka Won* (Praise and Place Names of Selected Families in Yorubaland). It was to Ulli Beier's credit that the *Oriki* was later translated to the English language. Also, Timi Laoye's publications particularly on Yoruba talking drums published in the journals, *Odu* and *Nigeria Magazine* was facilitated by Beier. To this day, this article remains one of the most cited documents on talking drums in Africa.

In some of his publications on religion and culture, Beier also contributed a great deal in relating his experience in Ede. One of his most important publications⁴⁶ gave an eye-witness account of many festivals in Yoruba towns but focused more on Ede. He described in details the *Obatala* festival in the town and the major highlights involved in the celebration.

Also, through the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ife (now Obafemi Awolowo University), Ulli Beier was responsible for facilitating cultural exchanges between Timi Laoye and the university on Yoruba culture, particularly on aspects dealing with the talking drums.⁴⁷ In recognition of his contributions to African cultures, the Obafemi Awolowo University awarded Timi Laoye an honorary Doctor of Civil Law in 1972.⁴⁸ More importantly, Beier was responsible for facilitating some of Timi Laoye's talking drums exhibitions in Europe and the United States. During this period, the respected king became a renowned expert in

⁴⁵ See E. A. OLUNLADE, *Ede: A Short History*, Ibadan 1961. See also, J. A. LAOYE, *The Story of my Installation*, Ede 1956.

⁴⁶ U. BEIER, A Year of Sacred Festival in one Yoruba Town, in: *Nigeria Magazine*, 1959.

⁴⁷ Timi of Ede, Oba LAOYE I, "The Talking Drum." Audiotape of Keynote Address, Fifth Ife' Festival of the Arts at University of Ife, Ilé-Ife', Nigeria, 12 May 1972. Obafemi Awolowo University Department of Music Archives. 1 tape reel.

⁴⁸ F. KEHINDE, Oba Laoye: Timi of Ede, in: *Vanguard*, 2 January 2016.

talking drums after having the honour to entertain the Queen of England on her visit to Nigeria in 1956.⁴⁹ He was not only recognised as a symbol of African culture but also received several awards for this including the Queen's Silver Medal for Chiefs in 1956 and at the same time was honoured with a Member of the British Empire (MBE) in 1963.⁵⁰

Susanne Wenger: A Spiritual Re-awakening in Ede

The influence of Ede on the late priestess of the Osun Osogbo Sacred Grove, Wenger is also relevant in this discussion. She was the second European initiated into the Yoruba religion at Ede. Although an Austrian by birth, Wenger would later admit her enchantment with the Yoruba people. This admittance did not, however, mean she rejected her background and, in fact, never stopped being European or Austrian. In her words: *"I have not rejected the Western world and the Western culture, I am still very European. But [...] I have been enchanted by the richness and complexity of Yoruba culture. I never 'converted' to any religion: I have just 'found myself'. I have found [...] receptivity that in Europe I had lost. I have understood which forces guide my life. I have rediscovered the possibility of celebrating life: this has been my conversion."*⁵¹

As indicated earlier, Wenger moved to Ede with Ulli Beier, where they met Timi Laoye in 1951.⁵² Like her husband, she was not simply willing to escape the artificiality of the university compound, but she was also disturbed by the attack on traditional African culture. In an interview granted to the British Broadcasting Corporation in August 1998, Wenger pointed out that when she first arrived in Yorubaland, she noticed that the Yoruba traditional culture was in decline and faced a serious threat of extinction as a result of the activities of Christian missionaries and colonial officials who branded it "black magic."⁵³ In other words: *"[...] going native' was simply a matter of getting to the source of Yoruba art by submerging herself physically and spiritually into the vanishing culture which had once created such valuable art forms as Senubos Masks and Yoruba figure carvings. Where*

⁴⁹ G. A. NWAKUNOR, 45 Years after, Timi John Adetoyese Laoye I in the Sands of Time, in: *Guardian*, 2 August 2020.

⁵⁰ A. ADEWOPO, Palace Memories: Dinner with Oba Adetoyese Laoye, in: *Tribune*, 14 August 2020.

⁵¹ P. C. LUZZATTO, *Susanne Wenger: Artist and Priestess*, Florence 2009, p. 110.

⁵² The pair had been married the previous decade in London as a requisite to move to Nigeria.

⁵³ A. WALKER, The White Priestess of "Black Magic", *BBC*, 10 September 2008.

colonists had come to oppress the natives and missionaries had come to change them, Susanne Wenger had come to preserve one of their contributions to culture.”⁵⁴

One of her adopted sons, Sangodare Ajala, recalled that Wenger discouraged him from attending school because she feared he would be converted into a Christian and his life would be over.⁵⁵ Such was her little way at that early period to preserve the dying Yoruba traditional culture. And in her case, she was sick when she came to Ede with Beier and was just recovering when from her house: “She heard people who were doing the *Obatala* weekly worship with drumming in the neighbourhood. She was hearing it on her bed. Then she stood up from her bed and went in the direction from where the sound of the drumming was coming from. As she got to the place, she peeped into the shrine where they were doing the worship. The way she saw the devotees of *Obatala* dancing [...] captured her. She experienced for the first time in her life what one could describe as a real spiritual awakening. Although she could not speak Yoruba then, she was able to give signs that she was interested in Yoruba traditional religion to the then high priest of *Obatala*, Ajagemo. From there, she started to learn under the high priest in Ede, who initiated her into Yoruba traditional religion. From there, her journey into the [Yoruba] religion started.”⁵⁶

Through a surreal experience, Wenger was initiated into the *Obatala* cult by Ajagemo (head of *Obatala* cult in Ede). According to her, Ajagemo “took me by the hand and led me into the spirit world. This is in spite of the fact that I did not speak Yoruba and he did not speak English. Our only intercourse was the language of the trees”.⁵⁷ Through this experience, she was not only hooked and transformed; she also found her *ori inu* (real essence) as the Yoruba referred to it. Thereafter, she became a daughter of *Obatala*, mastering Yoruba cosmology while the *Obatala* priest also became her leader.

It is significant to note that trees and water were two symbolic forces in Wenger’s journey to priesthood. She once said that: “I think and feel like the river; my blood flows with the river; to the rhythm of its waves, otherwise, the trees and the animals would not be such allies. I am here in the trees, in the river; in my creative phase, not only when I am here physically, but forever – even when I happen to be travelling – hidden beyond time and suffering, in the spiritual entities, which, because they are real in many ways, present ever new features. I feel sheltered by them – in them – because I am so very fond of trees and running water;

⁵⁴ White Priestess, *Ebony*, 15, 6 April 1960, p. 65.

⁵⁵ WALKER, The White Priestess.

⁵⁶ K. A. GARBA, Austrian Artist: the Story of Susanne Wenger, in: *OPEC Bulletin*, XXXX, 1, 2009, pp. 52–55.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

and all the gods of the world are trees and animals long, long before they entrust their sacrosanct magnificence to [a] human figure."⁵⁸

Despite her experience with the spiritual world, Wenger was also fascinated by the wonderful display of dancers and Timi Laoye's drumming skill. In any case, her initiation into the *Obatala* cult would also require that she familiarised herself with different drums and dance steps of the gods. Drums are one of the instruments of communication between the initiates and the gods.⁵⁹ Therefore, her admiration for the talking drums led to an intimate relationship between her and the drummer Ayansola Oniru, who was very adept at drumming the gods into frenzy. Wenger would marry Ayansola, which later ended in a divorce.⁶⁰

Apart from this, she learned other forms of Yoruba arts including drama, dyeing and painting in Ede. Being a painter herself, she blended traditional art forms with Western forms to produce different works. As Wolfgang Denk remarks: "*The clear and transcendent language of these works is religiously motivated in the universal sense, but still spontaneous and free in the sense of the perception of art [...]. She incorporates themes from the history of mankind, the Bible, world literature and the Yoruba cultural circle.*"⁶¹

In the last years of her life, Wenger referred to some of her drawings and books as her "hour-books" where she confirmed that her inspiration was derived from her state-of-awareness and affirmations of her beliefs. Also, most of them were done in reverence to the gods. As far back as 1962, some of these works were on display in a joint Exhibition of Yoruba Traditional Religion and Culture held in Darmstadt, West Germany, with Timi Laoye.⁶²

Some Observations

Traditional Yoruba arts and religion enjoyed a very strong appeal from the duo of Beier and Wenger. They did not just show their interest in this traditional African culture, they became initiates of the tradition. Through this experience, they assumed the role of spokespeople and ambassadors of African belief systems and their people through various platforms. In many respects, there is a sense in which one could say that

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ A. ADEGBITE, The Drum and its Role in Yoruba Religion, in: *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 18, 1, 1988, pp. 15–26.

⁶⁰ LUZZATTO, pp. 162–164.

⁶¹ W. DENK, About Susanne Wenger, *Susanne Wenger Foundation*, <http://www.susanne-wengerfoundation.at/en/wolfgang-denk-about-susanne-wenger> [2020–06–25].

⁶² B. JINMI, Susan Wenger's Tribute Revisited, in: *Guardian*, 15 April 2009.

out of many Africanist scholars, Beier and Wenger made the most significant contributions in the promotion and preservation of African cultures and traditions.⁶³ Wenger was a high priestess of the Osun Osogbo Sacred Grove. She worked hard to resuscitate some of the dilapidated structures in the forest that housed the grove. Many of her sculptural works could be found throughout the forest. Through her devotion and belief in the sacredness of the shrine, she helped to preserve the once widespread Yoruba practice of establishing sacred groves outside every settlement. The preservation of this grove has, therefore, given a significant boost to the number of tourists and devotees who throng in their thousands from different parts of the world to witness the annual Osun Osogbo festival and pay their homage to the shrine to renew their bond with the gods.⁶⁴

Also, in his tribute to Beier, Professor of History Akinjide Osuntokun, described him as one who “*lived a good and fulfilled life. He was a great exponent of Yoruba culture. He always wore Yoruba dashiki (attire) and ate Yoruba food most of the time and had some knowledge of Yoruba language [...]*”.⁶⁵ He went ahead to confirm that Beier did establish what was called Yoruba Haus, “*a kind of cultural centre/museum/restaurant where African culture was on display*”.⁶⁶ Beier had many Yoruba and African artefacts in his collection which includes the Yoruba *Agbada* worn in the 19th century, carved objects and statues, paintings and pictures of individuals (especially kings) and events in various Yoruba communities. Some of these have been donated to several Institutes of African Studies, Iwalewaha, University of Bayreuth, Germany⁶⁷ and the Centre for Black Culture and International Understanding (CBCIU) in Osogbo, southwest Nigeria, which holds the collections in the Ulli Beier estate.⁶⁸

⁶³ See P. PROBST, *Modernism against Modernity: A Tribute to Susanne Wenger*, in: *Critical Interventions*, 2, 3–4, 2008, pp. 245–255; K. RICHARDS, *Suzanne Wenger*, in: *The Guardian*, 26 March, 2009.

⁶⁴ A. OGUNDIRAN, *The Osun-Osogbo Grove as a Social Common and an Uncommon Ground: An Analysis of Patrimonial Patronage in Postcolonial Nigeria*, in: *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 12, 2, 2014, pp. 173–198.

⁶⁵ A. OSUNTOKUN, *Professor Ulli Beier: A Tribute*, in: *The Nation*, 7 April 2011.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ K. GREVEN – B. PIERRE-NICOLAS, ‘Living with the Archive’ – The Ulli Beier Estate at Iwalewaha, in: M. LE LAY – D. MALAQUAIS – N. SIEGERT (eds.), *Archive (Re)mix: Vues D’Afrique*, Rennes 2015, pp. 159–169.

⁶⁸ RAHEEM, *The Ulli Beier Archives*. See also K. GREVEN – L. NAUMANN – S. SALMANIAN – N. SIEGERT, *Collectivize (Re)sources: The Photographic Estate of Ulli Beier*, in: *Critical Interventions*, 12, 2, 2018, pp. 140–157.

In the same vein, it seems plausible to suggest that both Beier and Wenger were symbols of African religious emancipation from the vitriolic and vicious circle of attacks of Westernization, Christianity and Islam. As indicated earlier, Wenger prevented one of her adopted sons from attending school because of the fear of being converted to Christianity. Also, Beier and Wenger were not comfortable with the European imposed cultures on African students, and this explains why they immediately moved out from the university campus into traditional and core Yoruba communities where their desires and spirits were indulged. In one of his discussions with Wole Soyinka, Beier points out that African and, indeed, the Yoruba religion is more liberating and tolerant than modern religions. According to him: *“Yoruba religion, within itself, is based on this very tolerance. Because in each town you have a variety of cults, all coexisting peacefully: there may be Shango, Ogun, Obatala, Oshun and many more – even within the same small family – but there is never any rivalry between different cult groups; they all know they are interdependent. Because they are like specialists: everybody understands specific aspects of the supernatural world. Nobody can know everything. The Egunguns know how to deal with the dead; the Ogun worshippers know how to handle the forces that are symbolized by iron. But for the Ogun worshippers to function, it is also necessary that Shango worshippers and Obatala worshippers and all the other Olorisha perform their part. Only the concentrated effort of all of them will bring peace and harmony to the town.”*⁶⁹

Also, Beier was critical of practitioners and clerics of modern religions. According to him, most of them are dubious and unfaithful and are more interested in enriching themselves by exploiting their followers. “Take a *babalawo*, for instance,” Beier contends, *“When you consult a babalawo, you put down three-pence. A token fee! There is no money involved in divination. Have you ever seen a rich babalawo?”*⁷⁰ Ulli Beier went further in this comparison by noting that the grand old *Olorisa* priests like the *Ajagemo* of Ede and the *Akodu* of Ilobu he knew in the 1950s who, despite their influence in the society, were all poor people.

Beyond this affirmation of African religion, Beier and Wenger played a significant role in transforming local artisans into world-famous artists. Through the Osogbo Arts School and the Mbari Club, Muraina Oyelami, Nike Ekundaye Davies, Bruce Onobrakpeya, Jimoh Buraimoh, Bisi Fabunmi

⁶⁹ Wole Soyinka on Yoruba Religion: A Conversation with Ulli Beier, in: *Isokan Yoruba Magazine*, III, III, 1997.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

and Twin Seven Seven all developed their creative talents in painting, textile designs and other artworks.⁷¹ Beier also supported dramatists like Duro Ladipo in the production of epic indigenous stage plays like *Oba Koso*, *Moremi*, *Oba Moro* and many others.⁷² Finally, he was a friend and mentor to many Nigerian literary giants like Wole Soyinka, Chinua Achebe and Christopher Okigbo. Together, they helped to promote various aspects of the culture and tradition of African societies and their peoples.⁷³

Conclusion

There is no denying the fact that Beier and Wenger were very important figures in the cultural growth of Africa from the 1950s. They were not in the class of ethnic chauvinists and religious bigots who failed to see anything good about the people of Africa. Both appreciated the indigenous people, their beliefs and traditions. In the case of Wenger, she never travelled much within Africa and so her knowledge is rather focused on Nigeria. This did not, however, undermine her deep respect and admiration for other African cultures and belief systems. They were also tolerant and accommodating of the differences among the diverse ethnic groups in various communities they visited in Nigeria, most especially the Yoruba. Beier and Wenger also lived in these communities, consumed their foods, wore their clothes, participated in their festivals, shared in their joy and sorrows, made friends among them, and impacted the development of their host communities.

Indeed, the importance of the town of Ede on both cannot be under-emphasized. There is no gainsaying the fact that their diverse experiences and interesting encounters in Ede played a very significant role in their relationship towards other Yoruba communities they later visited and lived in. This relationship especially was defined by a deep respect and appreciation of the cultural, artistic and religious traditions and conditions of the Yoruba people. In Wenger's case, in particular, she felt an intimate connection to Ajagemo at Ede and through her active participation within the Yoruba religious community; she became a priestess herself until her passing in 2009. For Beier, although he left Ede in 1954, he often considered the town as his home and one to which he would forever be attached.

⁷¹ U. BEIER, *Thirty Years of Oshogbo Art*, Bayreuth 1991.

⁷² D. LADIPO, *Three Yoruba Plays*, edited by Ulli Beier, Ibadan 1964.

⁷³ I. MALZ – N. SIEGERT, *The Mbari Artists and Writers Club in Ibadan*, Bayreuth 2018.

Mark DUNTON

Images of The National Archives: Prime Ministers of the 20th Century

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British modern history is inseparably connected with the personalities of the Prime Ministers who filed past through the political scene in the twentieth century. This topic, continuously arousing interest, is presented in a very readable way, where the author writes about the facts along with glimpses into the private lives of these politicians, and thus he offers to the readers various angles of perception of the historical context.

Mark Dunton is one of the leading specialists at The National Archives in London, as well as a spokesperson on the annual releases of governmental papers. He is an expert in the British political, social and economic history of the twentieth century.

The content of the book is divided into twenty chapters, of which each is dedicated to one of the politicians, observing the chronological order in which they held the Prime Ministerial office. Except for introductory list of the date of their births and deaths, of the period when they were the Prime Ministers, and of their political affiliations, the chapters do not have the same structure. In this way Dunton

successfully avoids uniformity; on the contrary, he presents in every single chapter what he considers for the given personality to be significant and determining.

As an introduction, Dunton reminds readers of the role of the Prime Minister in Great Britain. He emphasizes the ultimate responsibility for governmental decisions, the duty to chair the Cabinet and to organize activities of the government, as well as the capacity to appoint and dismiss ministers. The Premier also advises the Sovereign when Parliament should be dissolved and general elections held. The changeability of the Prime Ministerial role over time is illustrated by a quotation of Herbert Asquith, who expressed his opinion that the form and image of the office depends to some extent on the personal attitudes and abilities of its holder. The author draws readers' attention back to the period 1721–1742, when Sir Robert Walpole held the post with all duties and competencies except the title of the Prime Minister. Dunton also points out the ways how historical events in the twentieth century, namely the de-

cline of the British Empire, two world wars and the development of the welfare state, influenced the accentuated importance of the British government, and hence the role of the Prime Minister.

The first Prime Minister, whom Dunton introduces, is Lord Salisbury, the last one is Tony Blair. With each of the politicians, the author focuses on certain aspects of both personal and professional life. He follows his personal opinion on the importance of a particular event that played a role in the formation of the personality and consequently the style of discharge and image of the Prime Ministerial office. Dunton, with certain exaggeration, states that the names of the Prime Ministers are titles of chapters of British modern history.

To exemplify, the chapter that discusses David Lloyd George begins with revealing the Premier's characteristic high self-confidence, which played an important role in his political rise, but finally in his fall. The photography of Lloyd George published here displays, by Dunton, the magnetism of this Prime Minister's personality. The readers are presented with an outline of his career beginning with his successes in the field of social reforms, namely enforcing of Old Age Pension (1908) and formulating of National Insurance programme, which included sickness and unemployment benefits (1911). In the role of the Prime Minister in wartime, Lloyd George is introduced as a politician able to mobilise (in the wider sense of this word) human and material resources effectively

focusing both on industry and agriculture. However, Dunton also reminds of his rather limited abilities as a war strategist and his far from satisfactory cooperation with the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Douglas Haigh. From the period of the Prime Minister's post-war career, his attempts, if unsuccessful, to alleviate sanctions against defeated Germany at Paris Peace Conference (1919) are mentioned in this chapter, as well as his part on reaching a compromise in the question of Irish autonomy (1921). The author does not conceal that in the course of the last period of Lloyd George's continuance in office, the style of his work was more presidential. Consequently, his alienation from his own Liberal Party followed. A scandal concerning financial funds resulted in Conservatives' resignation from the coalition government and his fall.

The chapter devoted to Winston Churchill starts with emphasizing his skills to employ his charisma and oratory capabilities in the nation's optimism encouragement; and to use his trademark features (the homburg hat, the white-spotted bow tie and "V" sign) as some anchors or symbols to which it is possible to relate to. Which, by their immutability, provided a certain feeling of stability. Dunton uses three archival materials: part of a letter to General Ismay about the Operation Jubilee (1942); a personal minute where Churchill urges his staff to save time more effectively (1940); and an extract from his speech concerning the battle of El Alamein (1942) to illustrate his style, which was some-

times hard-hitting and pithy, at another time quite humorous and showing his mastery in playfulness with words and a witty usage of ornate expressions. The chapter reflects on Churchill's credit for the result of the Second World War. However, his part in the catastrophic fiasco at Gallipoli (1915–1916) and the Bengal famine (1943) has not been left out.

Margaret Thatcher, the first and in the twentieth century the only woman holding the Prime Ministerial office, is introduced here as a politician with a great sense for details that was manifested for example in marginalia which she wrote onto governmental documents. In this book, we can find a letter concerning a British attitude to the EEC budget and its connection with the oil in the North Sea, where the marginalia pointed out her decisiveness and unwillingness to hide her anger. Dunton points out that Margaret Thatcher held the prime ministerial office for the longest duration (1979–1990), when she was seen as the most contradictory personality in British modern political history. The author outlines principles of monetar-

ist governmental politics and its inauspicious consequences for privatized businesses which culminated in suppressing the waves of miners' strikes (1984–1985). Dunton does not try to conceal how this Prime Minister was unpopular with many but he also draws attention to victory in the Falklands war (1982) and the success of the Iron Lady in diplomatic relationships with Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan.

Dunton's book contains rich visual material, many documents from The National Archives: photographs, handwritings, memoranda, quotations. On the other hand, it lacks annotation apparatus and a more detailed specification of sources and literature. The author is not content with a mere presentation of historical facts but he introduces them in the context of important influences, personal successes as well as failures of each of the twenty British Prime Ministers in the twentieth century.

I highly recommend this book to both lay and expert readers.

Blanka Dryková

International Online Conference: *Treaties of the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920)* – Second edition, 4th–5th June 2021, Romania

For many countries and nations, First World War was the actual start of the 20th century. The Paris Peace Conference inspired political and economic debates, as well as interest of historians, whose studies certainly contributed to the development of diplomatic historiography and study of international relations.

This is why The Alba Iulia National Union Museum and the University of Alba Iulia organized the international online conference *Treaties of the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920)* with the support of the Alba County Council. This conference held between 4 and 5 June 2021. There were many leading expert from Europe and Asia. Researchers from Charles University of Prague, University of West Bohemia in Pilsen, Prague University of Economics and Business and Palacký University Olomouc participated from the Czech Republic. Involvement of almost forty historians, from the young to the past masters, assured the high scientific level. The content diversity as well as the generation diversity of contributors is one of its main qualities. The papers were organised along the same principles as the Paris Peace Conference itself, taking in view territorial issues and the drawing of new frontiers, national minorities and their status, war reparations, railways and waterways, war criminals, harbours, and

the establishment of the League of Nations. They were not left out either the perspectives of the participant states and the attitudes of the defeated states that did not participate (Germany, Hungary, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey) and those which were not invited, such as Russia.

At the beginning of the conference was introduced the book called *The Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920) and Its Aftermath: Settlements, Problems and Perceptions* by editors Sorin Arhire and Tudor Roșu. This volume of studies comes into being as a result of the international conference, an academic event which brought together 28 participants from 11 countries (also from the Czech Republic). This symposium, held in Alba Iulia between 3 and 7 June 2018 by the Alba Iulia National Union Museum and the University of Alba Iulia with the financial support of the Alba County Council. This book offers a number of perspectives on the Paris Peace Conference and its fallout, providing new insights from the perspectives of the Great Powers and the small countries struggling for independence, looking at the winners, the losers and the neutral parties. The members of the delegations honestly thought they had ended all wars, but in reality Europe was just two decades away from a new world war that was to be even more destructive than

that of 1914 to 1918. The mistakes made in Paris in 1919 and 1920 were paid for through the outbreak of the Second World War and through the war in former Yugoslavia during the 1990s which, with its mass executions and ethnic cleansing, brought us once again all too close to the horrors committed in Europe in the early 1940s. The content will be of interest to historians and students of international relations and political science, as well as anyone who wishes to gain a broader perspective on this crucial moment in twentieth-century history.

The contributions of the individual participants from 10 countries were heard in four sections. That shows extraordinary extent of conference. We can find papers on various themes. Most of them focused precisely on local contexts. The significance of the peace conference, especially for Europe and The United States of America, was much discussed. In many cases the authors added their own observations and opinions. The Peace Conference in Paris transformed the composition of the face of Europe. As a result of the dissolution of the monarchies laid the foundation for a new European continent, which basically exists to this day in spite of changes caused by the Second World War. The events following the signature of the Paris Peace Conference, the destruction of the Versailles peace system in the 1930s, and the Second World War, led to discussions regarding the meaning of these treaties and the significant impact they had on the post-war organization of Europe and the world.

The first part of the presentations by historians from Italy, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Romania was devoted to a public discussion on the eastern borders, the position of the Transylvanian Saxons on the Paris Peace Conference or Romanian administration in Oradea in 1919–1922. They also concerned the protection of minorities, the exercise of nations' rights to self-determination or international trade on the example of shipping companies and ports in Austria. Unique paper based on new archival materials pointed out the decision of Hungarian government in the matter; how will sign the Peace Treaty in 1920.

The second part of the papers by experts from Romania, Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland focused on the Romanian propaganda at the Paris Peace Conference, historiographical perspectives on the Treaty of Trianon during communist regime in Romania or reflection Paris Peace Conference in the Slovak periodical press. They were detailed analysis of importance of Polish countries in the concepts of the German military leadership and message of the Moravian Germans to the Paris Peace Conference. The economic view offered contribution about Czechoslovak political-economic interests at the conference.

The third part of the presentations from Poland, Germany, China and Russian Federation dealt with mutual repatriation of citizens, features of the implementation of the linguistic and information model of the "Soft Power" policy in the White Guard Press of Siberia in the 1920s or the experience

of the loss of the motherland by representatives of the tsarist army in the Chinese provinces in the cinematic and newspaper discourse of Harbin in the early 20th Century. The attention was also paid to First World War in testimonial perceptions migrants of Armenian press in Russian and Armenians' languages.

Participants of the last session from Italy, Czech Republic, Romania, Ukraine and Russian Federation showed an interest in Woodrow Wilson's attitude towards the Zionist project for constituting a Jewish homeland in Palestine and his image in Transylvania around the 1st of December 1918. The views and reactions of selected British politicians and the British press to the establishment of the League of Nations were also detailed. Taking into consideration the principles set out by Woodrow Wilson in 1918, the representatives of the participant states established new frontiers in Europe, relying on the principle of national self-determination. The dismantling of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire led to the establishment of nation states in Central-Eastern Europe, some appearing for the first time on the map, although all took on important national minorities. The end of the Great War and its impact, including the unequivocally democratizing and socially

waves, was an attempt at a new, fundamentally changed organization of international life and its current established order. The principle of balance of power, which had assured peace in Europe for several centuries, was replaced with the principle of collective security, a change of perspective that brought about the establishment of the League of Nations in 1920. The opinions of American experts on Russian question, Lonhyn Tsehelsky's diplomatic and financial missions in the USA and Canada in 1920–1921 and of course the importance of American projects in the development of social infrastructure of the New World Order were also discussed.

This online conference brought several new impulses for research on the history of inter-war period. This international symposium was unique in the extent and content. Presentations of high scientific value revealed the knowledge of various fields, not only modern diplomatic history and international relations. Conference papers and the following discussion reflected key directions of current research and make a significant contribution to our understanding of subject and period analysed, a time fraught with difficulty not just for Europe.

Klára Fabianková