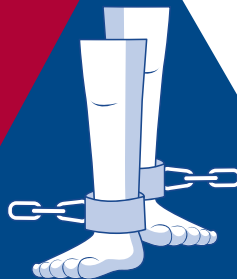
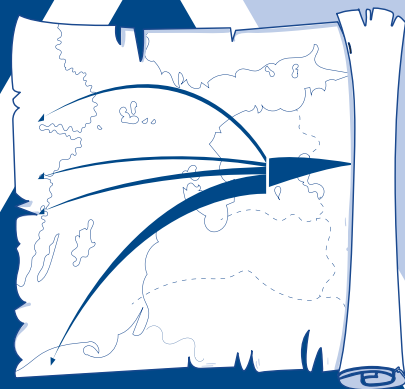
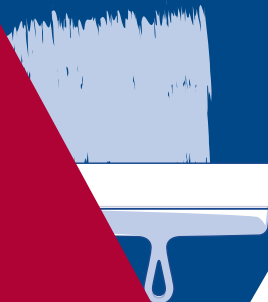
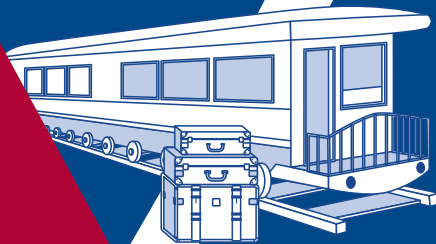


# EXILES, MIGRATORY FLOWS AND SOLIDARITY

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# EXILES, MIGRATORY FLOWS AND SOLIDARITY

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# INTRODUCTION

## EXILES, MIGRATORY FLOWS AND SOLIDARITY

When the Cold War ended in late 1991, many people thought, or at least hoped, that the world would be blessed with a new era of peace and stability. The American political scientist Francis Fukuyama summed this feeling up the following year in his highly influential book, *The End of History and the Last Man*. He argued that the collapse of the Soviet Union marked the final key victory of the western model of liberal democracy, and that henceforth the world would move towards an eventual state of freedom, progress and growth. He admitted that challenges to this model would still present themselves from time to time, but that inevitably western-style democracy would prevail.

Looking back at that time from the vantage point of the early 2020s, it is perhaps hard to be so confident that Fukuyama's vision will hold true. Indeed, some may argue that the relative stability of the 1990s was a mere temporary blip in world affairs. Today the world situation seems to be characterised with what could be regarded as the same old troubles: financial crisis, ideological confrontation, and war. Alongside this has been a move back towards authoritarianism, nationalism, and economic protectionism. And added to the mix has been the onset of a major pandemic which has had the power to bring the world to a standstill. None of these things are new to history, a fact that serves to suggest that, far from being on a clear linear path towards utopia, the world is instead destined to experience a never-ending series of cyclical historical events.

For Europeans, one of the most important examples of such an event has been the recent upsurge in migra-

tion, both from within and outside the continent. Some of these migrants are looking to find work. Others are refugees or asylum seekers, anxious to escape from war zones and oppressive regimes. Fierce debates have flared up across Europe over how to best handle the migration crisis, and key questions have emerged. To what extent are people willing to accommodate those who have come to them in hope or in need? How far are societies prepared to go to show solidarity with oppressed and displaced people? How much value is given to the cultural diversity that results from migratory movement across national borders?

This exhibition seeks to examine this highly topical issue from a historical perspective. It gathers together 47 key documents in order to present a series of historical stories that illustrate the themes at hand. Through them we will come across terminology which sadly remains all too familiar from recent European and international history; words and phrases such as repression, persecution, political exile, refugee camps, racism, antisemitism, ethnic cleansing, and genocide. As will be seen, many of the documents do indeed highlight acts uncovering the darker side of human nature. But at the same time there are aspects of many of them which allow us to step back into the light. As such, terms such as empathy, tolerance, selflessness, charity, and solidarity also have a place in the stories being told. Several of them also underline the positive contribution that immigrants made to societies in which they settled.

The documents are divided into three main categories, or 'pillars'. The first considers work-related migration and encompasses stories which collectively address not just

the movement of individuals and groups of individuals, but also the transfer of foreign expertise, much of which proved vital to the economic and cultural development of the countries concerned. The second pillar looks at war-related migration. As one might expect, there exists a wealth of documents dealing with this highly emotive topic. For this exhibition a selection has been made covering various types of conflicts, from rebellions and civil wars through to the world wars of the 20th century. The third pillar centres on documents dealing with some of the human costs associated with political uprising, turmoil and persecution. Again, there is a wide range of material, spanning several centuries. And, as is the case with the other two pillars, an emphasis is placed on teasing out the human side to the stories. Indeed, it is through the examination of contemporary source documents that one begins to approach the past at its most elementary level. In a majority of cases the sources relate to individuals or to a group of individuals, at least at some level. The selection also reflects the great variety of material that is available to be consulted in Europe's archival collections. This includes, among other things, charters, edicts, census records, diaries,

letters, diagrams, drawings, photographs, posters, reports, pamphlets, service records, dispatches, supplications, and speeches.

By highlighting such original sources, it is hoped that the exhibition will serve to reflect UNESCO's Universal Declaration on Archives, which states that archival repositories, 'play an essential role in the development of societies by safeguarding and contributing to individual and community memory.' The Declaration also emphasises that, 'open access to archives enriches our knowledge of human society, promotes democracy, protects citizens' rights and enhances the quality of life.' The message is clear. Europe's archives offer a rich heritage of material that is there for everyone to use, whether that be the original physical versions or through universally available digital copies.

It is also hoped that those who see the exhibition may take the opportunity to view the present through the prism of the past. Perhaps lessons can finally be learned which would allow us to break free from the historical cycles of intolerance, fear, violence and persecution.



01

# WORK-RELATED MIGRATION

This first section of this exhibition centres around documents that provide a historical insight into work-related migration.

It is fair to say that work-related migration has become a hot topic of debate across Europe in recent years. It has aroused fierce arguments between those who champion the benefits of economic immigration, as a means of adding to a country's skill base and enhancing its cultural diversity, and those who are opposed to it – either because they are resistant to cultural diversity or because they feel that too much immigration has taken place in too short a time. Even the most casual of glances at British politics reveals that immigration was one of the major issues that contributed to the 2016 referendum vote to exit the EU. Immigration is an issue that most people have an opinion about, one way or the other.

Europe's history provides plentiful examples of people travelling across the continent in order to exercise their trade, or to find more general employment. During the medieval period, foreign merchants were to be found in all of the major cities, most notably in the many ports that flourished during that time. German merchants predominated along the trading routes of the Baltic and North seas, while Italians were to the fore in

carving out commercial empires in the countries of the Mediterranean world. Through building up extensive business networks, such individuals not only benefited themselves, but also helped build up the wealth and prestige of their adopted countries.

Such can also be said about the foreign workers who were able to use their technical expertise to good effect in Europe's industrial heartlands. Indeed, in many cases foreign expertise proved vital to the establishment of industrial sectors in certain countries. Foreign labour was also of importance in repopulating regions that had been devastated by warfare. Such was particularly the case in central Europe during the Ottoman wars of the early modern period.

Moreover, during the 19th and 20th centuries, Europe witnessed a series of larger-scale migrations of people hoping to find work abroad. Most notable was the mass migration of Europeans to North America. Between 1820 and 1980 some 37 million individuals left Europe to embark on what has been termed the 'Great Atlantic Migration'.

Overall, when considering the documents of this pillar in unison, it is clear that work-related migration is far from being just a modern-day phenomenon.

**DAD DE SCULLA han 7 tienem  
de los señores Reyes de Casti  
lla. E de leon: Secuntur:**

**S**Epan quantos esta Carta vieren como  
Plnte m iohñ aluarez de valladares  
Alcatce por nuestro señor el Rey  
en la muy noble cibdad de Sculla.  
Y micer Juanoto saluago  
E micer Agostin centurion Consu  
les de los mercaiores genueses esta  
tes en la muy noble cibdad de sculla

Por si ten nonbre e en los de los otros mercaiores qñales  
Estantes en la dicha cibdad. E mostraron me vna Carta  
de preuilegio del Rey don Alfonso que dios de sancto  
parayso segund por ella parescia escripta en pangamino de  
cuero e firmada e sellada con vn sello de plomo pendiente  
en filos de seda de ciertas colores. E otro si otra carta de  
sentencia del Rey don Alfonso que dios de sancto para  
yso segund por ella parescia escripta en pangamino de  
cuero e firmada de ciertos nombres. E otra carta de liguro  
del Rey don Alfonso que dios de sancto parayso segund  
por ella parescia escripta en pangamino de Cuero e firma  
da e sellada con vn sello de plomo pendiente en filos de  
seda de ciertas colores. E otro si otra Carta de liguro del  
Rey don Alfonso que dios de santo parayso segund por  
ella parescia Escripta en pangamino de cuero e firmada  
e sellada con vn sello de plomo pendiente en filos de seda  
de ciertas colores. E otro si otras tres cartas de preuilegios

# Privileges granted to the Genoese merchants of Seville

The document here is a superbly-executed example of one of the manuscript pages from a bound volume of royal privileges, granted to the Genoese merchants of Seville, Spain between the years 1251 and 1537. It is written using three different inks: black for the bulk of the text, with red and blue ink for the ornate initials. The main text is in Spanish, with marginal notes written in Latin. The volume itself is bound in wooden covers wrapped in dark leather and embossed with illustrations. It was clearly regarded as being a book of some importance.

The presence of Genoese merchants in Seville dates back to the 12th century. By that time Genoa had emerged as one of the leading port cities of the Mediterranean world. Alongside this, the city had expanded its influence exponentially by building up networks of trade and influence in a number of other countries and territories. It rivalled Venice as a commercial power along the Levantine coast (an area roughly equivalent to modern-day Syria and Lebanon), and had gained control over much of Corsica and northern Sardinia. This wide geographic reach gave the Genoese access to a wide range of marketable goods including dyes, spices, medicines, metals, wool and gold. The Genoese were also to the fore in the development of banking.

In the Iberian Peninsula the Genoese merchants developed a particularly intricate and reliable trading network that extended through all of Spain's medieval kingdoms, including Muslim-controlled Granada. This was supported by extensive maritime links emanating from the various Iberian ports, as well as from key North African centres of commerce such as Tunis and Oran. As well as dominating in transportation and sales, they also came to control the production of goods in a number of localities. Overall, their input was vital in bringing prosperity and prestige to the Spanish kingdoms.

The privileges granted to the Genoese of Seville originated as a reward from Ferdinand III of Castile for the help they had given him in capturing that city from the Muslims in 1248. Fifty-five privileges in total are contained in the volume, a collection which serves to cover various aspects of daily and commercial life including (among many other things) favourable currency exchange arrangements, and special tax rights. In total they form a remarkable collection attesting to the importance of the kind of international networking that the Genoese had come to master during the Middle Ages.

Copy of the privileges and royal grants, franchises and rights granted by the kings of Castilla and Leon to the Genoese merchants that live in the very noble city of Seville (Spain), 1251-1537

Bound volume, wooden covers wrapped with dark leather embossed with drawings and laces, 119 sheets, parchment in quarto, written with three different inks; 24 x 33 x 5 cm

Spanish State Archives – General Archive of Simancas

Ref Code: ES.47161.AGS/5.2.0//PTR, LEG, 46, DOC.73



Privileges granted to the Germans by King Afonso V, King Manuel, King John III and the Viceroy of Portugal Cardinal Archduke Albert of Austria, authorizing them to exercise their trade, negotiating and exempting them from some taxes, other concessions awarded, 1588

Bound volume, 31 folios, manuscript on paper; 22,0 x 16,0 cm

Torre do Tombo – The National Archives of Portugal

Ref Code: PT/TT/MSLIV/2253

# Favoured with freedoms: Privileges granted to German merchants

This document deals with privileges granted to German merchants in the 15th and 16th centuries. They were granted by the Portuguese kings Afonso V (d. 1481), Manuel I (d. 1521), and John III (d. 1557), and by the then viceroy of Portugal, Archduke Albert of Austria (d. 1621). In essence the privileges served to confirm the 'freedoms and exemptions' given to the Germans in relation to Portuguese markets, particularly the lucrative trade to and from the colonies of the Indian Ocean and the Far East.

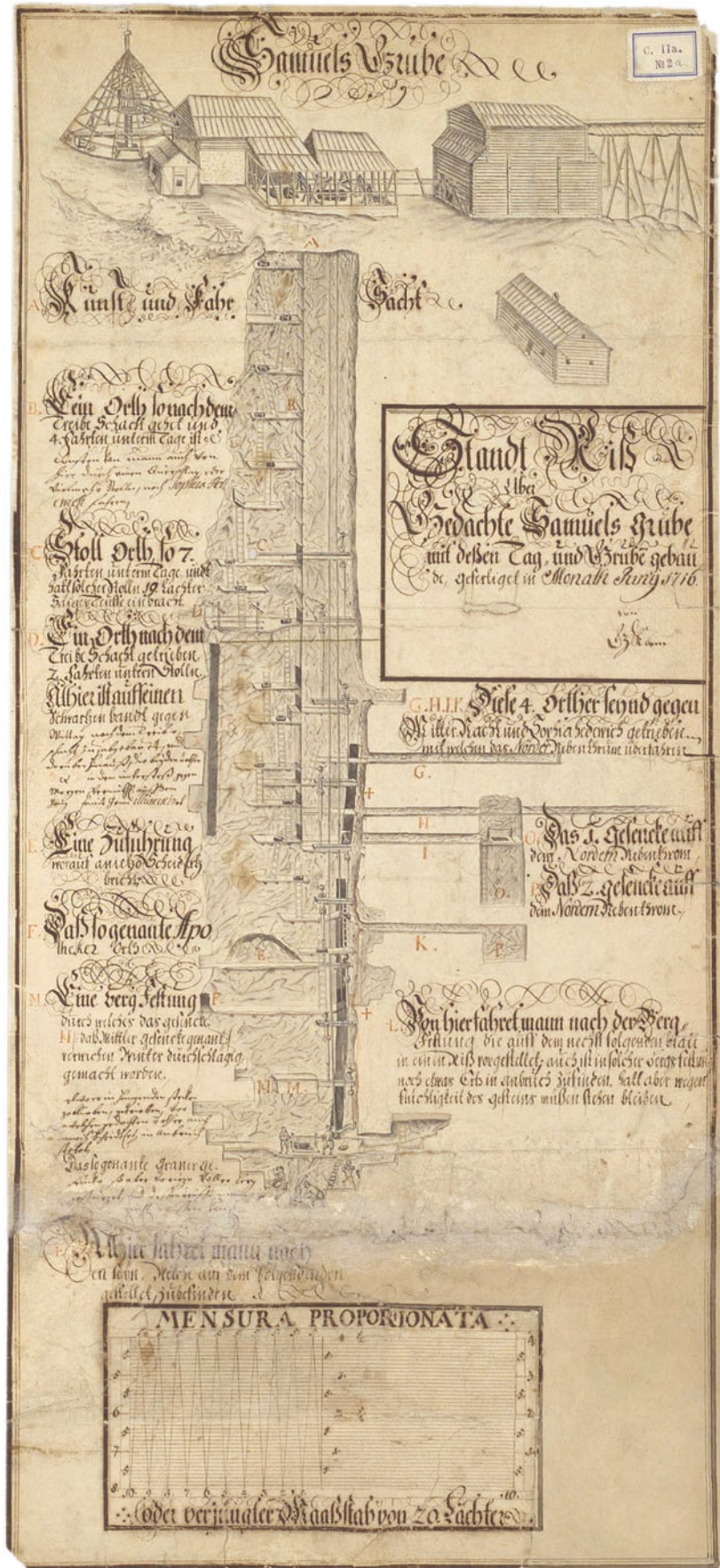
German merchants held a central position in European trading networks for several centuries. Between the 12th and 15th centuries the Hanseatic League (the Hansa) dominated commerce in and around the Baltic and North Seas. The Hansa was a community of towns and merchants which had come together to secure common trading rights and privileges in foreign regions. At its heart stood a number of German towns which lay along the shores of the southern portion of the Baltic Sea, notably Lübeck, Riga (now in Latvia), Tallinn (now in Estonia, German: Reval), and Gdańsk (now in Poland, German: Danzig).

As can be seen from this Portuguese document from 1588, the concept of gaining special privileges was something that the German merchants held on to, even when the main focus of European commerce was moving away from the Baltic, North and Mediterranean

seas to the Atlantic Ocean and its seaborne routes to Asia. In due course, the Atlantic trading area would be further enhanced with the opening up of European colonies in North America.

Portugal had been the first of the Atlantic-facing European countries to exploit the route via the Cape of Good Hope to the Indian Ocean and beyond. The Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama had first made the voyage to India in 1497-98, and numerous adventurers followed in his wake. In 1510, the soldier and statesman Alfonso de Albuquerque occupied Goa, which then became the main Portuguese stronghold in the region. The following year he took Malacca, which controlled all trade passing from China to India by sea. By the mid-1500s the Portuguese had moved beyond this to open up direct links with far eastern ports trading in fine goods such as silks and spices. The Germans certainly had much to gain by establishing a presence in Portugal during this time.

But, as has been the case with all empires (commercial or otherwise), that of the Portuguese inevitably went into decline. By the mid-17th century the Dutch had taken over as the masters of European trade along the seaborne route to the Far East, and they themselves were then replaced by the British during the 18th century. By then, the privileges secured by the Germans in Portugal had become a mere matter of history.



# Searching for Norway's silver: A drawing of Samuel's Mine

In 1623, deposits of silver were discovered at a site near Kongsberg in the south of Norway. The authorities acted quickly to take advantage of this good fortune, and in 1624 Christian IV of Denmark-Norway passed a royal decree formally establishing Kongsberg Silver Mines as a company. The first public road in Norway was also built at this time to facilitate the smooth transportation of materials to and from the mines. Such was the success of mining activity that 2 to 12 tons of silver was extracted on an annual basis, with total production amounting to an estimated 1,350 tons by the time operations ceased in 1958. Moreover, Kongsberg Silver Mines became one of Norway's major employers. During the 1770s, when production was at its peak, over 4,000 individuals found gainful employment, either directly in mining work or in ancillary work relating to the mines.

The illustrated document comes from the holdings of the National Archives of Norway and depicts a cross-section of what was known as Samuel's Mine. This was named after one Samuel Los, the man who discovered this particular deposit of silver ore in 1630. The diagram itself remains an excellent historical source, giving a very clear impression of how the mine operated along with the conditions the miners would have had to contend with. At the bottom of the shaft we find several of them at work in chambers that must have

been incredibly dank and unpleasant. A vital air supply was provided by a pump system that stretched its way upwards through the mine. Also depicted is the lift that was used to transport the silver deposits to the surface, while amongst the buildings at ground level we can see the cone-shaped structure where horsepower was used to operate this system. No such luxuries were made available to the miners themselves, who had to make their way up and down a series of step-ladders every day.

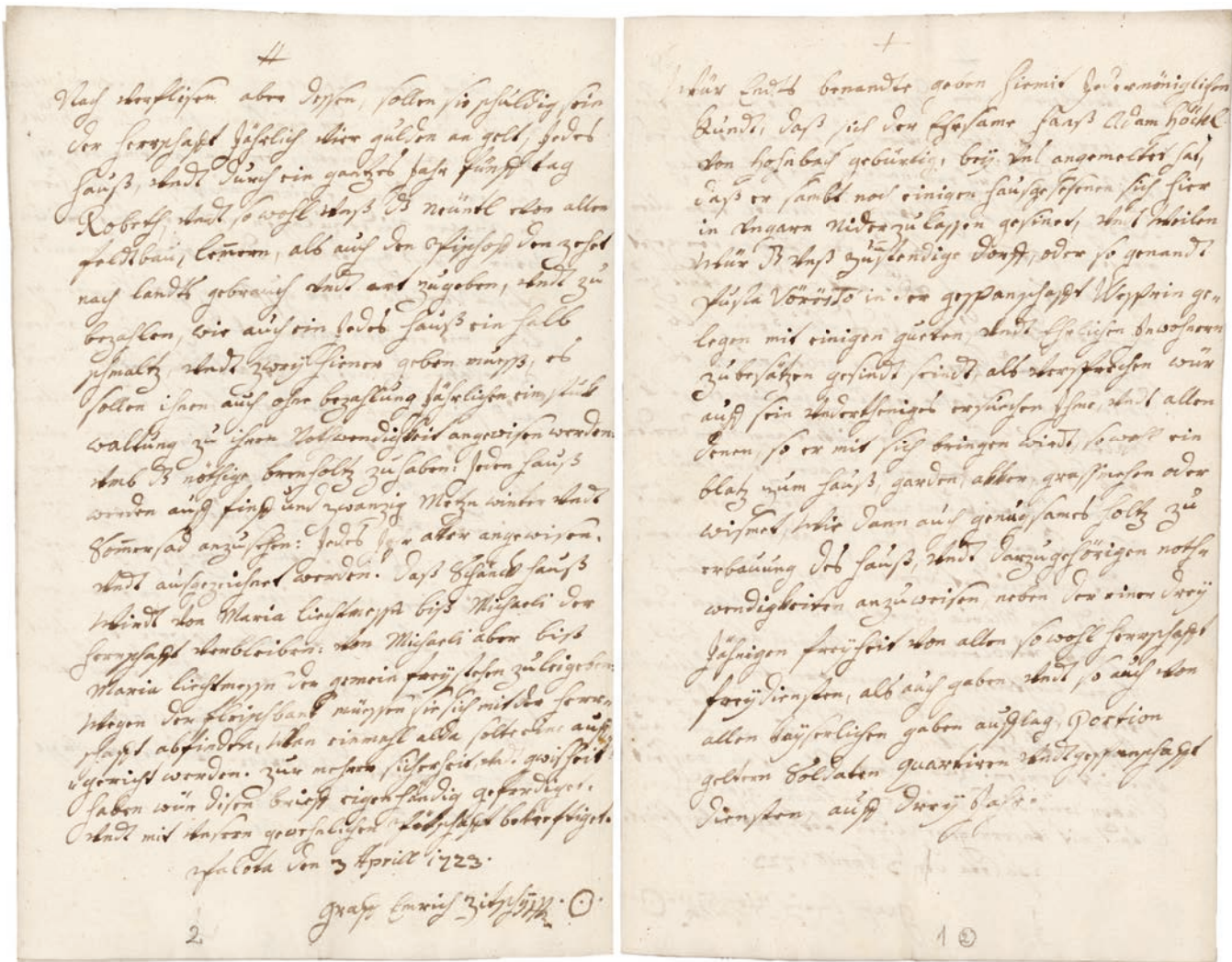
The document is also notable for the fact that it is written in the German language. German went on to become the administrative language in such mines and was used in technical drawings such as this one. This stands as testament to the large numbers of German engineers and workers who found employment in the Kongsberg mines during the early years of the Norwegian mining industry. The Thirty Years' War, which raged from 1618-48, did much to decimate industries and livelihoods across the German states, including in Saxony, which had been a centre of silver mining expertise since the 12th century. Luckily for those miners who were in a position to leave Germany, such was the level of their expertise that they found a ready welcome in countries where their services could be of use. In this sense their migration can be seen as primarily work-related as opposed to the actions of individuals with nowhere else to go.

Drawing of Samuel's Mine, 6-1716, (Norway)

1 page, hand-drawing on paper; 48 x 67 cm

The National Archives of Norway

Ref Code: RA/EA-5930/T047b32/0002 – KS II C IIa 2a



Settlement contract of Vöröstó village (Hungary), 3–4–1723, Várpalota (earlier Palota, German: Burgschloß)

2 pages, manuscript on paper; 20,5 x 32 cm

Veszprém County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary

Ref Code: HU-MNL-VeML – IV – 1 – m – № 95

# Repopulation: The settlement contract of Vöröstó village

The military campaigns of the Ottoman Empire loom large in the histories of Central and South-eastern Europe. From the 13th through to the 18th century, the Ottomans fought a series of brutal wars with the various kingdoms and states in that part of the world. For them, much of this period was characterised by regular successes on the battlefield, along with voracious pursuit of territorial expansion. By the mid-1680s, however, the situation had begun to change. The Habsburg Empire and the other Christian states managed to halt the Ottoman advance, and over the decades that followed their armies had retaken considerable portions of land which had previously been lost.

All this military activity had naturally led to the periodic devastation of the landholdings and livelihoods of the people living in the war zones. But this in turn could create opportunities for anyone who was willing to 'pick up the pieces' once the warriors had gone off to fight elsewhere.

The settlement contract of Vöröstó village provides a good example of this. Vöröstó, like many Hungarian localities, had suffered much during the wars, so much so that by 1723 it had become severely depopulated. The nobleman who owned the village, Count Imre Zichy, resolved to repopulate the village with settlers from Germany, Slovakia, and other parts of Hungary.

In the wording of the contract we discover that the person representing the settlers was called Hans

Adam Höckl, and that he came from Hohebach in Germany. Zichy undertakes to provide Höckl and the other settlers with 'sites, gardens, building material, and enough wood to build up their houses and repopulate the village.' He goes on to state:

'Furthermore, the settlers shall be exempted from paying local taxes and taxes to be paid to the [Holy Roman] Emperor [Charles VI], and from the obligation of labouring for the landlord and quartering soldiers for three years.'

These were very favourable conditions. Indeed, they are highly indicative of the condition the village must have been in. It would clearly take considerable work to make it habitable again. Nevertheless, Zichy expected it to turn a profit in due course. He duly added that after three years the settlers would be obliged 'to pay four Guldens of tax to the landlord each year, and they owe five days of labour to him. Furthermore, they are obliged to pay the ninth [a further tax to the landlord] after the use of their fields, and they are obliged to pay the tithe to the bishop as well.'

The great American statesman Benjamin Franklin was surely correct when he said that, 'in this world nothing can be said to be certain, except death and taxes.'



# A glass of their own: The pattern books of Ib Olufsen Weyse

Glass production has been a commercial activity for at least as long as historical records have been kept. Egyptian glass beads survive from around 2500 BC, and glass objects were widely circulated throughout the ancient Roman world. The Venetian island of Murano became a major centre of glass production during the medieval period, and by the early-18th century the skills associated with glass-making and glass-decoration had spread to many parts of Europe, notably in England, Bohemia and Germany.

Until that time, any Norwegians who wanted to obtain glass products had to rely on imports from abroad. For many, this came to make little sense given that Norway had many of the natural prerequisites for the production of glass. The extensive forested areas provided plentiful wood for fuel, while the many lakes and rivers offered themselves as transportation routes to and from the ports. Quartz sand and potash were also available for use.

A glassworks was duly established as part of the semi-public Norwegian Company (Det Konelige Octroyerede Norske Fabrique-Campagnie), which had been founded in 1739. The success of this concern depended initially on the Danish-Norwegian state's pursuit of a mercantilist economic policy. The company was granted a monopoly of sales and importing foreign-made glass was prohibited. The

key commodity that eluded the Norwegians was home-grown expertise. With this in mind, the company fixed a high rate of wages in order to attract seasoned glass workers from the key European centres of production. As a result, the glass made in Norway came to rival anything else on the international market.

The document shown here is a page from a pattern book (essentially a catalogue), illustrating some of the fine designs available from the glassworks at Nøstetangen. The pattern books, published from 1763-1764, were the brainchild of a Copenhagen-based engraver named Ib Olufsen Weyse. They featured fine tableware such as wine glasses, goblets and candlesticks, as well as everyday household items such as salt cellars, oil containers, and jars for preserving foodstuffs. The books were available for customers to peruse at some of the top department stores in Denmark and Norway.

On the left of the image we can see an example of one of the smaller goblets made at Nøstetangen. It was designed to hold about 25 centilitres of liquid. On the right is a delicate spirits glass. These designs, and the products they advertise, illustrate the skill level required to bring them to life. In this particular case foreign workers played a vital part in bringing a new line of industry to Norway.

Weyse's Pattern book, 1763, Copenhagen

Bound volume, 348 pages + index, drawings on paper; 22 x 34 cm

The National Archives of Norway

Ref Code: RA/PA-0001/Fa/L0036

[illegible]

Conscription of the Greek population in Szécsény market town, 21–7–1778, Szügy (Hungary)

2 pages, manuscript on paper; 48 x 38 cm

Nógrád County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary

Ref Code: HU-MNL-NML – IV – 1 – b – № 135

# A census of the Greek population in Szécsény market town

This census from the town of Szécsény in Nógrád county is a very important record attesting to the establishment of Greek communities in Hungary during the 18th century. It is laid out in a fairly typical fashion. A series of columns provide information such as the names of individuals, their age, religion, nationality, where they have come from, and when they entered Habsburg territory.

Technically, the individuals listed in the census are referred to as Ottoman subjects, which indeed is an accurate reflection of their political status at that time. The Ottoman Turks had conquered the Balkans during the medieval period, and still controlled much of the region by the late 18th century. The word 'Greek' seems to have been used by contemporaries as an umbrella term for various peoples of the Orthodox Christian faith who traced their origins to the southern parts of the Balkan region. In fact, most of the individuals recorded in the census came from Macedonia, a historic region spanning territory now contained within the borders of Greece, North Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo, Albania, and Bulgaria.

The Greek immigrants were able to take advantage of the Habsburgs' desire to rebuild and repopulate

Hungarian lands, which had recently been under the yoke of the Ottomans. As a group they soon prospered in their new homeland. In particular they were able to utilise their entrepreneurial skills to build up a considerable profile in the world of trade and commerce. This was aided by the fact that they were able to link in with existing commercial networks in the Ottoman territories and thereby look to monopolise the trade in certain goods to Hungary. Indeed, such was their success in this that Greek became the common language for commerce in the Balkans.

The Greeks also contributed to Hungarian cultural life. This was clearly evident in Balassagyarmat, another of the towns in Nógrád county. By the middle of the 18th century the town was filled with prosperous middle-class families, and in 1785 the county's first Orthodox church was built there. Over the decades the character of Balassagyarmat changed from that of a small-scale, locally-focused market town to that of a substantial outward-looking settlement filled with craftsmen and tradesmen. Its success reflects the universal success of Hungary's Greek immigrants during the 18th century.



# The wanderbuch of Jacob Modern, toolsmith

Some historians refer to the period between the 1780s and the mid-1800s as the Age of Revolutions. Through the use of this term they are not only alluding to major political events such as the French Revolution of 1789 and the pan-European revolutions of 1848, but also the Industrial Revolution, a movement which began in Britain and went on to have a seismic impact of the working lives of a majority of Europeans. Perhaps the most fundamental aspect of this was the way in which machines replaced artisans as the primary agents in the mass production of goods.

It would be wrong to think, however, that the Industrial Revolution eradicated artisanship entirely. The wanderbuch (travelling booklet) of Jacob Modern is a testament to that. It records the journeys of a toolsmith in Central Europe during the years 1823-1829. Just by browsing through it one can get a good impression of what Modern's working life was like.

In the first image we can see the opening page of the document. Its purpose as a 'wanderbuch' is clearly stated, as is the fact that it has been issued by the magistrates of the Royal Free City of what is today Bratislava (today capital of Slovakia, German: Pressburg; Hungarian: Pozsony). Modern's personal

details are recorded on the second page. Among other things, we learn that his hair is brown, his eyes are blue, his nose is 'proportional', and his mouth is 'ordinary'. From page 8 onwards we are provided with details of each of the locations Modern stopped at during his wanderings in order to ply his trade. On pages 24 and 25, for example, we see that between 20 September and 27 September 1824 he was at Stuttgart, Ulm, Neu Ulm, and Munich. On page 60 (to take another example) it is noted that between 1 October and 3 October 1827 he visited Bern, Lucerne and Zürich.

The concept of the travelling artisan had a long history dating back to the origins of the guilds of the Middle Ages. After serving an apprenticeship the young craftsman would then be entitled to travel to other towns and cities, learning more about his trade from other masters as he went. The theory was that eventually he would gain enough skills and experience to become a master himself and duly base himself in a fixed location. He would then train apprentices of his own, who in turn would then embark on their own journeys of discovery. It is probably safe to say, though, that few journeymen travelled as far as Jacob Modern did.

Wanderbuch (Travelling booklet) of Jacob Modern, toolsmith journeyman from what is today Bratislava, 1823-1829, Bratislava (at the time German: Pressburg and Hungarian: Pozsony)

Small booklet, 35 pages, handwritten pre-printed form on paper; 10 x 17 cm (closed position), 20,5 x 17 cm (opened position)  
National Archives of Hungary

Ref Code: HU-MNL-OL – R 276 –No. 271

$$34 \sim 10$$

1 page, handwritten pre-printed form on paper; 31 x 19 cm

Ref Code: RA/SSB/S-2231/E/Ft1900/Oslo/box no. 122 and 162

# Oslo's Italian plasterers

Census returns provide a great deal of useful historical information, particularly for those involved in researching family history, and for those seeking to analyse patterns of emigration. The first complete Norwegian census was taken in 1769, and provided information about the number of people living in individual households. The census from 1801 was the first to record full details of the names, ages, and professions of the inhabitants of Norway, and from 1815 such information was usually gathered every ten years.

The document shown here is a page from the 1900 census, and deals with the inhabitants of Schwensens gate 12 in Oslo (named Kristiania prior to 1925). The name of Giovanni de Paolis is at the top of the list, and we learn that he was born in 1865 and that he is Italian. His occupation is recorded as: 'gibs og cementsøberi (eier)', which translates as 'plaster and cement firm (owner)'. Underneath his name is that of his wife, Grethe de Paolis, and their five children, Margrethe, Umberto, Astrid, Marit, and Randi.

Giovanni emigrated to Norway with his parents Antonio and Maria and his two elder siblings in the 1870s. The family originated from Varallo in northern Italy, where Antonio had trained and worked as a plasterer. Upon arriving in Norway Antonio continued in this profession, and in due course his two sons Giovanni and Bartholomeo followed in his footsteps. In 1898, the brothers established their own factory in Vahls gate 3, Oslo, under the company name of

'Brødrene de Paolis Gibsmageri og Cementstøber' ('The de Paolis Brothers Plaster and Cement firm'). By December 1900 (when the census was taken) the brothers employed seven Italian plaster makers in their factory.

During the latter half of the 19th century, Oslo was the main destination in Norway for immigrants. Native Norwegians also began moving in significant numbers from the countryside to the cities, thus helping foster urbanisation. Between 1855 and 1900, the population of Oslo grew exponentially, a phenomenon which in itself helped drive a marked increase in demand for certain key products and services. Given the amount of building work that was required and the consequent need for decorated interiors, the de Paolis family had picked a good time to bring their plastering expertise to Norway.

As Italians, they were certainly not alone in seeking to move away from their homeland. Improved living standards in the wake of the unification of the country led to rising population levels, at the same time that changing patterns of land use meant that fewer employment opportunities were available, particularly in the south. Those individuals who were unskilled tended to head for the Americas, where opportunities were varied and plentiful. Artisans such as Giovanni de Paolis' father, on the other hand, had the opportunity to find work in other European countries such as Norway.

## Emigranter afgaaade med S. S. 'TITANIC' 10. April

Advise No. 10.

Christiania den 3. April 1912 - "Oslo"

No.	Navn.	over	over	under	fra	til	Kr.	Øre.	Anm.
		12	1	1					
71.	Arne Sørensen	18			Copenhagen	New York	320	-	1 <sup>st</sup> class N.Y.
72.	Carl Madsen	22			Ski	Chicago, Ill.	238	-	#57
73.	Olaf Petersen	29			Sandefjord	New York	181	-	Levitt & Tyne
		3							

"CELTIC" 11<sup>te</sup> April 1912. F/S "Oslo" 3. April. Holst. 19.

027+ Alexander Carlson 49 Nm. New York 157.00 #22 +

# Passage to America: The Great Atlantic Migration

Certain words can conjure up horrific images. In this document we see the name 'Titanic' and the year 1912 and immediately begin to think of iceberg-strewn waters, a giant ship sinking beneath the waves, and lifeboats packed with passengers sailing for safety.

The passenger list illustrated here is held in the National Archives of Norway as part of the collection of the White Star Line shipping company. The White Star Line was British-owned but had an office in Oslo for processing Norwegian passengers who wished to make a connection to the UK in order to secure passage on one of the vessels sailing for America. Recorded on the list are three of the 28 Norwegian passengers who sailed with the Titanic when she departed from Southampton on April 10th 1912. Two of those listed, Arne Johan Fahlstrøm and Carl Midtsjø, made the connecting trip from Oslo (named Kristiania at the time) on 3rd April. Their ship was named the 'Oslo'. The third, Olaf Pedersen, eventually travelled from Larvik on April 5th. Of these three men, only Midtsjø survived the Titanic disaster, one of 705 out of a total of some 2,200 passengers and crew members.

The Norwegians on the Titanic also formed part of a wider historical story, that of the mass migration of many millions of Europeans to America. This movement of people across the Atlantic had been ongoing since the 'discovery' of the New World in the late 15th century. However, by the mid-19th century better

connections and lower costs had helped facilitate the transportation of an ever-increasing numbers of individuals. A majority were attracted by the greater opportunities that expanding countries such as the USA could offer. In that sense they were motivated by what historians have referred to as 'pull' factors. But at certain points in time so-called 'push' factors came to predominate. During the late 1840s, for example, a large wave emigrated in desperation from Ireland and Germany following the onset of crop failure, famine and political unrest in their home country.

Midtsjø, Fahlstrøm and Pedersen had, each in their own way, all gone in search of opportunities available to them in America. Fahlstrøm had been gifted the price of passage by his parents so that he could study theatre in New York. Pedersen was already a citizen of the USA and was returning there after a sojourn back in Norway, where he had got married. The intention was that his new Norwegian wife would join him in America once he had made enough money to support a family. Midtsjø was the son of a farmer, and was the first of several siblings who emigrated to the USA. Given that he travelled third class and was a healthy adult male he must have counted himself very lucky that he found a place on one of the Titanic's lifeboats on that fateful night.

Emigration to the US – travellers with Titanic, 10–4–1912, Oslo (at the time Kristiania)

Bound volume, 484 pages, handwritten pre-printed form on paper; 30 x 18 cm

National Archives of Norway – Regional State Archive of Oslo

Ref Code: SAO/PAO-0201/Da/L0004, image 169



# Portuguese emigrants on their way to other parts of Europe

On the surface, the photographs shown here capture a situation that is familiar to many people. Travel can be stressful, particularly if done by train and carrying several pieces of unwieldy luggage. In this particular case, the individuals depicted in two of the photos are carrying what seems to be an unusually large amount of baggage. The woman wearing the sunglasses is plainly struggling with several diverse items, including what looks like a rather large radio set. Another woman searches for something in a suitcase while her husband holds a baby. The reason for this apparent surfeit of 'stuff' is that these people were Portuguese emigrants aiming to make a new life for themselves abroad. In this they were far from alone. In 1971, when the photographs were taken, many tens of thousands of Portuguese people opted to emigrate from the country.

This was by no means a one-off occurrence, unique to that particular time. Large-scale emigration from Portugal had been ongoing for a number of years. It has been calculated that between 1933 and 1974, around 1.98 million individuals emigrated. Prior to 1960 the majority went to the former Portuguese colony of Brazil. From 1960-1974, the focus shifted to the countries of the European Economic Community

(EEC), particularly France and Germany. These were to become the peak years of Portuguese emigration.

The upsurge in Portuguese emigration was partially down to economics. Put simply, the opportunities were there for people to make more money in the faster growing economies of the EEC bloc. On top of that, the Portuguese government's attitude towards emigration became more positive as time went by. During the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, the government was keen to retain its native workforce, and so passed a number of laws designed to prevent widespread emigration. But with the modernization of the Portuguese economy in the 1960s came less of a need for the unskilled labour base associated with the traditional agricultural sector. Officially, the door was open for those who wished to leave the country.

Many of those who emigrated were young males in the prime of their working lives. The six men pictured in the fourth of the photographs can clearly be placed in this category. Some people moved as part of family groups, as is evident from the other photos. On the whole they were all able-bodied and more than ready to make a positive contribution in the countries to which they moved.

Portuguese emigrants on their way to Europe, 1971, (Portugal)

4 black and white photos, paper; no. 026: 12,3 x 18,2 cm; no. 035: 18,2 x 13 cm; no. 036: 18,1 x 13,3 cm; no. 043: 24 x 15,7 cm

Torre do Tombo – National Archives of Portugal

Ref Code: PT/TT/DME/AF/001/2076/026, 035, 036 and 043

02

# WAR-RELATED MIGRATION

It goes without saying that war is one of the most tragic and wasteful endeavours devised by mankind. It also has a history that stretches at least as far back as recorded time. In pre-modern epochs warfare tended to be a matter of pitched battles and hand-to-hand combat, but in due course this morphed into something that became known as 'total war'. This denotes warfare that is largely unrestricted in nature, both in terms of the weaponry deployed and in terms of the objectives targeted. It includes tactics such as the strategic bombing of densely-populated urban areas, the deployment of scorched earth policies, the blockading and besieging of countries and cities, the targeting of merchant shipping, the use of reprisal actions, and the placing of certain groups of people in special camps.

Of course, over the centuries, Europe has seen many wars. These range from local conflicts and civil wars through to large-scale confrontations involving many individual countries. Europeans have also been to the fore in conducting war at a global level. In all cases, human misery has been one of the main bi-products of such bellicosity.

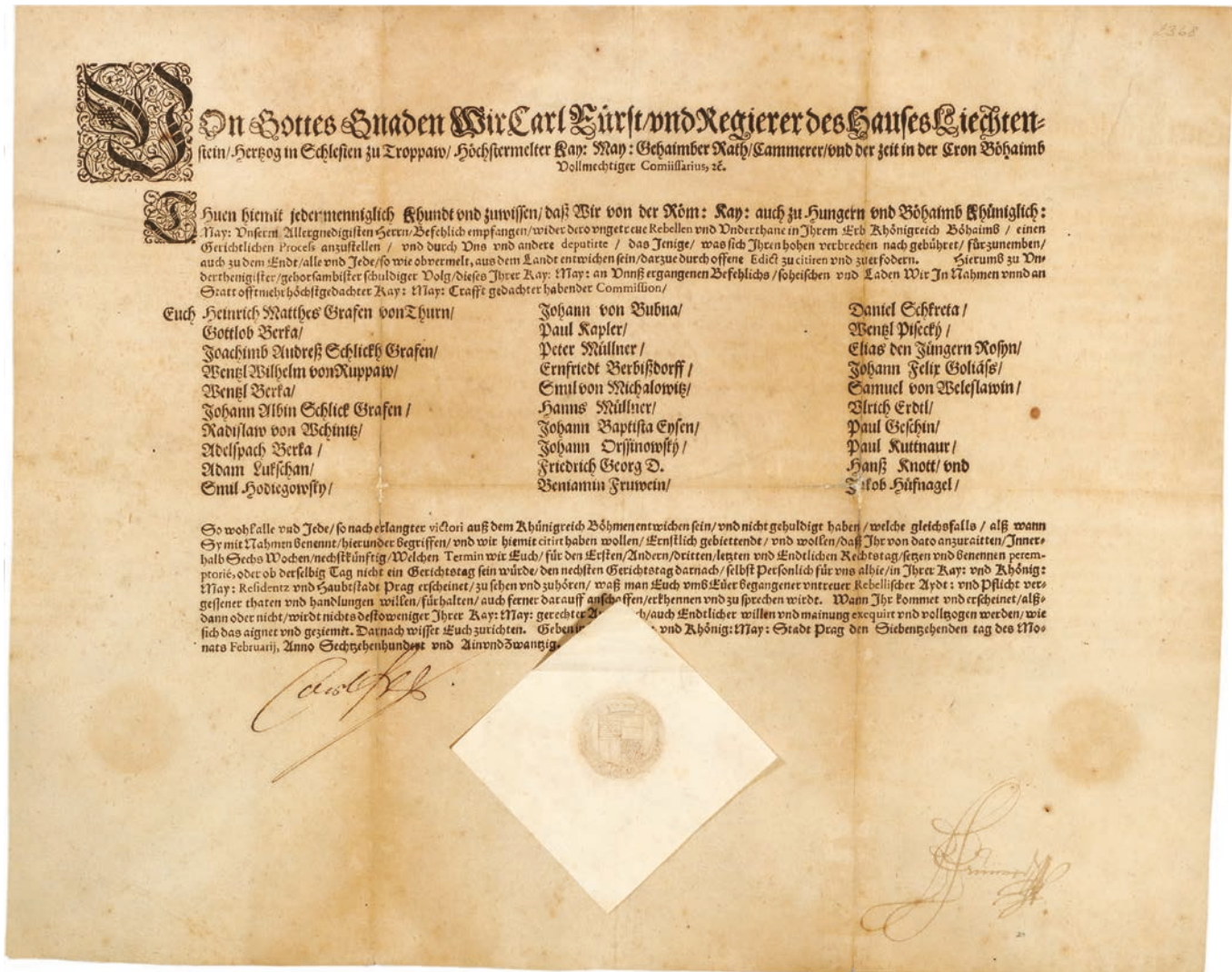
This section of the exhibition concentrates on war-related migration. It brings together source material

dating from the early 17th century through to the latter half of the 20th century.

A number of the documents highlight cases where people have been displaced or have fled into exile to escape the effects of total war. Others provide an insight into the plight of those who migrated from their homeland due to it either being occupied by the enemy in time of war, or because it was surrendered as part of the terms of a peace treaty or international agreement. More broadly, many of the documents concern people who migrated in order to escape persecution following defeat in civil conflicts or in the wake of the takeover of their countries by military dictatorships.

Some documents point to the role that international organisations played in providing aid to people displaced by war, while others tell the stories of some of the well-placed officials who provided refugees with the documentation necessary to flee to countries where they could live in safety.

At a fundamental level, the documents in this section provide vivid testimony of the personal costs involved when nations, or factions within nations, decide to take up arms.



Karel of Liechtenstein summons persons of all estates who emigrated from the country after the battle of White Mountain, 17–2–1621, Prague

1 page, printed patent on paper; 47,7 x 38,2 cm; with impressed seal (diameter 3,5 cm)

National Archives of the Czech Republic

Ref Code: NA, AČK, inv. no. 2368

# Bohemia's Protestant exiles: Carl of Liechtenstein's summons of 1621

On 8 November 1620, a battle was fought at White Mountain (Bílá hora), some 13 km west of Prague, in what was then the kingdom of Bohemia. It was the culmination of a period of intense confrontation between the Protestant princes and nobles of Germany and Central Europe on the one hand, and the Catholic establishment of the Holy Roman Empire on the other.

Since its inception in the Early Middle Ages, the Holy Roman Empire had consisted of a conglomeration of states, principalities, cities and territories covering Central Europe and what is now Germany, as well as parts of what is now northern Italy and eastern France. At its head stood an elected monarch, the Holy Roman Emperor, who at the time of the Battle of White Mountain was Ferdinand II of the Habsburg Dynasty.

The Protestants who stood in opposition to Ferdinand, all of whom were his subjects, were headed by Frederick V, ruler of the Palatinate region in Germany. In 1618, the Protestant-controlled assembly in Bohemia had rebelled against Ferdinand's predecessor, Matthias, by making Frederick the king of Bohemia. The two sides gathered armies, thus leading to the inevitable confrontation at White Mountain. Ferdinand's Catholic army decisively defeated Frederick's forces, and went on to capture Prague, thus effectively putting down the rebellion. Frederick and many of the Protestant leaders went into exile abroad.

The document we see here illustrates the condition in which the Protestants of Bohemia found themselves following their defeat. It was published on 17 February 1621 in the name of Carl of Liechtenstein, one

of Ferdinand II's top officials at that time. In the text, it is announced that the emperor has ordered the trial of the 'unfaithful rebels and subjects in his hereditary land [of] Bohemia', and that those who have gone into exile are summoned to appear before him to answer for their 'enormous crime'. A list follows, naming those who have been singled out as the most notable of the rebels. In effect, though, the summons is designed to apply to all Bohemians who had actively supported the Protestant cause. They are 'summoned the same way as when they would have been mentioned by name.'

For those who did come up for trial the consequences were severe. 27 of their number were executed in Prague in June 1621, and those who remained at large had their land and titles confiscated and transferred to nobles and gentlemen (all Catholics) who had been loyal to Ferdinand. Protestantism was forbidden, and in 1627 centralised government was introduced.

For the people living on the lands of the Bohemian Crown, the consequences were devastating. The number of farmsteads declined from about 151,000 before the war, to only 50,000 in 1648. It is estimated that the population fell from three million to only 800,000.

At a wider European level, the repercussions of the Bohemian Revolt were wide-ranging. The conflict effectively kicked off a series of interlocking wars (known collectively as the Thirty Years' War) which devastated much of Central Europe. Only with the treaty at Westphalia in 1648 did Central Europe enter a state of (sadly temporary) peace once again.

Iszon békefőgés maradvással szelők kegyelmé-  
ek közönség, kívánnunk!

Domonon jibensettünk kegyelmekhez Iszonok  
háink bozattalott oltár s-lakajafat, az Ellenfő-  
minikünk semmi javunkat az hadra, minden jánó-  
hamkat elhajtott, fekerékkel való jó kagrikóan pódor  
háir, valamit fekerék, Lommit el is kagrott, magunk  
csak az rajunk levő ruhákban maradtunk; Ez az Iszonok  
kegyelmé hozzánk, hogy egy demolyis közölünk rab-  
főra az Ellenfőnk az adott. Vettük becsületet a ke-  
gyelmek izenete, és hogy seánk kegyelmekhez gondos-  
vota. Minir hogy mebotte legedelme nélkül Iszonok sem-  
mekünk; Kezünk kegyelmekhez fekerékkel, haza szállit-  
vattarunkban kegy kegyelmekhez fogitással; kúdogyon  
kegyelmekhez fekerékkel 4. aragy s fekerékkel mia,  
fekerékkel illendően conditalkhoz, In bennünk békefő-  
gát háramkhoz Vívő. Annak Elettő birja in kegyelmekhez  
az aratőle Rendőis, hogy saj csak kegy ráfővel jő-  
jünk előnkbe ide az régi Rőhő, hogy annál beforjogthas  
lehet az utazásunk. Ebből k. van fagintott kegyelmekhez  
annálhoz, ha In bennünk élők kegyelmekhez meg sol-  
galmi igaz kerzünk. Minir hágy kegyelmekhez bennünk,  
és onth nap legy 3. termim, egyen Gallyer állat izenete  
meg kegyelmekhez, mis magunk az kegyelmekhez meg hok  
zorá főkhoz fogunk abakmordani. In legy kegyelmekhez

Tisza szon 1707. 20. Januar.

Kezelmek Jóakari Magó Mihály  
és Baba Mátyás.

# Victims of war seeking aid from the town of Kecskemét

Letters written by civilians during wartime often offer historians a unique insight into the nature of armed conflict and the chaos and destruction it can cause. Here we see an example from early 18th-century Hungary, co-written by two individuals, Mihály Magó and Mátyás Csaba, at the height of an uprising known as Rákóczi's War of Independence. The two men address their letter to the leaders of the city of Kecskemét and ask them for help. Their pleas are worth quoting at some length:

'We woefully report to you the godly punishment from which we suffer – the Enemy has not left us anything of our goods, they robbed all of our livestock, preyed our stock upon carts, and left us without anything to live on. At the moment, we own only the clothes that we wear upon ourselves, however, by God's mercy, no person of us was taken into captivity by the Enemy. We have honestly received Your Grace's message, and we learnt that Your Grace takes care of us. Since we can go nowhere without the help of others, we fondly ask Your Grace to help us return home by sending us four or five carts. We will properly pay the carters if they take us to our houses with God's peace. We also kindly ask Your Grace to command the order of soldiers to meet us here at the ferry at Ug [Ugi Réh] only with two banners, in order to make our travel safer.'

The letter was written on 20 January 1707 from a village situated on the river Tisza, around 25 kilometres east of Kecskemét. The enemy being referred to are Rascian (Serbian) troops who were campaigning in that part of Hungary at the time. Magó and Csaba were presumably looking to make their way to the city in order to find a safe haven there. They were soon to be disabused of this notion. On 3 April 1707 the Rascians ransacked and burned the city, killing around 400 people, and taking some 155 men and women away with them as slaves. The fate of Magó and Csaba is not known.

Rákóczi's War of Independence broke out in 1703 and was waged in an indecisive fashion for eight years. It was named after Ferenc II of the famed Rákóczi family. At a national level, it took on the character of a revolt against the state by anti-Habsburg activists (the Kuruc). At an international level it fed into the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1714), with Rákóczi aligning himself and his followers with the French side. To what extent the likes of Magó and Csaba knew they were mere pawns in such high-level politicking is hard to determine.

Letter from Mihály Magó and Mátyás Csaba requesting help, addressed to the leaders of the town of Kecskemét, 20–1–1707, Tiszasas (Hungary)

1 folio, manuscript on paper; 20,5 x 31,4 cm

Bács-Kiskun County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary

Ref Code: HU-MNL-BKML – IV. – 1525. – 6. – 97

[illegible]

# Serbian families fleeing to the Habsburg monarchy

On 15 June 1389, the Ottoman army of Murad I defeated a combined force of Serbs, Albanians and Hungarians at the Battle of Kosovo. For the Serbians in particular, the battle was of major importance. Over the long term, it helped cement a sense of Serbian national identity based on the idea of heroic martyrdom for a higher cause.

Over the centuries that followed, the Serbs offered sporadic resistance in the form of local revolts. These grew more serious when the Ottoman Empire went into decline during the 1600s. In 1690 a major Serbian rebellion broke out in support of an Austrian military campaign against the Ottomans. This, however, was beaten back, thus leaving the Serbs in an unfavourable position. In 1691, some 30,000-40,000 Serbs fled to Habsburg-controlled territory rather than face the renewed wrath of their conquerors.

It would be several decades before a similar opportunity for freedom presented itself. When war broke out again in 1788, the Habsburg forces accompanied by 5,000 Serbian soldiers succeeded in freeing substantial parts of Serbia, including Belgrade, from the grip of the Ottomans. But it was only a temporary victory. In 1791 the Ottomans counter-attacked strongly and forced the Austro-Hungarian and Serb

forces to retreat northwards again across the Sava and Danube rivers. On 4 August 1791, the Treaty of Svishtov (today in Bulgaria; Romanian: Şiştova, in Ottoman time Ziştovi) brought the war to a conclusion.

While the Habsburgs gained very little from the treaty, the Serbs received assurances that the Ottomans would grant them certain rights, including control of local taxation. Some Serbs, nevertheless, sought to move to Habsburg-controlled territory.

The pictured source is a list of 48 Serbian families (157 individuals in all) who made the move from Belgrade to the city of Zemun (Hungarian: Zimony, German: Semlin), just across the River Danube. It is dated 20 September 1791, a few weeks after the treaty was concluded. The list is laid out in four columns, with each line relating to a different family: firstly, the house number in Belgrade is recorded; secondly, the name of the family; thirdly, the number of persons in the family; fourthly the profession of the head of household. Its importance lies in the way it allows historians to move beyond the grand sweep of military and political history in order to encompass information relating to the lives of ordinary people. It is through them that we get a proper impression of the real costs of war.

A list of 48 Serbian families, mainly tradesmen, that expressed their wishes to move from Belgrade to Zemun after the Svishtovo Peace. 20–9–1791, Belgrade

1 page, manuscript on paper; 24,3 x 38 cm

Historical Archives of Belgrade

Ref Code: IAB, ZM, 1791, f. XXXVIII, No. 201

folyószám	I. menekült					folyószám	I. menekült				
	név	jelentkei munkakodási helye	születési helye	születési helye	születési helye		név	jelentkei munkakodási helye	születési helye	születési helye	születési helye
1	Kovács Klement	Pápa	1871	Füzes	Ponchi	32	Fürer Péro	Zalaapát	1893	Ponchi	Ponchi
2	né. Anna		1870	Ponchi		33	Bealuk Anzsi		1897		
3	Klementin		1872			34	Fürer Péter		1857		
4	György		9			35	Anzsi		1864		
5	Károly		8			36	Veronica		1890		
6	Hugo		4			37	Nana		1895		
7	Lorincz Angust		57	Ponchi		38	Anna		1896		
8	né. Anna		57	Ponchi		39	Lejani		1897		
9	Angust		58	Ponchi		40	Romano		1898		
10	Klementin		12			41	Károly		1899		
11	Júlia		10			42	Anna		1900		
12	Károly		8			43	Anna Angust		1857	Ponchi	
13	né. Anna		44	Ponchi		44	Melcho Klement		1875	Ponchi	
14	Klementin		19	Ponchi		45	Lino		1897		
15	Károly		15	Ponchi		46	Lino		1900		
16	Klementin		11	Ponchi		47	Klementin		1885		
17	Adél		7	Ponchi		48	Fürer		1902		
18	György		5			49	Fürer		1908		
19	Júlia		3			50	Alio		1910		
20	Ponchi Klement	Zalaapát	1850	Ponchi		51	Ponchi Klement		1879		
21	Ponchi Klement		1875			52	Károly		1902		
22	Ponchi Klement		1851			53	Romano		1904		
23	Ponchi Klement		1870			54	Klementin		1907		
24	Fürer		1904			55	Lino		1909		
25	Klementin		1899			56	Fürer Klement		1867		
26	György Klement		1895			57	György		1905		
27	Károly		1891			58	Klementin		1909		
28	Anna		1900			59	Ponchi Klement		1877		
29	Angust		1903			60	Klementin		1901		
30	Fürer Klement		1890			61	Alio		1902		
31	Ponchi		1909			62	Lino		1906		

Registry on Austrian citizens of Italian and Slovenian nationality, placed in Pacsa District, Zala County,  
10-7-1915, Pacsa (Hungary)

Small book, 12 pages, handwritten forms on paper; 21,0 x 34,0 cm

Zala County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary

Ref Code: HU-MNL-ZML – IV. – 404. – e. – 2442/1915

# Italian and Slovenian refugees from the Istrian peninsula

When World War I broke out in 1914, Austria-Hungary faced the challenge of conducting warfare along a number of fronts. On the Eastern Front she joined with Germany in opposing the might of the Russian Army. To the south-east she faced off against Serbia in a continuation of the conflict that had been instrumental in bringing the world to arms in the first place. When Italy joined the war in May 1915, this opened up an additional front in the south-west.

The Austro-Hungarian high command quickly designated the Istrian peninsula as a war zone. Lying at the northern end of the Adriatic Sea it was positioned close to Italy, and so the authorities deemed it expedient to treat it as a front-line area. In fact, the city of Pula, in the far south of the peninsula, had been put on a war footing as soon as the war started. It was the main port of the Austro-Hungarian navy and therefore of tremendous strategic value.

A key measure adopted by the Austro-Hungarian authorities was to bring about the evacuation of civilians from Istria. Illustrated here is part of a register of some of the 2,108 Italian and Slovenian refugees who were transported from the peninsula to Zala County in Hungary in May 1915.

Life was initially hard for the new arrivals. The conditions of war and resultant supply issues made it difficult to support such a large influx of people.

Several of them were incapable of working, which complicated matters further. Moreover, their political status remained unclear. In view of their Italian nationality, were they to be treated as refugees or internees? The question took some time to resolve, and contributed to the already confused situation regarding accommodation and supplies. Either way, the local villagers reportedly did their best to make the incomers' stay as comfortable as it possibly could be. The evacuees remained in Zala County until November 1915, whereupon they were transferred to Leibnitz refugee camp near Graz, Austria.

A major irony was that the Italian army never managed to advance as far as the Istrian peninsula. A series of battles was fought between the Austro-Hungarian and Italian armies in what is now the western part of Slovenia (the Isonzo front). This culminated with the major Austro-Hungarian victory at the Battle of Caporetto (Slovenian: Kobarid) in November 1917 and the subsequent retreat of the Italian army.

However, the chaos associated with the final months of the war, coupled with the defeat of Austria-Hungary and her allies, meant that the evacuated Istrians had to wait some time for repatriation. Most did not return until early 1919, by which time the Italians had taken advantage of the overall defeat of the Central Powers in order to occupy Istria. Such were the ups and downs that could often be associated with war.

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# The relocation of German subjects of Cameroon to Spain

For many people, World War I conjures up images of wasteful trench warfare, whether this was in the fields of Flanders and France, the Eastern Front, or the Gallipoli peninsula. But equatorial Africa was also a theatre of operations during the conflict.

Germany fought hard, and with very limited resources, to defend its African colonies during the War. This was at its most evident in German East Africa, where General Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck outmanoeuvred and outfought the Allies for the entire duration of the war. Elsewhere, things did not go so well. The British and French captured Togoland (Togo) and the Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1914, and German South West Africa (Namibia) in 1915. The Allies faced stiffer opposition in Cameroon but eventually secured a victory there in February 1916.

The illustrated document relates to the situation of Cameroon's German nationals and their native subjects at this time. It is the cover sheet for an agreement that was drawn up with the 'Chief General' of the Allied powers in Cameroon arranging for the internment of German subjects availing of Spanish protection, and their relocation to Spain. In early February 1916 over

45,000 of their number crossed the border into Spanish Guinea in order to seek asylum there. Amongst them were around 1,000 Germans (colonial staff, soldiers and civilians). The governor of Spanish Guinea ordered the repatriation of many of the natives but allowed the German nationals to remain pending a permanent solution. The eventual agreement with the Allies called for the Germans to be first transported to the island of Fernando Pó (Bioko) and then transferred from there to Spain.

When the Germans arrived on Bioko they found their services to be much in demand. The island suffered from labour shortages at the time so it was easy to find employment. Indeed, some of the refugees remained on the island for a number of years. Those Germans who travelled on to Spain were given an equally warm welcome. The press sung their praises, and the Spaniards perceived them to be well-educated, orderly and industrious. Many of the Germans decided to settle in Spain and became noted for their enterprising nature and their willingness to start up and run successful business ventures. At every turn they proved more than able to make the best of their circumstances.

Agreement with the Chief General of the Allied Powers in Cameroon about the internment of German subjects availed of Spanish protection and their relocation to Spain, 27-1-1916 – 12-2-1916

1 file, 130 documents on paper; 21,0 x 27,5 cm and 16,5 x 22,5 cm

Spanish State Archives – National Historical Archive

Ref Code: ES.28079.AHN/2.3.1.5.8.5//Mº\_EXTERIORES\_H, 3103, Exp.6

POLIZEIDIREKTION WIEN

Behörde, welche das Dokument ausstellt: PASSEANT den 7. Juli 1928.  
 Autorité, qui délivre le certificat le

No. 114

## Identitätsschein

### Certificat d'identité

gültig bis 10. Juli 1929  
 valable jusqu'au 10. Juli 1929

Der vorliegende Ausweis ist für die Rückkehr in das Land, in welchem er ausgestellt wurde, nicht gültig, wenn dies nicht auf dem vorliegenden Dokumente ausdrücklich bemerkt ist, und verliert seine Gültigkeit, sobald der Inhaber, wann immer, nach Russland einreist.

Le présent certificat n'est pas valable pour le retour dans le pays qui l'a délivré sans une mention spéciale inscrite sur le présent document. Il cessera d'être valable, si le porteur pénètre, à un moment quelconque, en Russie.

Familienname: Borodine  
 Nom de famille: Alexandra  
 Vornamen: 12. 10. 1904  
 Prénoms: Archangel'sk  
 Geburtsdatum: Archangel'sk  
 Date de naissance: Archangel'sk  
 Geburtsort: Archangel'sk  
 Lieu de naissance: Archangel'sk  
 Familienname des Vaters: Stephorkin  
 Nom de famille du père: Stephorkin  
 Familienname der Mutter: Stephorkin  
 Nom de famille de la mère: Stephorkin  
 Russischer Abstammung, ohne irgendeine andere Staatsbürgerschaft erlangt zu haben.  
 D'origine russe, n'ayant acquis aucune autre nationalité.

Beruf: Private  
 Profession: Private  
 Früherer Wohnsitz in Russland: Archangel'sk  
 Ancien domicile en Russie: Archangel'sk  
 Gegenwärtiger Wohnort: 1. Söngersstr. 2  
 Résidence actuelle: 1. Söngersstr. 2

**Personenbeschreibung:**  
 Signalement

Alter: 23 Jahre  
 Age: 23 Jahre  
 Haare: brunn  
 Cheveux: brunn  
 Augen: brunn  
 Yeux: brunn  
 Gesicht: oval  
 Visage: oval  
 Nase: normal  
 Nez: normal  
 Besondere Kennzeichen: keine  
 Signes particuliers: keine

Bemerkungen: keine  
 Observations: keine

Unterschrift des Inhabers:  
 Signature du titulaire

Alexandra Borodine

Unterschrift der Behörde:  
 Signature de l'autorité

W. G. Müller

Dieses Dokument ist ausgestellt im Sinne des Beschlusses der zivilisatorischen Konferenz in Genf, welche vom Hochkommissar für russische Flüchtlinge Dr. Nansen für den 3. bis 5. Juli 1922 einberufen wurde.

Ce certificat est délivré conformément aux résolutions de la Conférence gouvernementale convoquée par le Dr. Nansen, Haut-Commissaire pour les Réfugiés Russes, à Genève, le 3-5 juillet 1922.

B. D. 509. — Stempel verwechselbar. — Druck der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei in Wien. (St.) 12333 22

Nansen Passport, 7-7-1928, Vienna

1 page, handwritten pre-printed form on paper, with black and white photo; 22 x 35 cm

The National Archives of Norway

Ref Code: RA/S1561/Dm/Russian refugees 1929 - 1935

# Alleviating the Plight of Refugees: The Nansen Passport



Fridtjof Nansen is best known as one of Norway's most intrepid explorers. In 1888 his crossing of Greenland was widely celebrated, as were his Arctic expeditions during the 1890s. Indeed, his ship, *Fram*, currently lies at the heart of one of Oslo's most visited museums.

Less well remembered today is his vitally important humanitarian work during the 1920s. His deep interest in such issues emerged on the international stage in 1920, when he led the Norwegian delegation at the first assembly of the League of Nations. The League duly tasked Nansen with the repatriation of hundreds of thousands of German and Austro-Hungarian soldiers, still being held as prisoners of war in Russia. This he performed with a remarkable degree of success. Then, in 1921, Nansen was appointed as high commissioner coordinating relief to the many millions of people affected by famine in post-revolution Russia.

Another major problem resulting from the Russian Revolution and the subsequent Civil War was that of refugees. With the victory of the Red Army, many Russians chose to go into exile rather than submit to the new regime. The Soviet state responded in December 1921 by depriving all such exiles of their citizenship, thus rendering an estimated 800,000 people stateless overnight. Nansen felt it was his duty

to help them. By July 1922, he had prompted the League of Nations to encourage member states to issue identity cards to Russian exiles, thus drastically improving their opportunities to travel and make a new life for themselves. These documents duly became known as 'Nansen Passports' after the man who had inspired their creation.

The National Archives of Norway holds around sixty examples of such passports, an indication of how few Russian exiles opted to go to Norway. They nevertheless remain fascinating and poignant reminders of a tragic period in human affairs. The example shown here belonged to Alexandra Borodine, a 25-year-old female who originated from Archangel in the far north-west of Russia. The passport was issued to her in Vienna 1928, and was valid for only a year. In general, Nansen Passports had to be renewed on an annual basis. In this particular case, the Austrian Consulate General in Oslo opted against renewal when the passport expired in 1929. Borodine's fate after that date is not known.

Borodine's experience should in no way detract from the positive impact the passports had on many thousands of individuals. In 1938, the Nansen International Office for Refugees won the Nobel Peace Prize for its efforts. Nansen himself won the same award in 1922. It is perhaps typical of the man that he chose to donate his prize money to help relieve the suffering of the needy and dispossessed.

(Above) Portrait photo of Fridtjof Nansen by Ludwik Szaciński  
Museum of Oslo

**X** *Carl Polikammer*  
**Fremmedregistret.**

Navn: *Frahm, Herbert-Ernst Karl*

Stilling: *student* Hvor bosatt (flytninger):

Født: *18/12-13* *Liibeck* Når: *Holledu -* Hvor: *st. 2<sup>de</sup> 4 Dybnaad*

Hjemsted:

Statsborgerforhold: *sejch*

Ankommet til Norge: *4/4-43* fra *Tyskland* *21.47* *Tyskland*

Hvor opholdt sig i Norge: *Berlin Zoo*  
*Norwegian Military Mission*  
*iflg. folkeretg.*

Meldebevis (opholdsbok) utstedt: av

Gift med:

Hjemmeværende barn under 21 år: *Norsk statsb. ?*

Hovedregister nr. 514 *4/4-43*

NAVN: *Frahm, Herbert Ernst Karl* f. *18/12-13* i *Liibeck*

PASS nr. *199/40* fra *Leg.St.holm* gyldig til: *1/8-42* fornyet ved:

HOYDE: *1.79* HAREFARGE: *brun blond* ØYENFARGE: *brune* ANSIKT: *Ovalt*

19/6-48 adr. *Berlin Zoo, Norwegian Military Mission, B.A.O.B. Tyskland.*

HJEMSTEDSADRESSE: *Oslo*

STILLING OG UTDANNELSE: *Journalist (Artium-student historie)*


REG. M. *Ingen*

KOM TIL SVERIGE: *1/7-40* ØKONOMISK STILLING: *Bet. oppholdet selv*

ADR. I SVERIGE: *Pinn Malmgrensvei 23-Hammarbyhöyden. 19/4-45. c/o Hessele, Öregrunsgt. 10.II. Sthlm. 0 1.8.45 c/o Rosengart, Värtaväg. 47, Sthlm. 0 7/11*

REIST:

FAMILIEFORHOLD: *G.m. nr: 4290 Carlota Anna* Datter nr *4291 Nina Carlota.*



The registry of foreigners. Registration card for Herbert Frahm, 1933-1947

2 pages, handwritten index card on paper; 20 x 12 cm

National Archives of Norway – Regional State Archive of Oslo

Ref Code: SAO/A-10085/E/Ef/Efab/L0002

# Escaping the Nazis: Willy Brandt's Norwegian Exile



Willy Brandt (1913-1992) won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1971 for his efforts to reconcile the Federal Republic of Germany (popularly known as West Germany) with the East European countries of the Soviet bloc. It represented the pinnacle of what had been a remarkable career in politics. During the late 1950s and early 1960s he had shot to worldwide fame as the mayor of West Berlin, particularly after the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961. From 1964 he was the leader of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), and in 1969 he became chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, a post that he held until 1974.

To some extent, such high-profile successes have tended to overshadow his remarkable early years as a political activist and opponent of the Nazi regime. In the early 1930s he was still known by his birth name of Herbert Ernst Karl Frahm, who became a member of the Socialist Workers Party of Germany (SAPD). Shortly after Adolf Hitler came to power in January 1933, young Frahm was in Norway seeking to solicit the support of the Norwegian Labour Party in the political fight against fascism. Overnight he had become a political refugee and looked to make the best of conditions. He also began to make widespread use of the pseudonym under which he later would become famous.

He learned to read and speak Norwegian within the space of only a few weeks, and earned a living as a journalist while at the same time devoting a great deal of time to his political work. He participated in a number of international conferences, and even worked incognito in Germany for a time. He was granted Norwegian citizenship in the summer of 1940, but soon had to flee to Sweden following the German invasion of the country. He would only make his way back to his adopted land following the German surrender in May 1945. He eventually returned to Germany as a press attaché at the Norwegian military mission in Berlin. He then decided to embark on what would become an illustrious career in mainstream politics.

Pictured is Brandt's card from the Aliens Register of Oslo Police District. This was created upon his arrival in Norway in 1933. Among other things it records that he was born on 18 December 1913 in Lübeck, and that he was a student. His birth name is given, as is the address he lived at along with several other members of the SAPD. At the bottom there is a later addition querying whether he is a Norwegian citizen. Yet more additional text (on the right-hand side) notes his return to Germany ('Tyskland') in 1947, and that his address is the 'Norwegian Military Mission' situated at 'Berlin Zoo'. This address is given in English because it was located in the British-controlled sector of Berlin.

(Above) Portrait photo of Willy Brandt

Norwegian Labour Movement Archives and Library

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NOTA DE CULPA



Francisco de Paula Brito Júnior, Conselheiro de Legação e Chefe da Repartição das Questões Económicas do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, deduz, na qualidade de Instructor do processo disciplinar mandado instaurar por Sua Excelência o Senhor Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros contra o Dr. Aristides de Sousa Mendes do Amaral e Abranches, Consul de 1ª classe actualmente na situação de disponibilidade por conveniencia de serviço, os seguintes artigos de acusação:

1ª

Em 27 de Novembro e 6 de Dezembro de 1939, solicitou o arguido ao Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros autorização para visar o passaporte do súbdito austriaco Dr. Arnaldo Wiznitzer e respectiva familia. A Polícia de Vigilância, consultada pelo Ministério dos Estrangeiros sobre o pedido de que se trata, averiguou que os referidos súbditos austriacos se encontravam já em Portugal, tendo o seu passaporte sido visado pelo arguido em 2 de Novembro do citado ano, isto é, seis dias antes de dirigir a sua primeira consulta a este Ministério. Este facto determinou o despacho a fls. 73 dos Autos, no qual lhe era estranhado o seu proceder.

2ª

Em 2 de Fevereiro de 1940, o arguido solicitou autorização ao Ministério dos Estrangeiros para visar o passaporte do cidadão espanhol Eduardo Neira Laporte, a qual lhe foi negada por despacho de 11 de Março a fls. 72 dos Autos. Todavia, no dia 12 de Março o Snr. Laporte chegava a Lisboa no vapor francês "Aurigny" com uma carta de chamada do Governo Boliviano visada pelo arguido em 1 de Março do referido ano. Este procedimento deu lugar à advertência constante do despacho a fls. 71 dos Autos.

3ª

Em officio de 7 de Junho, a Polícia de Vigilância e Defeza do Estado comunicou a este Ministério que três polacos se encontravam retidos em Vilar Formoso munidos de passaportes visados pelo arguido em 29 de Maio, visto esse que constituiu derrogação às prescrições constantes do Despacho circular nº14, de 11 de Novembro de 1939, a fls. 75 a 77 dos Autos.

4ª

A Embaixada de Sua Majestade Britânica em Lisboa participou ao Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros em 20 de Junho do corrente ano, por Memorandum constante de fls. 58 dos Autos, que o arguido protelava para além das horas de expediente a

# The Humanitarian Consul-General: Proceedings against Aristides de Souza Mendes

As Aristides de Souza Mendes lay on his deathbed on 3 April 1954, he may have been forgiven for thinking that the world had completely abandoned him. He had been forced out of the Portuguese consular service in 1941, and led a life of penury after that. It seemed a hard and bitter end for one who had once done so much to help others through his work.

Souza Mendes' early career had been fairly standard for one in his profession. He graduated from the University of Coimbra in 1908, and entered the Portuguese consular service shortly afterwards. He served in a range of countries over the course of the next three decades, notably Zanzibar, Brazil, the U.S.A., Spain and Belgium. When World War II broke out in Europe in 1939 he was Consul-General at Bordeaux, in the south-west of France.

By this time the Portuguese were living under the dictatorship of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, the founder of the Estado Novo (Second Republic). Salazar and his government not only looked to maintain Portugal's neutrality during the war, they also sought to limit the amount of refugees coming into the country. In November 1939 the government issued a circular to all consuls listing the categories of war refugees deemed to be inconvenient or dangerous for the state to handle. The consuls retained the power to grant visas but with the proviso that certain specified cases

had to be referred to the foreign ministry in Lisbon for a decision. Most notably these included stateless persons, Russian nationals, holders of Nansen passports, and Jews expelled from their home countries.

From the outset the directives contained in the circular clashed with Souza Mendes' view of what was the humanitarian and right thing to do. He witnessed the plight of the refugees passing through Bordeaux and made the decision to issue visas as he saw fit. This could only go on for so long without drawing the attention of the authorities in Lisbon. Consequently, Souza Mendes was recalled from his post and disciplined.

The document here details some of the charges brought against Souza Mendes at his disciplinary hearing in July 1940. They relate to a number of specific individual cases processed by Souza Mendes during late 1939 and early 1940. However, this does not begin to address the overall number of refugees he helped during this time. Although a precise figure is hard to determine, it is commonly accepted that Souza Mendes obtained visas for tens of thousands of refugees during the first few months of the war. Rather than being a record of Souza Mendes' guilt, the documents remain a testament to his courage and selfless humanitarianism.

Aristides de Sousa Mendes do Amaral e Abranches - Guilty note in the disciplinary proceedings brought against him for issuing visas and passports to an indeterminate number of refugees fleeing Nazi Germany, 1939-1953

1 page, typewriter, paper; 32,5 x 22,5 cm

Torre do Tombo – The National Archives of Portugal

Ref Code: PT/TT/PIDE/D-A/1/6358

Sorszám	Név	Születési hely és év	Vallás	Anyja neve	Családi állapota	Vele menekült		Foglalkozása	Honnan és mikor menekült	Jelenlegi tartózkodási helye	Jegyzet
						felesége neve	18 éven aluli gyermekeinek száma				
1.	Aljain Gábor	Bágyan/Torda-01 1922. IV. 31-én	Ref.	Lupa	Nőtlen	—	—	Iskolás	Tordáról 1940. szept. 9-án	Nagyléta	52
2.	Arbosi László	Bentmihályfalva 1920. II. 20-án	Unitárius	Rozsa	—	—	—	feldmies	1940. szept. 6-án	NAGYLETA	893
3.	Bab Elnor	Kolozsvár 1919. IV. 3-án	Ref.	Wacaler	—	—	—	szomszéd	1940. szept. 9-án	NAGYLETA	141
4.	Berkesi Miklós	Torda 1923. Jan. 12-én	—	Flóra	—	Nocson	Nocson	feldmies	Tordáról 1940. szept. 8-án	NAGYLETA	584
5.	Berkesi László	Torda 1920. IV. 1-én	—	—	—	—	—	szomszéd	Tordáról 1940. szept. 8-án	NAGYLETA	584
6.	Bán Mihály	Bentmihályfalva 1921. II. 8-án	—	Anna	—	—	—	feldmies	1940. szept. 5-án	NAGYLETA	135
7.	Bogdan József	Piski/Hungary 1910. III. 16-án	Román	Rosa	Nős	Siklodi	Maria	szomszéd	1940. szept. 3-án	NAGYLETA	200
8.	Borák Sándor	Hári/Hungary 1919. II. 10-án	Ref.	Rosa	Nőtlen	Nocson	Nocson	feldmies	1940. szept. 12-én	NAGYLETA	81
9.	Barka Anasztás	Lászlófalva 1922. III. 24-án	—	László	—	—	—	szomszéd	1940. szept. 5-án	NAGYLETA	111
10.	Barka Zoltán	Kiskölköd 1922. IV. 28-án	—	László	—	—	—	feldmies	1940. szept. 5-án	NAGYLETA	—
11.	Barka József	Harsány 1905. IV. 31-én	—	Király	—	—	—	—	Harsányról 1940. szept. 6-án	NAGYLETA	546
12.	Bako József	Harsány 1922. szept. 24-án	—	Király	—	—	—	—	Wajda kúriáról 1940. szept. 10-án	NAGYLETA	ET
13.	Barka László	Harsány 1915. II. 15-én	—	Király	Nős	—	—	feldmies	1940. szept. 9-án	NAGYLETA	147
14.	Biro László	Hadiófalva 1919. I. 19-én	Román	Klára	Nőtlen	Nocson	Nocson	feldmies	1940. szept. 11-én	NAGYLETA	797
15.	Barka László	Harsány 1909. II. 6-án	Ref.	Király	—	—	—	feldmies	1940. szept. 6-án	NAGYLETA	48
16.	Barka József	Harsány 1919. Jan. 27-én	—	László	—	—	—	—	1940. szept. 5-án	NAGYLETA	119
17.	Barka László	Harsány 1909. Jan. 1-én	—	László	—	—	—	—	1940. szept. 5-án	NAGYLETA	793
18.	Barka László	Guta/Hungary 1918. I. 31-én	—	László	—	—	—	—	1940. szept. 1-én	NAGYLETA	716

Conscription of Romanian refugees in the camp of Nagyléta (today: part of Létavértes, Hungary), 1940-1941

One-volume, handwritten pre-printed form on paper; 41,5 x 32 cm

Hajdú-Bihar County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary

Ref Code: HU-MNL-HBML – V. – 653. – c – 8/k.

# A census of ethnic Hungarian refugees in camp at Nagyléta

Romanians could have forgiven themselves for feeling unlucky during the first year of World War II. Romania had aligned itself with Germany in the 1930s but did not benefit from the Axis powers' remarkable military successes of 1939 and 1940; quite the opposite. In June 1940, the Germans pressurised the Romanian government into ceding Bessarabia and northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union. At that stage Hitler was not yet ready to break his non-aggression pact with the Russians, and so was willing to acquiesce to Stalin's demands regarding the Romanian provinces.

This was followed by another major loss of Romanian territory in August. As part of a deal brokered by the Germans, Hungary gained northern Transylvania from Romania. Hungary had lost Transylvania as part of the peace process following World War I, and had been threatening military action in order to regain it. For their part, the Germans wanted to protect their privileged access to Romania's oilfields and so wanted to limit the level of upheaval in the region. Once again Romanian interests were sacrificed.

But upheaval is exactly what transpired for the ethnic Hungarians and ethnic Romanians left on the wrong side of the border, following the new arrangements.

Both groups were rightly fearful of the increasing bitterness that was being generated between Romania and Hungary. Indeed, when the Hungarian army moved into northern Transylvania in early September 1940, clashes broke out and casualties resulted on both sides. This included the killing of Romanian civilians and Jews.

The document illustrated here belongs to a census of ethnic Hungarian refugees from Romania who had been placed in a temporary camp at Nagyléta (today: part of Létavértes in Hungary), just on the Hungarian side of the newly drawn border. The complete census spans over an entire volume, and contains records pertaining to 189 individuals. Most of them were young men who felt compelled to leave in order to avoid forcible conscription into the Romanian army. The records contain details of names, ages, religion, marital status, occupation and so forth. Particularly noteworthy is the presence of several chocolate makers. It is also apparent that they lived a transitory existence. Some people only stayed for a week or two, and in general new people were constantly coming and going. The instability associated with refugee life was certainly present here, just as it had been in other locations and in previous eras.



Photograph of a group of European Jews saying morning prayer (Shajarit) aboard the Portuguese steamship São Thomé, en route to Mexico to flee the Holocaust, 3–1942 – 4–1942

1 black and white photography; 21,0 x 29,7 cm

Spanish State Archives – Historical Memory Documentary Centre

Ref Code: ES.37274.CDMH/10.69.3//FOTOGRAFÍAS\_EMIL\_VEDIN,68

# European Jews en route to Mexico on the steamship *São Thomé*

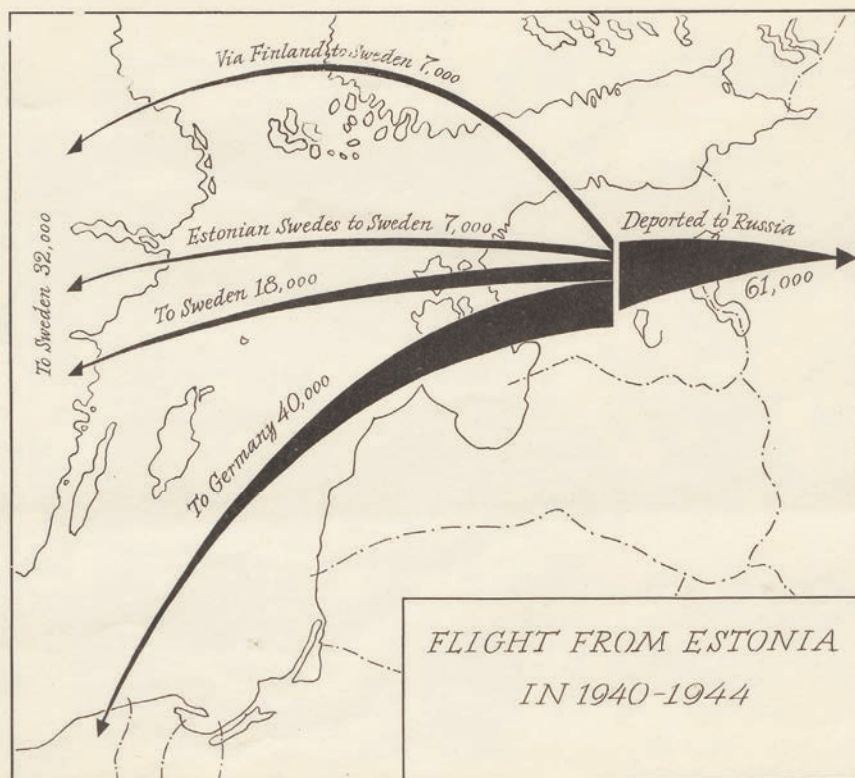
In the Spring of 1942, the cargo steamship *São Thomé* made an important journey from Lisbon to the port of Veracruz in Mexico, carrying a group of Jewish refugees fleeing from the Nazi Holocaust. In the photograph we can see a number of them saying their morning prayer (Shacharit). They may well have counted themselves lucky to have been able to leave Europe at this time, particularly given that in November 1941 the German state had banned the emigration of Jews from the territories it controlled. Moreover, in January 1942, the Nazis had arrived at the so-called 'final solution', the plan for the complete elimination of all Europe's Jews.

The *São Thomé's* Jews were fortunate that the Mexican government was willing to allow them to disembark at Veracruz at all. Like most Latin American countries during the 1933-45 period, Mexico was very reluctant to take in Jewish refugees. This attitude owed much to the economic climate of the time. The Great Depression of the 1930s had a marked impact on everyone's daily lives, and made many people fearful that increased immigration would lead to more competition for jobs. Straightforward anti-Semitism will also have played its part, as did the presence of many German ex-patriots across Central and Southern America.

This was not just a Latin American phenomenon. The major powers such as the USA and Great Britain were unwilling to accept Jewish refugees beyond the

levels stipulated in quotas. This situation came into sharp relief at an international conference held at Evian, France in July 1938. Of the 25 countries in attendance, only the Dominican Republic pledged to take in additional refugees. Later that year, Great Britain did relax its rules somewhat in order to accept additional Jewish children who were at risk, but this was only in response to considerable pressure from relief agencies and the general public.

Overall, the initiative shown by private individuals and agencies was key when it came to saving Jews during the years of Nazi tyranny. The efforts of the likes of Raoul Wallenberg in Hungary and Oskar Schindler in German-occupied Poland are particularly well known today because of the media attention they have attracted over the years. But they were merely two individuals among many. The actions of Aristides de Souza Mendes and Ángel Sanz Briz, for example, are recounted elsewhere in this exhibition. The Jews of the *São Thomé* also benefited from the intervention of an individual benefactor. The majority of them obtained passports and visas from Gilberto Bosques Saldivar, the Mexican consul in the French city of Marseilles. The numbers saved by such people may seem modest when set against the six million Jews murdered by the Nazis during the Second World War. But then again, as the Jewish text the Talmud teaches, 'he who saves a single life, saves the world entire.'



Flight from Estonia in 1940-1944, 1940-1944

1 page, hand-drawn map on paper; 18,5 x 16,7 cm

National Archives of Estonia

Ref Code: RA, ERA.1050.1.50, page 2

# Estonia's Agony: Exodus from 1940 to 1945

Historical maps often relay important information in a clear and punchy manner. In the illustrated document bold black arrows are used for two purposes: firstly, to show the routes that many Estonians took to flee their country during the Second World War; secondly, the route that was used to deport other Estonians to Russia. Approximate figures detailing the amount of people taking the various routes are also provided. The map forms part of a private archive assembled by the economist and former refugee Arvo Horm (1923-1996), and gifted to the National Archives of Estonia several years after his death.

What the map does not detail is the series of political and military events that led to such a mass exodus of people. When Germany and the Soviet Union agreed a non-aggression pact in August 1939, Estonia and the other Baltic countries lay exposed to Russian territorial acquisitiveness. During the summer of 1940, the Soviets occupied the Baltic states and forcefully incorporated them into the USSR. Around 60,000 Estonians were deported to Russia during the first year of the occupation, a figure alluded to on the map. Many of that number were destined to die in the infamous prison camps of Siberia.

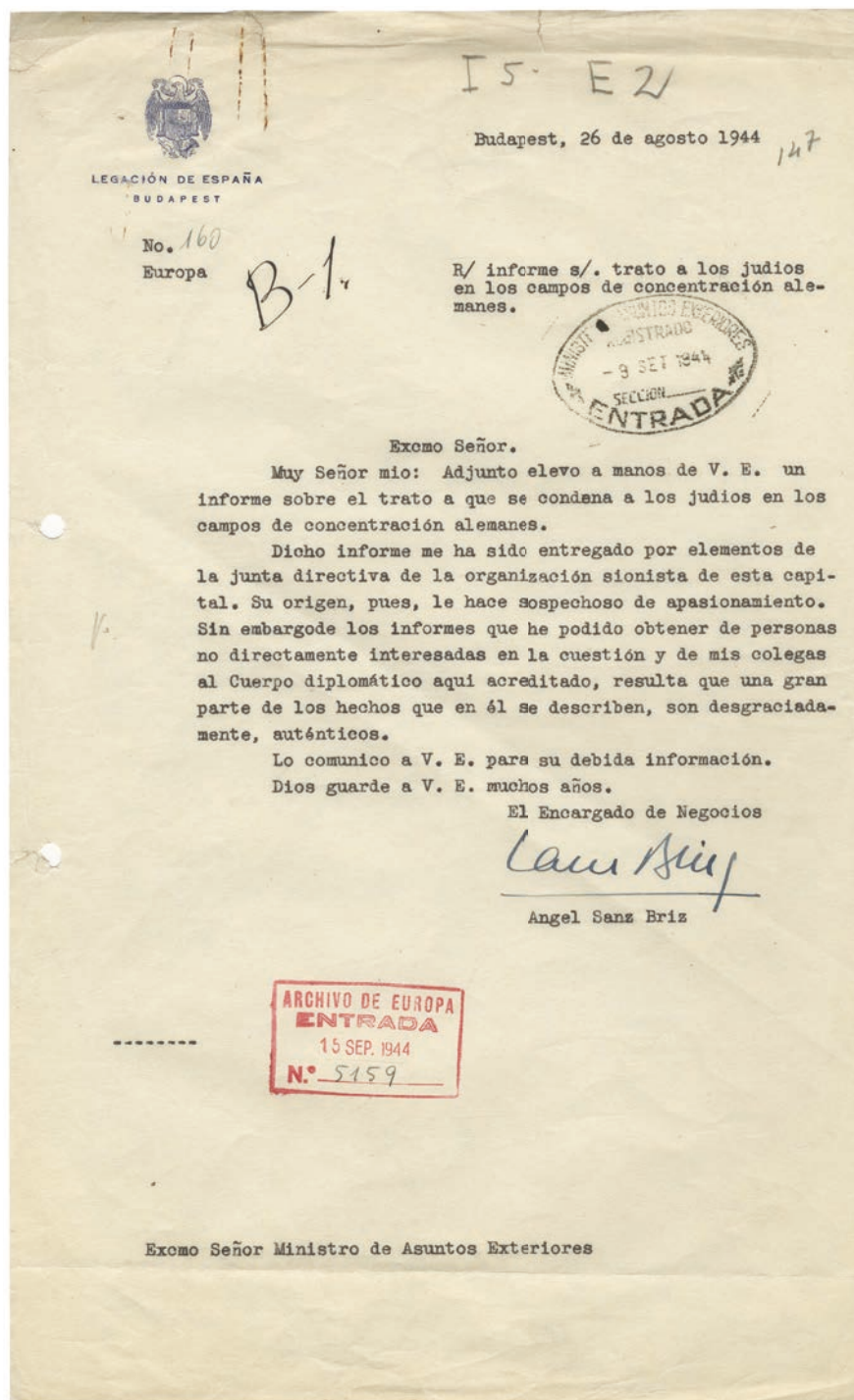
When Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, most Estonians found themselves freed from the yoke of oppression. This, of course, was not the case for the country's remaining Jews. A majority of Estonia's Jews did manage to escape the German

advance by fleeing eastwards. However, most of the 1,000 individuals who remained were killed by Nazi death squads.

Estonia's agony did not end there. Following German military defeats on the Eastern Front in 1943 and 1944, the Russians advanced into Estonia once again. Approximately 75,000 individuals opted to flee to the west, the vast majority by sea, either direct to Germany or Sweden. Some travelled to Finland first and then took a boat to Sweden. Some made the journey to Germany by land. Around 6-9% of those who fled died on the way.

Most of those who made it to Germany eventually found themselves in post-war displaced persons camps, run by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). Here they remained in danger of being repatriated to Estonia. The allied leaders had decided that the Baltic countries would remain part of the Soviet Union, which left UNRRA staff in the unenviable position of enforcing repatriation if necessary. In actuality, the majority of Estonians used various means to avoid this fate.

Many of those who were repatriated faced an uncertain future, as did those who had remained in the country all along. Around 80,000 Estonians were deported to Russia during the years 1945-53. Estonians would have to wait until the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 before they would experience freedom once again.



Auschwitz Protocols. Reports about the situation of Hungarian prisoners and deportees in German concentration camps, 26–8–1944, Budapest

Book with 454 sheets, report of 33 pages, paper; 29,6 x 20,9 cm

Spanish State Archives – General Archive of the Administration

Ref Code: ES.28005.AGA/2.5.1.1.1.2.8.2.1//AGA,82,05247,005

# Testimonies to the Holocaust: The Auschwitz ‘Protocols’

Ángel Sanz Briz had much on his mind during the summer of 1944. As the top Spanish representative in the Hungarian capital of Budapest, he had been aware for some time that Hungary’s Jews were in an increasingly perilous position.

Up until 1944, the Jewish population of Hungary had escaped the mass murders then being perpetrated by the forces of Nazism. Hungary had been a wartime ally of Germany since November 1940 but had exercised an independent, albeit discriminatory, policy with regards to the Jews. Indeed, under the leadership of prime minister Miklós Kállay (March 1942 – March 1944) Hungary provided the Jews with a degree of protection at a time when the Third Reich had begun to implement its ‘Final Solution to the Jewish Question’. However, this all changed on 19 March 1944 when the Germans invaded Hungary in order to prevent Kállay from pursuing a separate peace with the Western Allies. The mass-deportation of Hungary’s Jews followed soon thereafter, and by early July at least 450,000 had been transported to the extermination complex at Auschwitz.

As this unfolded, Sanz Briz became aware of explosive pieces of eyewitness testimony that had begun to circulate among the diplomatic community in Budapest. These came in the form of reports compiled by individuals who had escaped from Auschwitz and were intent on letting the world know about the horrors being perpetrated there. By early June details from these reports had appeared in the American press, and in July the Hungarian regent, Miklós Horthy, under great political pressure from the Allies, ordered that the deportations be discontinued.

Illustrated we see a letter that Ángel Sanz Briz sent to the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, José Félix Lequerica on 26 August 1944. He states that he has enclosed one of the Auschwitz reports, and adds that ‘it appears that a large part of the facts described in it are, unfortunately, real’. By this time, they had certainly been accepted as real by the governments of the Allied nations. In November, the United States War Refugee Board published them in full, and they were duly submitted as evidence during the Nuremberg Trials. Over time the reports have acquired the somewhat misleading title of the Auschwitz ‘Protocols’.

As it turned out, Horthy’s order of July 1944 only temporarily halted the deportation process in Hungary. In mid-October the Germans forced Horthy to abdicate and installed an extremist right-wing government in his place. By this time Sanz Briz, on his own initiative, was actively trying to save as many of Hungary’s Jews as possible. At the end of August, he helped ensure that 500 Jewish children had been granted visas to go to Spanish-controlled Tangier in North Africa; in December he secured Spanish protective papers for 2,295 Hungarian Jews of all ages, only 45 of whom were Sephardim, who traced their family origins to Spain’s medieval Jewish community.

In 1989 the Israeli government honoured Ángel Sanz Briz posthumously as being ‘Righteous Among the Nations’.



Control Books of evacuated Norwegians, 1944-1951

Small booklet, 20 pages, handwritten, pre-printed form on paper; 10 x 14,5 cm

The National Archives of Norway

Ref Code: RA/S-1677/H/L0079

# Flight from the North: The control books of evacuated Norwegians

When Nazi forces invaded and occupied Norway in the Spring of 1940 they were presented with a number of strategic opportunities. At a stroke, their naval forces obtained improved access to the North Sea and Atlantic Ocean, while their Norway-based bomber squadrons were now within easy reach of targets in northern Britain. On top of that they had secured the vital supply of iron ore from northern Sweden, and had improved their chances of developing nuclear weapons through the use of Norway's heavy-water production plants.

But they also had to deal with strategic liabilities. Norway's long coastline and sparsely-populated interior presented particularly rich pickings for allied commandos. In addition, when the Soviet Union entered the war in June 1941, Norway's northern border with Russia had to be defended as a matter of necessity. It was along this front in late 1944 that Norwegian civilians once again experienced the terror of full-scale land warfare.

In September 1944 Germany's ally, Finland, signed an armistice with the Soviet Union thus severely weakening the position of the Axis powers in the High North. When the Soviet offensive commenced on October 7th, the Germans had already decided to withdraw their forces from the northern parts of Finland and Norway. The Russians quickly captured Petsamo before moving across the border to take Kirkenes in the province of Finnmark.

The Germans conducted a scorched earth policy as they retreated, aiming to leave nothing of value to the advancing Soviet forces. They caused widespread damage to the infrastructure of both Finnmark and Northern Troms, and burned most of the major towns and villages in the area. Moreover, they forcibly evacuated some 50,000 people, dispatching them to Southern Troms, Nordland, and other parts of the country. Around 20,000 individuals managed to avoid the relocation process by hiding out in mountainous areas or in mines.

To facilitate smooth evacuation, the German authorities issued a control book to each person. These books had a similar function to that of a passport, and contained personal details and fingerprints, as well as sections for entering information about where people had travelled from, where they had lived, and what they had received in the way of support. When the war in Europe ended in May 1945 the system remained in place and was administered by the Norwegian Refugee and Foreign Prisoner Directorate. The Directorate also extended coverage to include German soldiers as well as foreign nationals who had been held as prisoners during the occupation.

In the photograph we see a small selection of the control books held as part of the holdings of the National Archives of Norway. The various entries and official stamps tell a range of fascinating individual stories.



# SLOVÁCI, SLOVENKY!

Československá presídľovacia komisia v Maďarsku volá Vás na slovenské verejné shromazdenie, ktoré sa koná

## v Nyiregyháze

v nedeľu dňa 7. apríla 1946 o 11. hod. predpoludním na námestí pred mestským domom (Városháza).

**Program:**

1. Pieseň „Kto sa pravdu hľadá“
2. Prívet vodčieho oblasti
3. Rec ministra z CSR dr. Viktorého
4. Recitácia
5. Rec poslancov z CSR dr. Tomášku
6. Zahŕbenie povie evanjelický farár Julius Dörer

Popoludní v budove színházu bude divadelné predstavenie zo života Slovákov.  
Začiatok o 2. hod. a o 6. hod. popoludní.  
Doverníci, vyzdvihnite si lístky v sobotu v kancelárii oblastnej úradovne. (v Korona-szálló.)  
Vstup bezplatný.

Čsl. presídľovacia komisia  
v Nyiregyháze

# BRATIA SLOVÁCI!

## CHCETE

sa navrátiť do svojej rodnej vlasti  
➔ NA SLOVENSKO?

Chcete sa osadiť a žiť medzi svojimi bratmi?  
Chcete pracovať na svojom a pre seba?  
Chcete, aby vaše deti chodili do slovenských škôl?  
Chcete sa stať občanmi víťazného československého štátu?  
Chcete obsadiť polia a majetky, ktoré sú pre vás pripravené?  
Chcete nájsť dobre platenú prácu v továrňach?

Ak chcete, pridte,

 Československá republika

**vás čaká!**

Prihláste sa u Československej presídľovacej komisie v Budapešti alebo v jej oblastných úradovniach, ktoré sa postarajú o vaše presídlenie do Československej republiky!

MNL SZSZBML Nyiregyháza

# Czechoslovakia is waiting for you!

These eye-catching posters were published in 1946 by the Czechoslovak Resettlement Committee. Their aim was to persuade ethnic Slovaks to leave Hungary and become citizens of Czechoslovakia, the composite state of Bohemia, Moravia (now the Czech Republic) and Slovakia, which existed during the years 1918-39 and 1945-92.

The first example could scarcely be simpler. It depicts a woman and a girl about to embrace, and features the words 'Slovakia is waiting for you!'. Symbolically, the image can be read as an embodiment of the motherland (the woman) welcoming home a long-lost child (Slovaks in Hungary). At a more literal level, a mother and child reuniting would in itself have carried great power given the level of disruption caused to families during the Second World War.

The second poster relies more on bold rhetoric to make its point. It declares: 'Slovakian Brothers! Do you wish to return to your homeland, to Slovakia? Do you want to settle and live among your brothers and sisters? Do you want to work in your own land and for yourself? Would you like your children to attend Slovak schools? Do you want to become citizens of the winning Czechoslovak state? Do you want to take over the properties and fields reserved for you? Do you want to find a well-paid factory job? Come if you want, the Czechoslovak Republic is waiting for you!'

However, the positivity inherent in the posters only tells part of the story. While the authorities were trying to attract ethnic Slovaks to Czechoslovakia, they were also trying to drive those residents who were not Czech or Slovak out of the country. Ethnic Hungarians were one of the main targets of this policy. The Hungarian State initially refused to exchange minorities but were soon forced to reconsider when the Czechoslovak authorities began forced removal of Hungarians from their homes. In February 1946 a voluntary people's exchange was agreed and the posters went into circulation. Eventually some 90,000 Hungarians were exchanged for around 60,000 Slovaks.

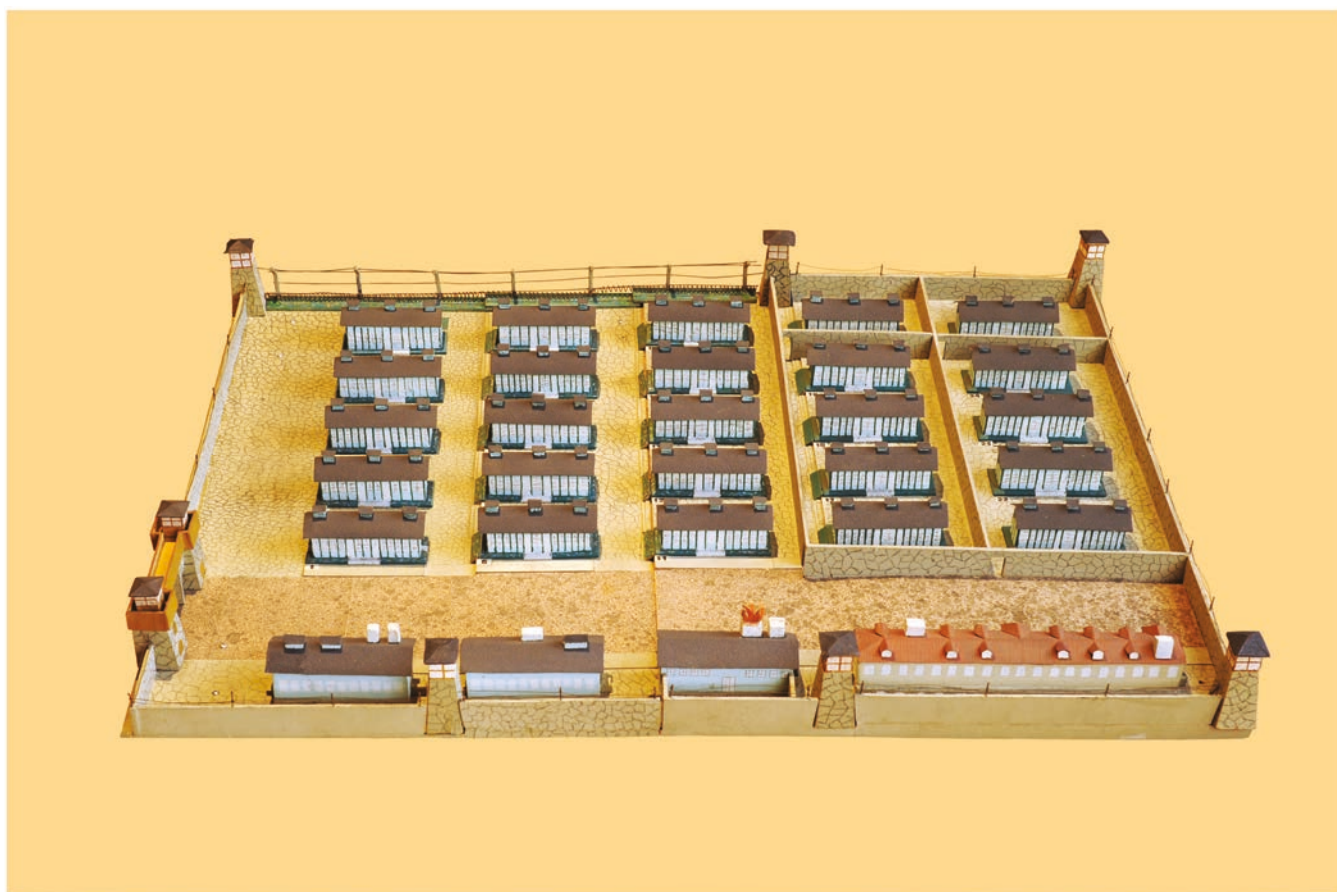
The other ethnic minority which faced deportation from Czechoslovakia were the German-speaking residents of northwest Bohemia (popularly known at the time as the Sudetenland). This group of people was treated harshly by those Czechs and Slovaks who now held positions of authority there. Numerous acts of brutality were perpetrated, and hundreds of ethnic Germans committed suicide during this time. Many tens of thousands of Germans were forced to leave the country, thus leaving the way open for an influx of Czech and Slovak settlers to the area. It reminds us how a once-persecuted people can sometimes take on the role of persecutors.

Czechoslovak propaganda posters, 1946,

3 printed posters, one in colour, paper, 94 x 62,8 cm; 59,6 x 41,3 cm; 24 x 16 cm

Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary

Ref Code: HU-MNL-SZSZBML – V. – 77/c. – I. – 5/1946



Miniature of the inner area of the Mauthausen concentration camp, circa 1942, 1950s

1 wooden object; 11,5 x 71,5 x 97 cm

Spanish State Archives – Historical Memory Documentary Centre

Ref Code: ES.37274.CDMH//OBJETOS,623

# Remembering Mauthausen: The models of Juan García Gisbert

Survivor testimonies from Nazi Germany's heinous concentration camp system come in many forms. These include memoirs, filmed interviews featured in documentaries about the Second World War, poetry from some survivors and Holocaust-inspired fiction. Others sought to recount their experiences in the form of a painting or sculpture.

Illustrated here we see the image of a model of the inner area of Mauthausen concentration camp, as it would have appeared around the year 1942. It was built in the 1950s by the Spanish artist Juan García Gisbert, and forms part of a wider collection of miniatures he made of the camp.

Juan and his brother Ramón were sent to Mauthausen in early August 1940, having previously been assigned to Stalag I-B Hohenstein prisoner-of-war camp. They had both evidently served in the French Army, and were captured when the Germans advanced into France that summer. Juan was to remain in Mauthausen until the camp was liberated by elements of the U.S. Army on 5 May 1945.

The Gisbert brothers were only two of around 7,300 Spaniards interned in Mauthausen, 20 km east of Linz in Austria, during the war. Most, if not all, were Republicans who had fled to France following the victory of General Francisco Franco's Nationalist forces during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

Around 40,000 of these men joined the French Army, with many of them falling prey to the Nazis as a result. Established in April 1938, Mauthausen quickly gained a reputation as one of the deadliest concentration camps. It provided slave labour for nearby stone quarries, with the result that many of those unlucky enough to be sent there were literally worked to death. Initially the inmates mainly consisted of convicted criminals, but these were soon joined by political prisoners, like the Spanish Republicans, and other elements deemed to be 'asocial'. No Jews were sent to Mauthausen prior to 1941.

Like other groups in the camp, the Spaniards suffered a heavy death toll. Just over 2,000 survived to the end of the war and ended up facing an uncertain future. Franco's administration in Spain had made no attempt to intervene to save them from the horrors of Mauthausen, and any future for them in their homeland would have been bleak. The majority – Juan García Gisbert among them – therefore returned to France to make a life for themselves there.

In Spain, the ordeal of the Spanish Republicans was an undiscussed topic for many decades. Even today, few people have any great level of knowledge about it. For this reason alone, Gisbert's thought-provoking models of Mauthausen remain an extremely important reminder of things that should never be forgotten.

Die Föderation vereint:

- die Widerstandskämpfer, die Partisanen und alle Patrioten, die an der Befreiung ihres Vaterlandes teilgenommen haben;
- die Deportierten, die Internierten, die politischen Häftlinge und alle anderen vom Nazismus und Faschismus verfolgten Personen;
- die Hinterbliebenen.

## INTERNATIONALE FÖDERATION DER WIDERSTANDSKÄMPFER



SEKRETARIAT: 1021 Wien II, Postfach 149, Castelleigasse 35 (Österreich) Telefon 33-74 49  
Telegrammadresse: FEDERINDIR

1927-02-17  
9-1/36  
di-Bogis d

Im Antwortschreiben anführen

WB IR/ 6

Wien, den 14. Februar 1977

AN DIE ANGESCHLOSSENEN VERBÄNDE

Liebe Kameraden!

Wir übermitteln Ihnen heute zu Ihrer Information in der Anlage eine "Informelle Niederschrift zur Frage der Repatriierung der griechischen politischen Emigranten, die uns vom Koordinationskomitee der griechischen Widerstandsbewegung, Athen, zugegangen ist.

Mit kameradschaftlichen Grüßen,

Wolfgang BERGOLD  
Sekretär

Beilage

Tag: a göwög karapik nepelröbös (un)  
net dörönl

Die FIR ist eine nicht-staatliche Organisation mit Konsultativ-Status Kategorie II  
beim Wirtschafts- und Sozialrat der Vereinten Nationen

XXVIII-M-21-Gr-1/36-1977

(293f. 4 de. / 1977)

# A report on the repatriation of Greek emigrants

A civil war broke out in Greece in 1946 between government forces, on the side of the recently-reinstated Greek monarchy, and communist insurgents. Initially, the communists made considerable headway, using guerrilla tactics to gain control of much of northern Greece. However, US intervention on the government side gradually shifted the balance and by the summer of 1949, the communists had been defeated.

Many tens of thousands of insurgents fled the country. A majority of them slipped across the border to Albania before dispersing to the various communist countries of Eastern Europe. Although this action undoubtedly served to remove them from the immediate danger of reprisals, it also came with a cost. In 1947 the government passed an act which revoked the citizenship of all those who had fought on the communist side and gone into exile. For good measure the government also banned the exiles from returning to the country and confiscated their property.

The document pictured here is part of a report that came into the hands of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters in 1977. It provides a rundown of the reasons why the Greek government is unwilling to receive the communist exiles back into the country, at that time. Firstly, it is felt that the state

would be unable to provide for the 'nearly 45,000' individuals who want to be repatriated. Secondly, the state would be incapable of returning their property to them. This is because it had been confiscated and given to landless farmers. Thirdly, it is felt that repatriation will lead to a 'heating of emotions' in the country.

The reality of the situation, according to the report, was somewhat different. In fact, the emigrants could have been of great use to their home country. Most had professions of one kind or another and would bring a great deal of knowledge and experience with them. Furthermore, the older emigrants had pensions which would sustain them upon their return to Greece. In addition, the property issue would not be an insurmountable problem. Indeed, an agreement had already been arrived at, giving part of the confiscated property to legal representatives of the emigrants. Lastly, it is asserted that in the instances where exiles had already returned to Greece, no 'heating of emotions' had become apparent. On the contrary, the local inhabitants had been extending a warm welcome to the returnees.

These arguments eventually held sway. In 1982 the Greek government passed an amnesty law permitting the return of Greek nationals who had gone into exile during the Civil War.

Report of the Coordination Committee of Greek Resistants to the International Association of Resistants on main questions of repatriation of Greek emigrants from the countries of Eastern Europe, 12–1976 – 2–1977

13 folios, typewriter, paper; 21 x 29,7 cm

National Archives of Hungary

Ref Code: HU-MNL-OL – XXVIII-M – 21. – 4. őe. – No. Gy-1/36-1977

03

# POLITICAL UPRISING, TURMOIL AND PERSECUTION

Tales of intolerance, persecution, exploitation, turmoil and rebellion litter the pages of history. On countless occasions a great human cost has been paid by those considered to be part of an inferior or dangerous minority, or those who have ended on the losing side following a major political or religious conflict. Many people down the centuries have been left with little option but to seek asylum in another country in order to save their lives, or continue adhering to a particular religion or political creed. In some cases, whole groups of people faced the difficult choice of either conforming to the will of the state or being forced into exile.

The term 'refugee' has therefore remained much in use over the years. Prior to the modern era, political asylum was rarely something that states and rulers sought to oppose. But with the consolidation of nation states, and the resultant creation of strictly demarcated frontiers, journeys from one country to another became far more regulated.

A majority of the sources included in this section highlight stories of enforced conformity and exile. In some cases, they show how degrees of toleration could initially be shown to minority groups such as Jews,

Muslims and Romani, but that this morphed over time into intolerance. This was a common story throughout much of Europe. Some minorities were pushed into exile, either by repressive policies on the part of national governments, or by a desire not to submit to enforced conformity. Most would never see their homeland again.

The plight of political migrants is highlighted in a number of the documents. These feature a range of exiles, from revolutionaries and resistance fighters through to nobility and royalty. It is certainly interesting to compare and contrast the experiences of those who could afford to live relatively comfortably while in exile and those who could not. Other documents tell the stories of individuals who felt compelled to migrate following the onset of political instability in former European colonies.

But amid all the stories of persecution are accounts of those who showed solidarity with those who either looked to escape intolerant authoritarianism or oppose it. Such selfless individuals could be found at all levels of society and in all parts of Europe. History, like life itself, is a matter of dark and light, and all the shades of grey in between.

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Johannis d<sup>r</sup> Egypto

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 gouernadores p<sup>r</sup>incipes Reges potestates barles potestates e al<sup>i</sup> q<sup>u</sup>alsem  
 officiales e subditos n<sup>r</sup>os e omnia q<sup>u</sup>alsemol guardes e porte e coses e  
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Fradago oral  
 m<sup>o</sup> v<sup>r</sup>o p<sup>r</sup>  
 d<sup>r</sup>o ffradago

# The Romani in late-medieval Spain

This document is the earliest-known source attesting to the presence of the Romani people in Spain. It is a letter of protection from January 1425, given by King Alfonso V of Aragon to an individual referred to as John of Little Egypt. John, who was evidently the leader of a group of Romani travellers, is granted 'license to go to various places' and to 'pass through some parts of our kingdoms and lands' in peace and safety. It is emphasised 'under penalty of our wrath and indignation' that John and his party should not be molested in any way and that no damage should be done to 'their mounts, clothes, goods, gold, silver, saddlebags and any whatever else they carry with them'.

The Romani trace their origins to the northern part of India. They became a nomadic and migratory people during the early Middle Ages, and by the start of the 14th century they had reached southern Europe. Alfonso V was clearly very well disposed towards them. Several months after he dealt with John's case, he issued a similar letter of protection to one Count Tomás of Little Egypt, and such treatment would continue on through his reign and that of his successor, John II.

A change in attitude emerged towards the end of the 15th century. When Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile unified Spain in 1479, they

set about building a more regulated and homogeneous society. In 1492 they ordered the expulsion of Jews from the country, and in the early 16th century they instigated the enforced conversion of Spanish Muslims. Their attitude towards the Romani was made clear in a decree of 4 March 1499. They could either reject their nomadic lifestyle and settle into mainstream Spanish society or they would be banished.

This reflected feelings towards the Romani in other countries by that time. For many, the Romani could serve as scapegoats for wider and more fundamental discontents. The Romani looked different, they had a different lifestyle, and they could easily be perceived as posing a threat to the traditional order of things. They were, and still are, commonly referred to as Gypsies, a pejorative term that derived from the mistaken assumption that they originally came from Egypt.

This level of intolerance persisted into the 20th century. Indeed, during the Second World War the Romani suffered greatly from the deep prejudice that had remained barely submerged in much of European society – an estimated 400,000 of their number were murdered by the Nazis in a calculated act of genocide. It remains a sad fact that many societies struggle to accept people who are perceived as being different.

Letter of protection in favor of John of Little Egypt, 12–1–1425, Zaragoza (Spain)

1 Sheet, manuscript on paper; 28,4 x 21,5 cm

Spanish State Archives – Archive of the Crown of Aragon

Ref Code: ES.08019.ACA/9.1.5.11.-1.-1///ACA, CANCELLERÍA, Registros, NÚM.2573, folio 145v

PTR, 28-6

+ 6 27 concilio  
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 de algarve de algezira de gibraltar e de las yslas de canaria  
 conde e condesa de barcelona e omnes de bizcaya e de muelva  
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 e lugares de mro obispado e de los otros arcobispados e obispados  
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 e a las personas e qual quer ley e otazo dignas pre  
 minencia e consercion que sean a quien lo oyuso e ne la  
 ma carta contenida e tan e a taner que se en qual lo  
 manera salud e gracia bien sabedes e se beades saver e por  
 quenos fuimos ynfamados que ennos mros reynos  
 abia algunos malos e dñanos que yzayaban e apodaban  
 semra e an fca catolica de lo qual se era mra e ha causa la

# Spain and the expulsion of the Jews

1492 was a momentous year in Spanish history. Along with Christopher Columbus's epoch-making voyage to the West Indies, it marked the Spanish capture of Granada, the final Muslim stronghold on the Iberian Peninsula. It also witnessed a less glorious affair, the promulgation of an edict ordering the expulsion of Spain's Jews.

Relations between the Christians and the Jews of Spain had, historically, been good. The Jews had been faithful subjects to the Spanish monarchs, with many of them taking up important administrative and governmental posts. Jews were also prominent in the fields of medicine, science, and commerce. They made a significant contribution to Spanish scholarship through their involvement in the production of translations of the Bible.

Such cordiality began to erode during the latter half of the 14th century. It is thought that popular resentments may have been stoked up by the erroneous notion that Jews had been responsible for the Black Death – the great plague that had devastated Europe during the 1340s and 1350s. The zealous missionary activities of Dominican and Franciscan friars also appear to have had an impact on the thinking of Spanish Christians, particularly through the dissemination of polemical works attacking both the Jewish and Muslim faiths. The Catholic monarchs began to pass legisla-

tion restricting the rights of Jews, and anti-Semitic pogroms began to take place. A particularly violent series of incidents in 1391 convinced many Jews they should convert to Christianity for their own safety.

These mass conversions, however, only led to new complications. The converted Jews, known as the 'conversos', managed to retain influential positions in government and in society in general, with the result that resentments against them refused to die down. This was a key reason which led to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478. The Inquisition, designed to ensure the purity of the Catholic faith in Spain, had a marked impact on the conversos of Spain. Many thousands were burned to death at the stake, while thousands of others chose to flee the country.

The expulsion edict of 1492 formed part of this ongoing 'purification' process. Pictured here we see the wording of the royal decree of the monarchs Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon, which gives the religious justification for the act, and sets out the schedule for departure, and arrangements regarding the sale of goods. As it turned out, a vast majority of Jews chose to convert to Christianity rather than go into exile. No doubt it was a heavy price for them to pay, but at least it secured them their lives and livelihoods in what they regarded as their home country.

Copy of the Royal Decree of the Catholic Kings on the expulsion of Jews, 31–3–1492, Granada (Spain)

4 sheets, manuscript on paper; 21 x 29,5 cm

Spanish State Archives – General Archive of Simancas

Ref Code: ES.47161.AGS/5.2//PTR, LEG, 28,DOC.6

**BANDO QVE EL  
EXCELENTISSIMO  
SEÑOR DON GASTON DE  
MONCADA, MARQUES DE AYTONA, &c. LV-**

garteniente y Capitan General en el presente Reyno de Aragon, ha mādado publicar, en nombre de la Magestad Catholica del Rey  
**Don Felipe Tercero** Nuestro Señor, para la expulsion de los Moriscos de dicho Reyno.



*Con Licencia, y Privilegio.*

**Impresso por Lorenço de Robles, Im-**  
pressor del Reyno de Aragon, y de la Vniuersidad.  
Año de 1610.

# The expulsion of the Moriscos of Aragon

The reconquest of Muslim Spain (the Reconquista) is often associated with the legend of El Cid, the warrior who did so much to galvanize Spanish Christians into action during the 11th century. His life has been celebrated in music, literature and film, most notably in the eponymous Hollywood film of 1961.

The Reconquista itself involved many individuals. Moreover, it was conducted over several centuries, and was not completed until the capture of the city of Granada in 1492. Its impact was profound, not least for the Muslims who ended up on the losing side.

Initially the Christians treated them with a degree of toleration and Muslims remained free to practise their own religion. This policy was discontinued from the late 15th century. Muslims were given the choice of converting to Christianity or going into exile. Those who did convert became known as the Moriscos. However, most Moriscos continued to adhere to Islam in secret, which led to reformatory action on the part of the Spanish authorities. In 1566, for example, Philip II passed an edict which denied the Moriscos of Granada the right to use their language and customs.

By the early 17th century the government had decided that stronger action was needed. Between

September 1609 and July 1610, Philip III issued a series of edicts ordering the deportation of all Spain's Moriscos. Pictured here we see the cover page of a printed pamphlet announcing the expulsion of the Moriscos of Aragon. It is dated 29 May 1610.

By 1614, around 300,000 Moriscos had been deported from Spain. The evidence suggests that most went peaceably; only a small minority resisted, opting to flee to mountainous areas. Most of those who did leave Spain went by sea to North Africa. On the whole they were well received, and went on to make a positive contribution to the region. Some became farmers, while others chose to go into commerce or to become tradesmen. Others inevitably ended up becoming corsairs (pirates). This, of course, remained an option for any young male living along the North African coast, not just the Moriscos.

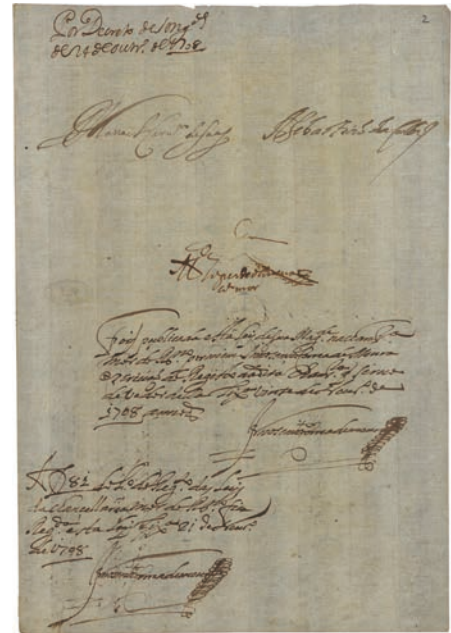
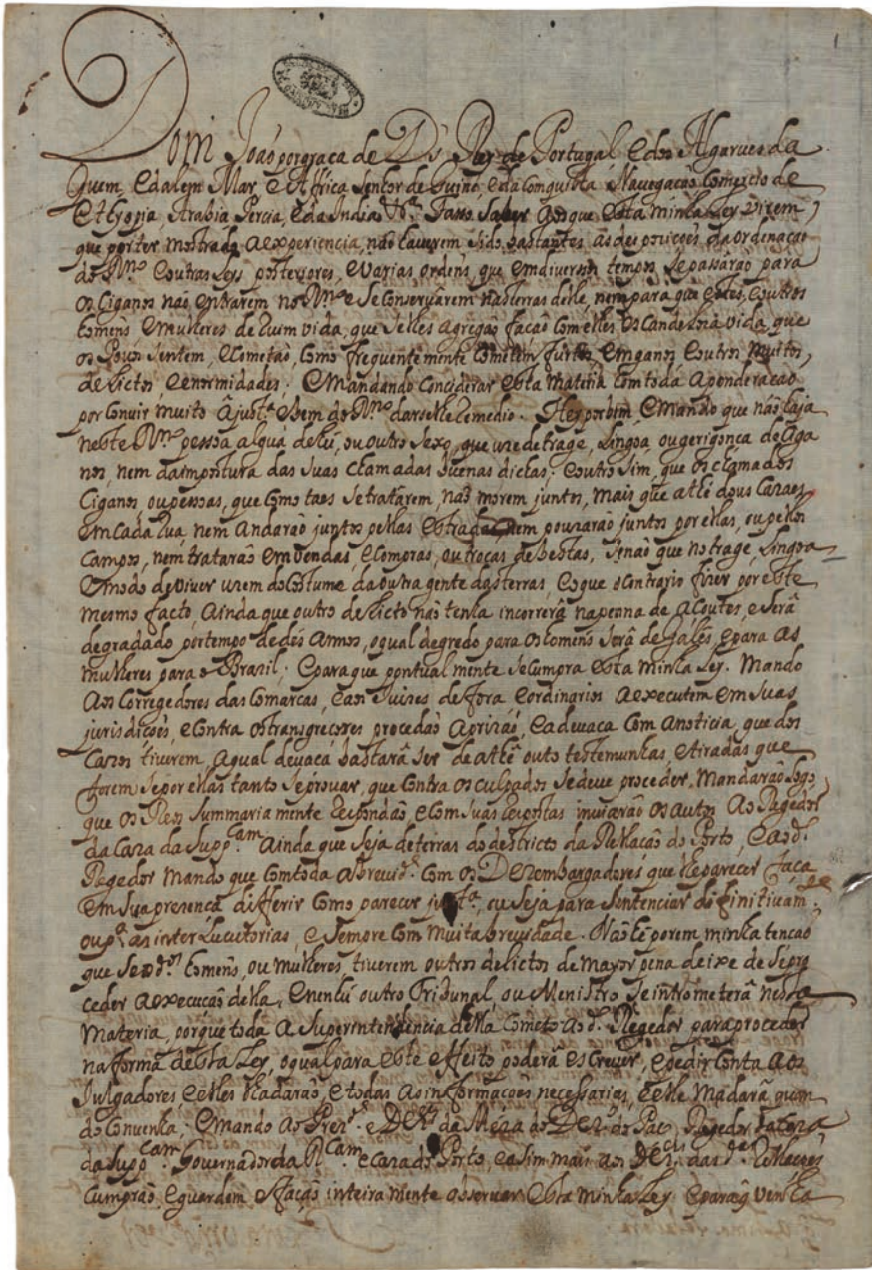
The sudden loss of 300,000 individuals had a marked impact on Spain. The Moriscos had constituted around a quarter of the population of Aragon and Valencia, so the change was greatly felt there. Consequently, a certain amount of resettlement had to occur in order for vacant land not to go to waste. Moreover, those Spaniards who had been creditors to Moriscos had to soak up big losses. It is hard to tell if any of them regarded this as a price worth paying.

Printed announcement of the edict of expulsion of the moriscos (former Muslims) of the kingdom of Aragon, 29–5–1610

1 printed document, 2 leaves, paper; 21 x 30,5 cm

Spanish State Archives – Archive of the Crown of Aragon

Ref Code: ES.08019.ACA/1.1.3.3.313//ACA,CONSEJO DE ARAGÓN,Legajos,0221,nº 026



Law of King John V prohibiting the use of costumes and the language of gypsies,  
10-11-1708 – 21-11-1708, Lisbon

1 document, 4 pages, manuscript on paper; 20,5 x 30,1 cm

Torre do Tombo – The National Archives of Portugal

Ref Code: PT/TT/GAV/2/4/42

# The Romani: Dealing with ‘deviancy’ in 18th-century Portugal

King John V of Portugal is remembered for his extravagant patronage of the arts in the early 18th-century. He funded libraries, supported scholarship, established museums of natural history and architecture, and set up a royal academy of history, among other things. He also initiated the building of the spectacular Royal Palace-Convent at Mafra, one of Portugal’s most important buildings.

Given his cultured tastes, John V’s 1708 law regarding the Romani may come as something of a surprise. It opens with a recital of the various titles claimed by the king:

‘John V by the grace of God King of Portugal and of the Algarves before and beyond the sea in Africa, Lord of Guinea and of Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India etc.’

It then outlines how previous laws in the kingdom have not been enough to curb the ‘scandalous’ lives of the Romani people, who, it is asserted, ‘frequently commit thefts, tricks and many other crimes and enormities.’ The law seeks to tackle this by forbidding people from wearing Romani clothes, using the Romani language, and practising the Romani way of life. Those found guilty of such things will incur the penalty of whipping, along with exile from Portugal for ten years. For men this will mean a life of hard

labour in the Portuguese navy; for women it will mean enforced deportation to the colony of Brazil. Anti-Romani legislation had been in existence in Portugal for two centuries by the time the law of 1708 came into force. The aim of the earlier legislation had initially been to prevent Romani people from entering the country, and to expel those who were already there, albeit with no provision for corporal punishment or imprisonment. Towards the end of the 16th century, however, the Portuguese authorities began enforcing more severe punishments similar to those prescribed by John V in 1708.

The antipathy towards the Romani can be attributed to a number of factors. In the first instance they were seen as shiftless and unproductive people, entirely unsuitable for life in the increasingly ordered and hierarchical societies of western Europe. They were seen as a threat to the Christian way of life, as well as to the authority of Church and state more generally. The Romani were also markedly different in their language and dress, and in the way, they made their living. Along with their association with ‘reprehensible’ pursuits such as gambling, they also were rebuked for their poverty and perceived criminality. At an even more fundamental level they were regarded as having ‘unclean blood’.

This thinking underpinned the sort of legislation being championed by John V. It is a sad fact that such attitudes were highly typical of their time.

8

Karl des Heiligen von Gottes gnaden Erwehelter Röm.  
Kaiser. Zu allen Zeiten Herrscher des Reichs, in Ita-  
manien, zu Hispanien, Ungarn und Böhmen, König,  
Erzherzog zu Österreich.

1734. 14/7

Postz. Bonum, Lieber Johannes: Wir haben aus  
andern wegen dann davorigen transmigranten sub  
datis 7. und 10. die erstatteten gesonderten Br.  
rücken die zu Erwählung dann in sechs sagungen  
Resolutionen mit gar gutem glück, und da es  
die noch erfordert, auf mit gesondern ruck gr.  
sach anordnungen, nicht weniger bei dann ab-  
pflichtung und sonst in allem gebrauchte versichtig.  
mit mit unsern besondern wohlgefallen gesan-  
guädigt vorsehen.

Wir sind nun alle diese sachen vor. und br.  
der absetz vorgefalte herausstellungen, als auf  
conter wegen besorg. und versicherung dann  
wegen freuchheit und andern freudenüssen der.  
Zeit zurück geliebenen einigen forschern, und  
sonstern wegen nichtig. st. und abhandlung dann  
abgeschliffen vermögen, auf freiwilligen zur-  
trag für die mittel. löse, den wir noch in etwas  
verursacht haben, wohlgenachte vorsehungen, und  
war die dann brüsten conter ankommt, guädigt  
approbieren, solches anordnungen auf den guten  
effect gesetzt, daß nach beifolgt transmigranten

corraden. Wir haben ihm übergeben mit kais.  
und kais. rücken, quaten auf kais. rücken. dann  
in diesem st. dann den 14. monat. tag. st.  
im 1734. kais. rücken. st. dann im 2. st.  
dann kais. rücken. st. dann kais. rücken. st.  
dann kais. rücken. st. dann kais. rücken. st.

1734. 14/7

Postz. Bonum, Lieber Johannes: Wir haben aus  
andern wegen dann davorigen transmigranten sub  
datis 7. und 10. die erstatteten gesonderten Br.  
rücken die zu Erwählung dann in sechs sagungen  
Resolutionen mit gar gutem glück, und da es  
die noch erfordert, auf mit gesondern ruck gr.  
sach anordnungen, nicht weniger bei dann ab-  
pflichtung und sonst in allem gebrauchte versichtig.  
mit mit unsern besondern wohlgefallen gesan-  
guädigt vorsehen.

Wir sind nun alle diese sachen vor. und br.  
der absetz vorgefalte herausstellungen, als auf  
conter wegen besorg. und versicherung dann  
wegen freuchheit und andern freudenüssen der.  
Zeit zurück geliebenen einigen forschern, und  
sonstern wegen nichtig. st. und abhandlung dann  
abgeschliffen vermögen, auf freiwilligen zur-  
trag für die mittel. löse, den wir noch in etwas  
verursacht haben, wohlgenachte vorsehungen, und  
war die dann brüsten conter ankommt, guädigt  
approbieren, solches anordnungen auf den guten  
effect gesetzt, daß nach beifolgt transmigranten

Letter from Emperor Karl VI to the Commission for religion in the Salzkammergut region regarding transmigrants,  
14-7-1734, Vienna

3 pages, manuscript on paper; 21,7 x 32,5 cm

State Archives of Upper Austria (OÖLA)

Ref Code: AT-OÖLA, Archiv der Landeshauptmannschaft, Sch. 65, no. 4

# A letter from Emperor Charles VI regarding Protestant deportees

The Reformation of the 16th century remains one of the pivotal events in European history. It heralded two centuries of bitter confrontation between Europe's Catholics and Protestants, fuelling major armed conflicts such as the French Wars of Religion (1562-98) and the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). In many countries it also resulted in the persecution of religious minorities, perhaps most notably the Protestants of France (the Huguenots), many of whom were forced to flee the country.

The document featured here relates to the situation as it stood in Austria in the 1730s. It is a letter from the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles VI (1685-1740), to Johann Franz Freiherrn von Grünthal and Wolf Martin Ehrmann von Falkenau, two of his commissioners for religion. The emperor congratulates them for the job they have done so far in transporting a group of Protestants towards Transylvania. The group numbered 263 individuals, consisting of 47 families, and came from the region of Salzkammergut. The aim was to ensure full adherence to Roman Catholicism within Austria. If the Protestants would not acquiesce to this then they would have to be removed.

In the text, dated 14 July 1734, Charles uses the term 'transmigrants', a simple euphemism for 'deportees'. The group had recently been transported to Klosterneuburg, just to the north of Vienna, and Charles notes the commissioners' 'excellent accomplishment' in achieving this. He then goes on to inform them of his 'deepest contentment' regarding the

matter. From Klosterneuburg the deportees then travelled via Buda (now a part of Budapest; German: Ofen) to Turnișor (Hungarian: Kistorony, German: Neppendorf) in Transylvania (now in Romania).

The deportation of 1734 had certainly not been the first of its kind in the Holy Roman Empire, nor had it been the largest. In 1732, many thousands of Protestants departed from Salzburg following the issuing of an expulsion edict by Prince-Archbishop Leopold Anton von Firmian. A majority of these people went to Prussia, where they were made welcome by King Frederick William I. He directed them to the eastern parts of his territory where they were appointed to resettle lands which had become depopulated following an outbreak of plague. Others went to England, Hanover, and the British colony of Georgia in North America. Some opted to go to the Dutch Republic.

Charles VI's decision to make Transylvania the destination for the 1734 deportees came in large part from a desire to emulate the actions of the Prussian king. Like East Prussia, Transylvania had also suffered from depopulation, in this case due to the many wars with the Ottoman Empire rather than to the plague.

Such expedients, however, were fast becoming a thing of the past in Europe. Freedom of worship would soon become the norm throughout the continent. In Austria this officially came to pass in 1781 when Emperor Joseph II passed an act of religious toleration.

Dom Joseph por Inua de Deos, Rey de Portugal, e dos Algarves, da quem, e da Lem Mar, em Africa Senhor de Guiné, e da Conquista, Navegação, Commercio da Etiopia, Arabia, Peria, e da India &c. Aos Vassallos de todos os Estados dos Meus Reinos, e Senhorios. Saudes. Em Consultas, da Menza do Dezembro do. Lazo, do Conselha geral do Santo Officio da Inquização, e da Menza da Conciencia, e Ordens, Me foi presente: Que havendo a Igreja na sua Primitiva Fundação; no seu successivo progresso; ena propagação dos Fieis, que a ella seccionam; recebido no seu regao, como May Universal, Gentios, e Judeos convertidos; sem distincão alguma, que fizese differentes huos dos outros por huana separação contraria à Cruidade do Christianismo, que he individua por sua Natureza: Sendo os sangue dos Hebreos o mesmo identio sangue dos Apostolos, dos Diáconos, dos Presbitos, e dos Bispos; por Elles ordenados, e Consagrados: Sendo este, sempre o constante, e inalteravel Spirito da mesma Igreja, e da Doutrina, e Disciplina, que delle, e dellas emanaram em todos os Dezentos seculos da sua duração; Sem outras modificações, que não fossem; a deque os Neophitos baptizados depois de adultos, como recentemente convertidos à Fe, se reputavam por Christãos Novos; e por Christãos Velhos os que por muito tempo perseveravam na Fe por Elles professada quando recebiam o Sacramento do Baptismo; para se suspender aos Primeiros a Colhação das Honras, e Dignidades Ecclesiasticas, emquanto não esculiam com a sua firmeza a prezumpção de collarem ao vomito; e para os segundos não só ficarem pela sua perseverança inteiramente habéis nas suas Pessoas para tudo oserido; mas tambem para transmittirem esta Canonica habilitade, e legitimidade a todos os seus Descendentes, que, como Elles viveram namecoma Santa

João de Deus  
Ant. José de Almeida

João de Deus

For publicad a esta Carta de Ley  
na Real Audiencia da Corte e  
26 de Mayo de 1773

Dom João de Deus

Rey da Coroa da Corte e  
na Real Audiencia da Corte e  
26 de Mayo de 1773

Ant. José de Almeida

Ant. José de Almeida

King Joseph's Charter of law to abolish the distinction between Christians, Gentile and Jews, 25-5-1773

3 pages, manuscript on paper; 21,3 x 34,5 cm

Torre do Tombo – The National Archives of Portugal

Ref Code: PT/TT/LO/003/7/038

# Rejecting persecution of Jews in 18th-century Portugal

In May 1773, King Joseph of Portugal passed the law which abolished the distinction between so-called 'old' Christians and 'new' Christians, and put an end to the discrimination of the 'new Christians'. The nomenclature had long been in use, with the term 'new Christians' referring to Jews who had been forced to convert to Christianity in the late 15th century.

For a time in the early 1490s it appeared that Portuguese Jews might escape the kind of discriminatory legislation that was being enacted against their fellow Jews in Spain. When Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain passed an act expelling the Jews in 1492, a significant number of them successfully applied to gain residence in Portugal. For John II of Portugal, this was more about sound economics than selflessly granting succour to an oppressed people, as a delegation of wealthy Spanish Jews reportedly paid him 60,000 cruzados (Portuguese coins of gold or silver) for the privilege of becoming his subjects.

However, in 1496, John's successor, Manuel I, gave into Spanish pressure and ordered the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal. This was a condition of his marriage to Isabella, the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. Although some of the Portuguese Jews were allowed to leave, most had little option but to convert to Christianity. Their status as 'new Christians', while on one level highlighting their change

of religion, was on another level reflective of the popular perception that their conversion was very recent and therefore not to be trusted. This feeling increased over time and contributed directly to the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1536. In due course the idea that there was a fundamental difference between 'new Christians' and 'old Christians' became enshrined in law.

King Joseph's abolition of the legislation in 1773 may seem like the act of a man of conscience and substance. However, in reality he left the business of governing the country to his ministers while he pursued his own private interests. The legislation was in fact the brainchild of his prime minister, Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo, Marquis of Pombal. This was one of many reforms carried out by Pombal during his premiership. Of particular note was his abolition of slavery in Portugal and his reorganisation of the armed forces.

Although the act of 1773 did not technically bring an end to the Inquisition, it remained indicative of the way Portuguese society was heading. The inquisitors now had to be satisfied with prosecuting atheists and those considered to be sexual deviants. The Portuguese parliament finally abolished the Inquisition in 1821.

G M Lgo 2600 U. II

Excmo. Sr. D. V.º Rindelani Su edad 63 años, su País Valenciano Su calidad Cavallero Su salud Robusta Sus servicios, y circunstancias los que expresa.

Tiempo en que empezó à servir los Empleos. Tiempo q. há q. sirve, y quanto en cada Empleo.

Empleos...	Días	Mejes	Años	Empleos.	Años	Mejes	Días
De Cadete...	3.	Febr.	1722	De Cadete...	2.	11.	17.
De Subteniente...	18.	En...	1732	De Subteniente...	3.		16.
De Teniente...	4.	Febr.	1735	De Teniente...	3.		20.
De Ayud. Mayor...	3.	Nov.	1735	De Ayud. Mayor...	6.		14.
De Capitan...	17.	Dic.	1741	De Capitan...	5.		25.
De Com. del 2.º Bat.	12.	Junio	1742	De Com. del 2.º Bat.	12.		20.
De Ten. Coronel...	2.	Julio	1760	De Ten. Coronel...	3.		23.
De Coronel...	25.	abril	1762	De Coronel...	11.		21.
De Brigadier...	16.	En...	1772	De Brigadier...	11.		15.
Total hasta fin de Diciembre de 1774...				52. 11.			

Regimientos donde há servido.

En el de Dragones de Numancia dos años, y en este de Irlanda los restantes.

Campanias, y acciones de Guerra en que se há hallado.

En Oran al tiempo de su conquista desde Junio de 1732, hasta marzo de 1733; En la primera Guerra de Italia desde el año de 1733, hasta el de 1736; En la ultima Guerra de Italia desde el año de 1742, hasta el de 1746; En Ceuta al tiempo que la Plaza estaba atacada por los Infieles desde Junio de 1757, hasta Nov. de 1759, y en toda la ultima Guerra de Portugal: Batallas a la de 21. de Nov. de 1732 y en la de 6 de Febrero de 1733 contra los Infieles a la inmediacion de Oran, La de Vitoria, Campo Santo y Sidones; Sidiou, Baya, Castel novo, Castel del obo, Santolmo, Escaxa, Siracusa, Tortona y Almeyda; Funciones, Abanse del monte de los Galapagos, y recha de los Moros de el, el día despues del desembarco en la Playa de las Aguas, junto à Masalquivir, Reduccion, y toma de la Plaza de Barry, Bloqueo de la Ciudadela de Mesina y su rendicion, Retirar los dias 16. de Junio, y 11. de Agosto de 1744, paso del Rio Magra en el Genovesado, Defensa y Bombardeo de Plasencia, y los dos que huvé en las Boquitas junto à Genova.

Comisiones que del R.º Servicio se fixaron à su cargo.

Ha sido empleado por el Conde de Vex, y por el Marques de Caxis en el año de 1739, para formar los tres Batallones que à la orden de D.º Sebastian de Oliva, pasaron à Cartagena e Indias.



Regiment of Infantry of Ireland. Book of Officers, First Sergeants and Cadets of the regiment, updated to end of 1776, 1774-1776

Unbound book with 100 sheets, handwritten, pre-printed forms on paper; 21,2 x 30,3 cm

Spanish State Archives – General Archive of Simancas

Ref Code: ES.47161.AGS/3.18.-1//SGU, LEG, 2600,2

# Spain's Irish Soldiers: Service records from 1774

The illustrated document comes from a collection of the service records of Irish officers, first sergeants and cadets serving in the Spanish Army in 1774. It relates to a soldier named Vicente Kindelan, who was a brigadier by that time, and whose age is recorded as being 63. As with the other records in the series, the details of his career are set out in a very clear and concise manner in a pre-printed pro forma. Looking at the collection as a whole, we are provided with an invaluable record of the soldiers' names, ages, promotions, regimental affiliations, and the campaigns they fought in.

During the 17th and 18th centuries, thousands of men left Ireland to seek employment as soldiers in the armies of the various states of mainland Europe. The majority of these military migrants were Roman Catholics seeking to remove themselves from a land ruled by the Protestant-dominated governments of Britain and Ireland. Every time the Catholic Irish suffered a significant military reversal, a new wave of migration would take place. This was especially evident following the Desmond rebellion of 1583, Tyrone's rebellion of 1593-1603, the Cromwellian conquest of Ireland (1649-1653), and the Jacobite-Williamite war of 1688-1691.

Another major determinant was the sheer demand that existed for soldiers at that time. With the advent of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) ever larger armies were coming into existence. And in

due course, absolutist leaders such as Louis XIV of France and Frederick II of Prussia sought to satisfy their martial obsessions by constructing (and using) military formations on a grand scale.

Although the Irish were to be found in the armed forces of a number of European countries, they gravitated towards those of Catholic France and Spain. In fact, three of the Irish infantry regiments which went on to become a mainstay of the Spanish army during the 18th century, actually transferred over from French service between the years 1709 and 1715. They were known as the Irlandia, Ultonia, and Hibernia regiments. Spain's Irish soldiers fought not only on the Iberian Peninsula itself, but also in Flanders, Italy, North Africa and the Americas.

Vicente Kindelan's experiences can therefore be regarded as being broadly similar to those of several generations of Irishmen who found employment in the armies of Spain. In addition, two of Kindelan's sons went on to enjoy distinguished military careers. His eldest son, Sebastian, became a colonel in the Spanish army and provisional governor of the Spanish colony of Cuba. Another son, Juan, also entered Spanish military service and commanded one of the regiments sent to join Napoleon Bonaparte's Grande Armée during the years 1809-1813. For many talented Irishmen, Spain offered opportunities that may not have arisen in their native country.

Tripoli di Barbaria. Li 25 di Junio del 1792  
 Carissima Madre con la presente ho l'occasione di donotinnia  
 e mia ottima e bona salute e ho spero in Dio Benedetto che  
 Voi siete il simile unieni con li miei fratelli et coniate eui prego  
 la vostra santa Benedizione E chassi in Faro sapere la mia  
 cattiva sorte e malo destino che sopra la nostra partese  
 sa sic Malta siamo nauicati ogni 5 di 4 giorni che siamo  
 nauicati siamo andati siamo andati sopra ha cilon sigli alla  
 sira la mattina siamo salpati per andare in Jaguiri couento  
 ponenti li rice temporale nel gorno siamo quattro uolte negati  
 sotto aqua e Dio tornato a saluare ala sira e calare il sole  
 e iama gia oni uno prega la sua giuina misericordia ipossimo la madonna jora  
 e oni uno prega per corno laltro e ueni un colpo di mare jolia la madonna  
 con il manto e la madonna di lampicora che ci ha mandata capitana Michele  
 li e Botasimo uino laqua schioppi Trombone pistoli saboli balli  
 porsuli Remi Robba e iuestire tutto in Mare e Ricomaria  
 sima la prima a Dio e siamo cori Li Bona serua una ora auanti la  
 mera notti e assima uedesimo la terra di lagunara 12 mila tria  
 liuanti Frisoli e iano lontani tri ho quattro milia e assimo  
 fondo appena si dar fondo ci ueni sue colpi di mare che  
 quanto l'uesimo siamo stati morti sono caricati e a noi ano  
 Riutato la Galietta e tutta la Gente grida misericordia in  
 mare io uote di e chassi mi uolena montare su cauallo su  
 la schina di la galietta ueni oue colpi di mare uno serio laltro  
 mi fanno disparire la Galietta non mi sento altro che  
 laueci diligenti miue tutto e chassi mi mola per la tora  
 terra e mi som stato 5 ore in mare mi i Bandonai per nega  
 in mare quattro uolte perro sempre ci auuo uina core la  
 madonna di carmeno all'ultima uolta che gia miera  
 i Bandonato e senza frato mi ditto ho Madonna del  
 carmeno

Letters of Pietro Stellini to his mother and his wife, 25–6–1792

4 pages of a volume, manuscript on paper; 35 x 26,5 cm

Notarial Archives of Malta

Ref Code: NAV Verbalì, 1791: Stellini

# The Shipwrecked Corsair

Life could be hard and dangerous for a corsair operating in the Mediterranean Sea during the 18th century. The letters of the Maltese mariner Pietro Stellini offer us a rare glimpse into a world somewhat removed from that associated with swashbuckling Hollywood pirates played by the likes of Errol Flynn and Burt Lancaster.

The correspondence dates from 25 June 1792 and relates to a disastrous voyage that Stellini undertook in a small vessel (a galiot) commanded by Captain Beneditto Valentini. In the first of the two letters Stellini writes to his mother in Malta, providing her with details of the ship's journey and what transpired.

He describes how the vessel started to struggle in a tempest just off the coast of Tunisia between Djerba and Sfax:

'...on four separate occasions, we got completely overwhelmed by waves, but thank God we survived and by sunset everyone prayed for his miserable soul.'

The crew proceeded to lighten the load of the ship:

'barrels of wine and water, blunderbusses, pistols, swords, cannon balls, oars, clothes, everything was thrown into the sea as we recommended our souls to God once more.'

Eventually, not far off the port of Tripoli, the vessel was hit by two large waves whereupon it overturned and sank. Stellini recorded the tragic result:

'...I could only hear the voices and screams of my dying shipmates. I could do nothing. I tried then to swim to shore...'

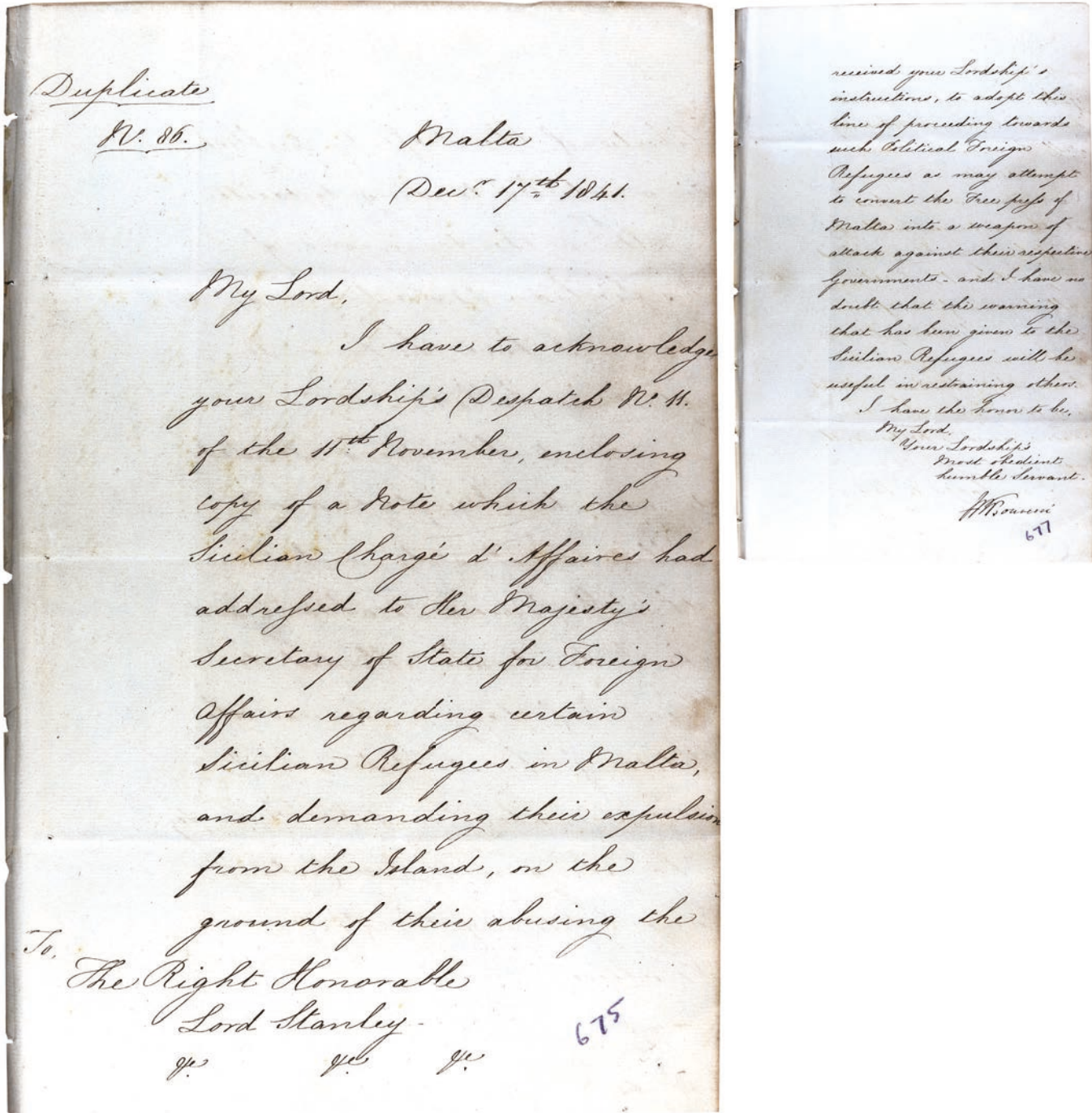
'...I gave myself up for dead when suddenly a wave hit me and washed me onto the shore and there I lay with only my shirt, dying of cold. In the morning I saw the galleot which had been washed ashore along with our dead sailors. Only seven of us survived, the rest never made it.'

Stellini concludes by noting that although he is being held captive by the ruler of Tripoli, Ali I of the Karamanli dynasty, 'it is better to be a slave than dead like the others'.

The second letter is addressed to Stellini's wife, and reveals that the marriage had been under a great strain for some time. His sour opening sentence speaks volumes:

'I give you the news you have always wished for me, that is [when you] always cursed that I would fall a slave or perish in the sea.'

Pietro Stellini's letters survive in the Notarial Archives of Malta because they were used by both his mother and his wife as part of legal procedures to lay claim to spoils due to him from an earlier voyage. Beyond that, they remain as important pieces of testimony, providing an insight into the uncertainties associated with life on the margins of pre-modern society. At the same time, they give a detailed and very immediate account of the kind of misfortune that many mariners suffered during the Age of Sail.



Request by the Sicilian Government to expel refugees allegedly abusing the freedom of the press, 17-12-1841, Malta

5 pages of a volume, manuscript on paper; 20 x 31,5 cm

The National Archives of Malta

Ref Code: GOV 1/2/19

# Italian political refugees in Malta during the *Risorgimento* years

A refugee's life has always been a tough one, particularly for those who have chosen to remain politically active in exile.

This document is a duplicate copy of a dispatch sent by the British Governor of Malta, Sir Henry Bouverie, to the Colonial Secretary, Edward, Lord Stanley in December 1841. He informs Stanley that a Sicilian official has written to the British foreign secretary about certain Sicilian refugees in Malta, demanding:

'their expulsion from the island, on the ground of their abusing the liberty of the press by publishing articles tending to excite revolt in the dominions of his Sicilian Majesty.'

Stanley notes that the Sicilian authorities have singled out two particular newspapers as being worthy of censure: the *Aristide*, edited by a Mr Costanzo, and *Il Corriere Maltese*, jointly edited by Costanzo, and Messrs. Tornabene and Fernandez.

Malta, due to its proximity to the Italian states, became an important refuge for a number of Italian political thinkers and revolutionaries during the years when the *Risorgimento* was active. This movement rose as a reaction to Austrian dominance over the individual Italian states following the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. It encompassed the efforts of a range of revolutionary groups aiming to bring about a united Italy. Costanzo, Tornabene and Fernandez, through their particular efforts, had fallen foul of the Kingdom of the

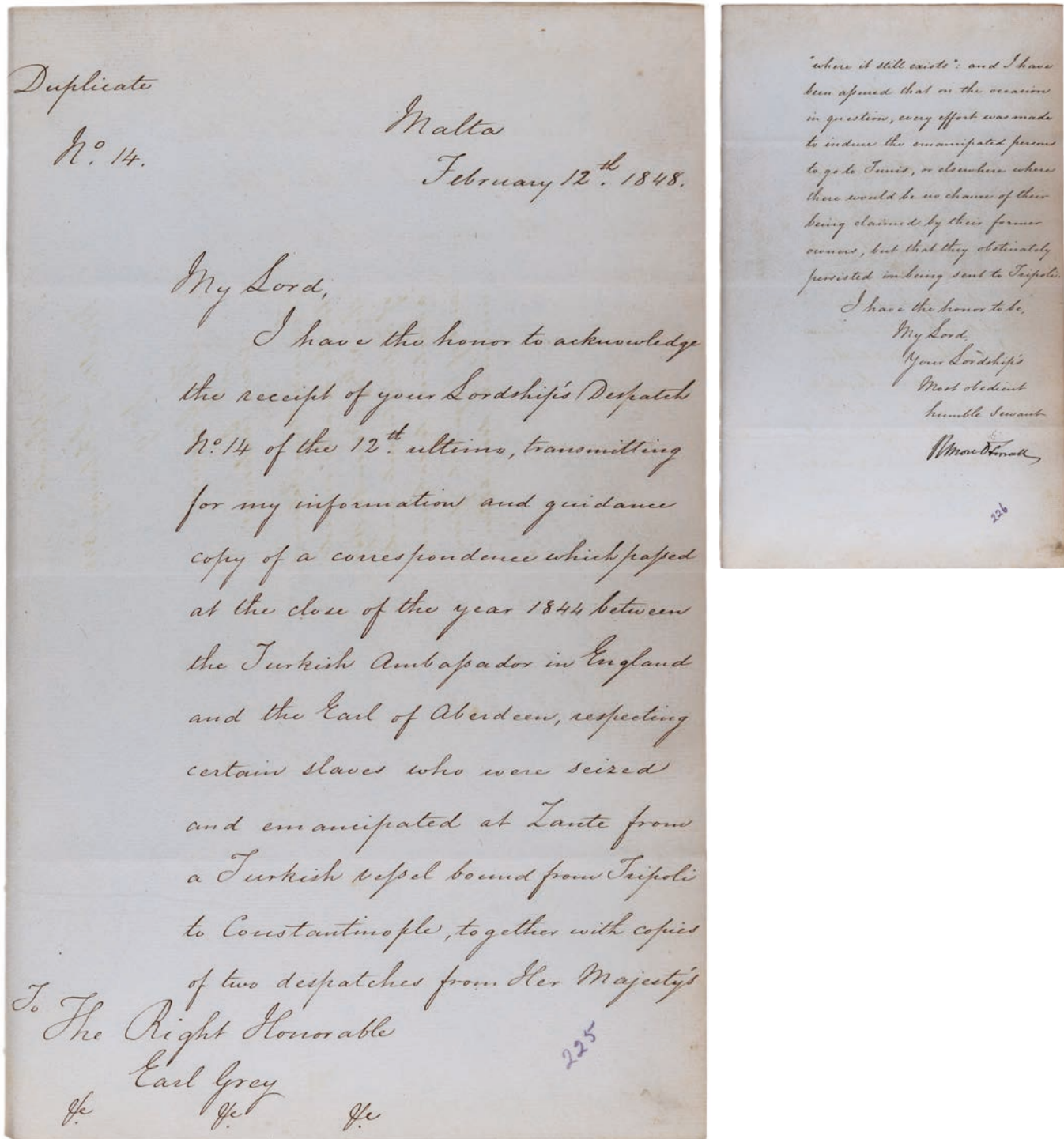
Two Sicilies, ruled at the time by Ferdinand II of the Bourbon dynasty. The kingdom itself was a large one, comprising the island of Sicily as well as much of southern Italy.

In the dispatch, Bouverie goes on to state that Costanzo had relocated to Algiers some months previously, and that Tornabene and Fernandez have been warned that:

'if they shall hereafter publish, in any shape, any writing tending to bring about revolt or discontent in the dominions of His Sicilian Majesty, or write anything to cause a just complaint to be made by that government, that they will be instantly ordered to quit Malta.'

Bouverie adds that he is inclined to believe that Tornabene and Fernandez will now desist from publishing political works, not least because of the fact that their 'newspaper ceased a twelvemonth ago'. He concludes, 'I am happy to have received your Lordship's instructions to adopt this line of proceeding towards such political foreign refugees as may attempt to convert the free press of Malta into a weapon of attack against their respective governments, and I have no doubt that the warning that has been given to the Sicilian refugees will be useful in restraining others.'

As it turned out, the years of repression in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies were not to last much longer. The regime was toppled by the forces of Giuseppe Garibaldi in 1860, and by 1870 the full unification of Italy had been achieved.



Dispatch from the Governor of Malta to the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, 12-2-1848, Malta

4 pages of a volume, manuscript on paper; 20 x 31,5 cm

The National Archives of Malta

Ref Code: GOV 1/2/23

# The Governor's Dispatch: Slavery in the Mediterranean Sea

The Mediterranean World has always been a melting pot of peoples, cultures and ideas. Connecting Europe, Africa and Asia, it has long acted as a trade route for goods of all kinds. This includes the pernicious and highly lucrative slave trade, a practice that was officially permitted in some countries until well into the 20th century.

The slave trade in the Mediterranean was arguably at its most notorious during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, when the Ottoman Empire, centred on modern-day Turkey, was at the height of its power, and North African ports such as Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, along the so-called Barbary Coast, amassed great riches from the sale of human beings. By the mid-19th century active opposition from the USA and some European nations had severely limited such enterprises, restricting it to an ever-decreasing number of locales. However, as the illustrated document testifies, Mediterranean-based slavery still existed into the 1840s.

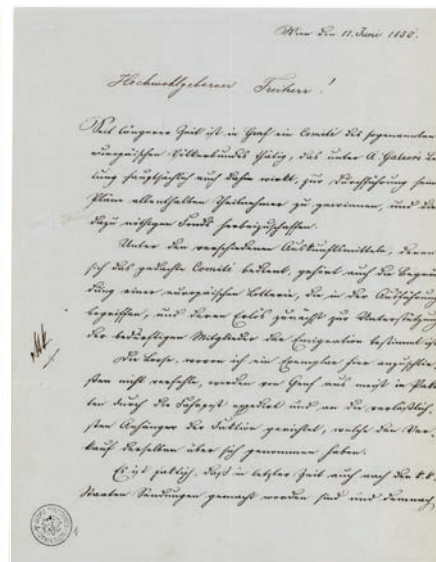
The document is a duplicate copy of a letter sent by the British Governor of Malta, Richard More O'Ferrall to the Colonial Secretary, Henry Grey, 3rd Earl Grey, on 12 February 1848. In it, O'Ferrall acknowledges the receipt of dispatches that Grey has issued to him regarding some former slaves recently shipped from Malta to Tripoli. In 1844 a Turkish vessel bound from

Tripoli to Istanbul (Constantinople at the time) was seized by the British at the Greek island of Zakynthos (Zante at the time) and twelve slaves (eleven women and one man) were duly emancipated at that time. However, having been sent from Zakynthos to Malta, they 'were allowed to return to Tripoli on the 21st of October last [1847] in the English schooner "Susan"'.

While acknowledging all of this, O'Ferrall then proceeds to explain what has transpired:

'I shall be guided by the opinion expressed to your Lordship by Viscount Palmerston [the foreign secretary] "that it is very desirable that any persons who may in future be similarly situated, should be sent rather to Tunis where slavery is abolished than to Tripoli where it still exists": and I have been assured that on the occasion in question, every effort was made to induce the emancipated persons to go to Tunis, or elsewhere where there would be no chance of their being claimed by their former owners, but that they obstinately persisted in being sent to Tripoli.'

We do not know why the twelve emancipated slaves chose this dangerous course of action. Like so many millions of others in this position, their ultimate fate remains unknown to us.



A report of Minister of the Interior Alexander von Bach about lottery in Geneva to support emigrants from Germany, France, Italy, Poland and Hungary with enclosed lottery ticket, 11–6–1850, Vienna

1 folder, 4 pages, paper, blackletter handwriting: 2 pages 27,0 x 21,1 cm; 1 page 35,4 x 21,8 cm;  
printed document: 1 page 10,6 x 8,9 cm

National Archives of the Czech Republic

Ref Code: CZ NA, ČG-PGT, L 23, 1850

# Lotteries for Refugees: Alexander von Bach's report of 1850

A series of revolutions broke out across much of Europe in 1848. These were driven by a range of issues: a popular desire for greater participation in government, a decline in social conditions following the Industrial Revolution, widespread hunger due to a series of failed harvests, and a growing nationalism in the territories of central and southern Europe. The insurrections shook many regimes to their core, most notably those of France, Germany and Austria. But it did not last; by the end of the following year, the conservative establishment had been restored in most areas.

Alexander von Bach's report of 11 June 1850 relates to the situation in Austria. The revolutions in the Habsburg lands had been serious and wide-ranging. At one point, the emperor and the governing authorities fled Vienna, and their grip on power was only fully restored when the army retook the city in late October 1848. In Hungary a nationalist uprising broke out, and military aid from Russia was required to put it down.

Bach and his immediate superior, Felix, Prince zu Schwarzenberg, were the two statesmen who subsequently oversaw the implementation of a neo-absolutist regime in Austria. Bach's report shows his antipathy towards Europe's revolutionaries. Many had found refuge in Switzerland, and had been supported there by the sales of tickets from a specially-organised lottery. Bach, like other neo-absolutist European ministers, was keen to prevent the spread of this

money-raising scheme to other countries. The report underlines that such a scheme had reached Austria, and that everything possible must be done to observe and to hinder the activities of those responsible.

Such an authoritarian directive chimed well with the regime's policy in the wake of the revolutions. In December 1848, Schwarzenberg oversaw the replacement of the weak emperor Ferdinand I with the young and pliable Francis Joseph I. He also dissolved a constitutional convention which had been established earlier that year. When Schwarzenberg died in 1852, Bach took over as the main implementer of Austrian neo-absolutism. Key reactionary measures included restrictions on the freedom of the press, the abandonment of public trials and trials by jury, an increase in surveillance, and the restoration of police-directed corporal punishment. Alongside this, the Roman Catholic Church was granted new powers of censorship as well as a supervisory role with regards to education.

While the revolutionaries of 1848 largely failed to secure their objectives, the freedoms which they fought for were secured over time. Meanwhile, the lotteries highlighted in Bach's report embodied one of mankind's nobler aspects: the desire to stand in solidarity with those seeking to build a progressive, fairer society.



*landing at Malta*

List of Persons embarked in H.M.S. "Marlborough" on  
the 7th., 8th. and 9th April  
oooooooooooooooooooooooooooo

Her Imperial Majesty The Empress Marie Feodorovna of Russia. ✓  
The Grand Duke Nicholas.  
and the Grand Duchess Anastasia.  
The Grand Duke Peter  
and the Grand Duchess Militza.  
The Grand Duchess Xenia. ✓  
Prince Roman.  
Princess Marina.  
Prince Feodar. ✓  
Prince Nikita. ✓  
Prince Dmitri. ✓  
Prince Rostislav. ✓  
Prince Vassili. ✓  
Prince Yousouppoff and Princess Yousouppoff (Senoir). ✓  
Princess (Olga) Orloff. ✓  
Prince Orloff and Princess Nadeisgda Orloff, and child Princess Iri  
Prince Yousouppoff and Princess Yousouppoff (Junior) and child Princess  
Irina.  
Princess Dolgorouki, Prince Dolgorouki (son), and Child (neice)  
Princess Olga, and Child Princess Dolgorouki.  
Princess Obolensky. ✓  
Prince Viasemsky and Princess Viasemsky. ✓  
The Countess Mengden. ✓  
Mlle. Evreinoff. ✓  
Colonel Prince Obeliani. ✓  
The Count Tyskiewich and Countess Tyskiewich.  
Baron Staal and the Baroness Staal, and Daughter, Baroness Marie Sta  
General Chatelaine, Mme Chatelaine and child. ✓  
General Foguel. ✓  
M. Boldyreff.  
Dr. Malama.  
Count Fierson. ✓  
Nurses, Maids and Men Servants in Attendance.  
With Her Majesty... Mlle Greenvelt. ✓  
Maids. Vassielavna, Vassielevna. ✓  
Men. Uyaes, Cossacks. Yastchick and Polikoff. ✓  
With the Grand Duke Nicholas. Maids. Michaelonka, Michaelonka, Grussberg.  
Nicholas. Men. Smirnoff, Tataveroff.  
With The Grand Duchess Xenia. Nurse (English) Miss Coster.  
Maids. Pavloff, Balousieva, Alfananowa, Pavlova. ✓  
Sobelora. ✓  
Man. Kalomina. ✓  
With The Grand Duke Peter. Maids. Youpkova, Morat, Kouptsova, Pesarevski,  
Froloff, Man. Froloff.  
With Prince Yousouppoff. Nurse. (English) Miss Henton. and Maid. ✓  
Maids. Lata and Leviton.  
Men. Tessfay, Harpin, Pierreoff. ✓  
With Princess Orloff. Governess (English) Miss Turk. ✓  
Maids. Antoninova, Shouberina, Prakafta. ✓  
With The Ladies in Waiting. Maids. Apsa, Ozer, and Adele. ✓  
With Princess Dolgorouki. Coverness (English) Miss King. ✓  
Maid Louise. ✓  
Nurse (English) Radkins. ✓  
Man. Ch uriloff. ✓

P. T. O.

# By Battleship to Malta: Rescuing the Romanovs in 1919

The execution of Tsar Nicholas II and his immediate family in the early hours of 17 July 1918 brought a new and bloody chapter to the Russian revolution. The fate of the Tsar had been unclear in the aftermath of the revolution in 1917. Nicholas II abdicated the throne in March whereupon arrangements were sought for his exile to another country. When this did not come to pass, the Tsar was increasingly at the mercy of the Bolsheviks, who gained control of the Russian government through the October Revolution of 1917.

The killings certainly represented a grave threat for members of the extended Romanov royal family who were still at large. The Russian Civil War was in full swing, pitting the Red Army forces of the newly-installed communist state against those of the anti-communist White Movement. As the Red Army edged towards victory, the only option that remained for the Romanovs was to escape into exile.

The document shown here bears witness to their plight. It is part of a pratique deposition submitted by Captain Charles D. Johnson of the British battleship Marlborough upon the arrival of that vessel in Malta harbour on 20 April 1919. A pratique was the clearance required in order for a ship to enter port facilities. In this

case we see the inclusion of a list detailing the various members of the Romanov family and their servants who embarked on the Marlborough in order to escape from Russia. Indeed, the Admiralty had dispatched the ship to the Crimea with that specific objective in mind.

Prominent at the top of the list is the Empress Maria Fyodorovna, the mother of Nicholas II. Also, of note is Maria's fourth child, the Grand Duchess Xenia Alexandrovna, and a number of Xenia's own children: princes Feodor, Nikita, Dmitri, Rostislav, and Vasili. Prince Feliks Yusupov (15th on the list, along with his family) was one of the conspirators who killed Grigori Rasputin in 1916; he reportedly boasted about this act during the voyage from Crimea to Malta. The ticks on the list identify those individuals confirmed as having arrived in Malta. The passengers with lines drawn through their names were among those who disembarked at Istanbul (Constantinople at the time) on the way.

The Romanovs were by no means alone in their desire to flee from the communist regime. Later that same week another ship arrived at Malta carrying over 500 men, women and children, many of whom were White Russian refugees. They would be joined by many hundreds of thousands of others within the space of a few years.

Pratique Deposition to allow HMS Marlborough to enter Malta's Harbour, 20–4–1919, Malta

3 pages, typewriter, paper; 20 x 32 cm

National Archives of Malta

Ref Code: NAM/CUS/18/1911



Trotsky and wife; Guard, 09–1936, Sundby farm in Hurum (Norway)

2 black and white photos, paper; 6,7 x 10,8 cm

Museum of Justice

Ref Code: NRMF.06102

# Trotsky in Exile: The Sojourn in Norway

It appears that Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) was constantly on the move. His early years as a Russian revolutionary attracted notoriety in his homeland and he found it hard to establish a settled base of operations. During the first two decades of the 20th century he lived in (or passed through) England, France, Austria, Switzerland, Spain and the U.S.A.

His status as one of the leading figures of the October Revolution of 1917, as well as head of the Red Army during the subsequent Russian Civil War (1918-20), should have brought some stability to his life. However, the breakdown of relations between Trotsky and the emerging leader of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin, eventually resulted in permanent exile. He set himself up in Turkey in 1929 and then moved to France in 1933. Finally, in 1935, he found himself in Norway after having successfully obtained permission to reside there.

In the photograph we see Trotsky and his wife, Natalia Sedova, standing in a farmyard setting. They seem quite at ease with their circumstances, which is surprising given they were under house arrest at the time.

Upon arrival in Norway, Trotsky and Sedova had become guests of the left-wing politician Konrad Knudsen in his home at Norderhov (now part of Hønefoss). At first things went well, with Trotsky being left largely to his own devices. However, by the summer

of 1936 Trotsky's presence in the country had become a matter of heated political debate. Opposition from Vidkun Quisling's far-right party Nasjonal Samling did much to stoke up an already potentially explosive situation, particularly when several members of the party's paramilitary wing carried out a burglary at the Norderhov property and carried away some of Trotsky's papers.

The papers were deemed by some to be evidence of Trotsky's continued interest in subversive political activity. His name then made international headlines when the Soviet Press Agency (TASS) announced the discovery of an anti-Stalinist plot in which Trotsky had allegedly taken a leading role. The Norwegian government proceeded to order Trotsky's arrest whereupon he was transferred to Sundby Farm, near Hurum (outside of Oslo), where the photograph was taken. Trotsky and Sedova were forced to remain indoors for much of their time there, only being allowed outside for a couple of hours a day.

Eventually, in December 1936, the couple were deported from Norway, and set sail in a Norwegian oil tanker for Mexico. It was to be Trotsky's final destination. On 20 August 1940 he was assaulted in his Mexican home by the NKVD agent Ramón Mercader and died of his injuries the next day. Up to the end he remained highly critical of the treatment he had received from the Norwegian authorities during his time there.



Soldiers of the Dabrowski Battalion of the 150th International Brigade at the funeral of General Paul Lukács, 12–6–1937

1 black and white photo; 21,0 x 29,7 cm

Spanish State Archives – Historical Memory Documentary Centre

Ref Code: ES.37274.CDMH/10.69.3.-1// FOTOGRAFÍAS\_EMIL\_VEDIN, 434

# International Soldiers of the Spanish Civil War

When the Spanish Civil War broke out during the summer of 1936, it quickly took on an international dimension. Although the major European powers – France, Britain, Germany, Italy and the Soviet Union – signed a non-intervention agreement, it wasn't long before this was violated. Both Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy sent troops and military equipment to aid Spain's Nationalists, while the Soviet Union sent supplies to the Republican government. Moreover, tens of thousands of foreign volunteers joined up on the Republican side, in what for many of them was a key fight against fascism.

The volunteers were formed into what became known as the International Brigades. These were administered from Paris by the Comintern, the Soviet-controlled body dedicated to overseeing the communist movement at an international level. Seven brigades were created during the course of the war, each one subdivided into battalions based on nationality. The men of the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, for example, hailed from the United States of America, while those of the Dabrowski Battalion were exiled Poles who had latterly been working as miners in France and Belgium.

Some of the men of the Dabrowski Battalion can be seen pictured here in the photograph. They are in Valencia attending the funeral of General Paul Lukács, who had been killed during the failed Republican offensive at Huesca in mid-June 1937. Lukács' real name was Béla Frankl, and he was a writer, of

Hungarian origin, as well as a soldier. He was initially assigned to the XII International Brigade – of which the Dabrowski Battalion had been a part – before going on to command the 45th Division. He was evidently a well-respected and much beloved figure, judging by the images here.

The photographer, Emilio Rosenstein, was himself a figure of some note. He was a Polish exile who had studied medicine in France before joining the International brigades when the civil war broke out. He became an army doctor, first of all with the Dabrowski battalion, and then later with the armoured units attached to the International Brigades.

Overall, the Brigades performed well for the Republican side during the Spanish Civil War. However, following the first great flurry of recruitment in 1936, the intake of manpower steadily decreased. The subsequent wastage of men, due to death or injury in action, or to desertion, created a gap in the ranks that was generally filled with native Spaniards.

Prime minister Juan Negrín decided to disband the International Brigades in 1938 in order to curry political favour with the French and British governments. On 15 November 1938, the brigades took part in a grand farewell parade in Barcelona. Just over four months later, the victorious Nationalist troops of General Francisco Franco marched into Madrid and the war was over.



The Norwegian writer Nordahl Grieg with his compatriot, the war correspondent Gerda Grepp, and the Danish poet Sigvard Lund in Madrid's Plaza del Ángel during the sessions of the II International Congress of Writers for the Defence of Culture, 5-7-1937 – 8-7-1937, Madrid

1 negative photo; 23,2 x 16,6 cm

Spanish State Archives – Historical Memory Documentary Centre

Ref Code: ES.37274.CDMH/10.69.13.-1//FOTOGRAFÍAS\_ZÚÑIGA,NEG.,SOBRE,6,10

# In Defence of Culture: Scandinavian writers in civil-war Spain

Archival photographs have the power to convey a sense of time, place and urgency. This picture is a case in point. It shows the Norwegian writers Gerda Grepp and Nordahl Grieg, along with the Danish translator Sigvard Lund (clutching a satchel), in front of the Reina Victoria Hotel in Madrid's Plaza del Ángel. Having recently arrived in the capital from Valencia, they appear to be in a rush, and are soliciting directions from a Spanish Republican official. It is early July 1937, and they are in Madrid to attend the Second International Congress of Writers in Defence of Culture.

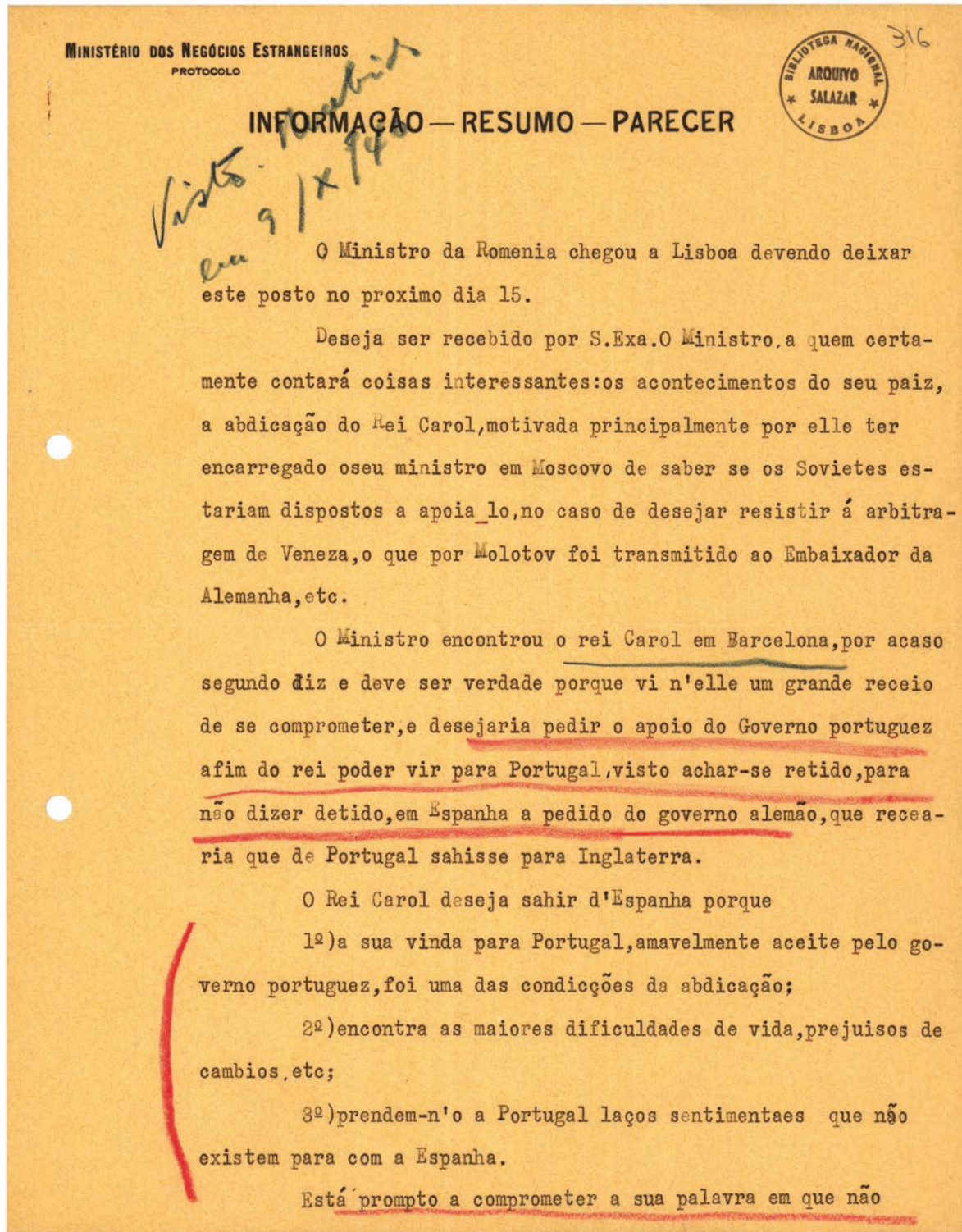
The First International Congress had taken place in Paris in 1935. It represented an attempt by left-wing writers and intellectuals to show an international united front against the spread of fascism, a matter of increasing concern following the rise to power of Hitler and the German Nazi Party in 1933. Notable attendees at the Congress included Thomas Mann, Maxim Gorky, Aldous Huxley and George Bernard Shaw.

Spain had quickly become a focal point for such efforts following the uprising against the Second Republic in 1936. The Second International Congress took place in July 1937 in four separate cities: Valencia (4 July), Madrid (5-8 July), Barcelona (11

July) and Paris (16-17 July). 238 delegates attended, some from countries which were actively supporting the Spanish Republic, and others from countries – such as Norway and Denmark – which had taken a neutral position.

Many writers also took a very active role in the Spanish Civil War itself. Grepp and Grieg joined with other Scandinavian writers in organising the delivery of aid to the Republicans, and they also established a hospital in Alcoy, Alicante. Grepp was particularly active as a correspondent during the course of the conflict, and eventually had to be invalided back to Norway due to ill health. She died of tuberculosis in August 1940. Grieg's anti-fascist efforts carried over into the Second World War, and when German forces occupied Norway in 1940, he, like many other Norwegians, went into exile in Britain. He was killed in early December 1943 while taking part in a bombing raid over Berlin.

The photograph here shows three individuals with a great passion for their cause. They are pictured here in solidarity with each other, and all those who supported the elected government of Spain during the civil war of 1936-39.



Former King Carol II of Romania - Exile in Portugal, 1940-1941, 1944

24 pages; typewriter, paper; 21,5 x 27,0 cm

Torre do Tombo – National Archives of Portugal

Ref Code: PT/TT/AOS/D-J/8/2/18

# Abdication and Exile: Carol II of Romania's escape to Portugal

On 6 September 1940, King Carol II of Romania abdicated the throne of Romania in favour of his young son, Michael. In large part, he had been the victim of the fluid political situation that developed in Europe over the course of the opening year of the Second World War.

Germany's non-aggression pact with the Soviets in August 1939 left Romania without effective support from any of the Great Powers, as well as at the mercy of her opportunistic neighbours. Between June and September 1940 Romania lost the territories of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina to the Soviet Union, northern Transylvania to Hungary, and southern Dobruja to Bulgaria. Following these disasters, Carol's position was deemed to be untenable.

Carol departed by train with his mistress, Magda Lupescu, and a small entourage, en route to Portugal. The destination had been settled upon as part of the abdication agreement. Progress was good through Yugoslavia, Switzerland and Vichy France, but a major problem emerged at the Spanish border. Carol received the news that the Romanian authorities had altered the conditions of exile, deciding that the ex-king should now reside in Spain instead. The theory was that his movements would be more easily observed and controlled in Axis-aligned Spain, so Carol was accommodated at a small seaside resort near Barcelona before being transferred to a hotel in Seville.

A contemporary dispatch from the papers of the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs is illustrated

here. It outlines Carol's situation and notes that he has in effect been detained in Spain at the behest of the German Government, 'who fear he would leave Portugal for England'. Carol has expressed his desire to leave Spain, stressing (among other things) the sentimental ties he has with Portugal, his difficulties in Spain, and the terms of the original abdication agreement.

His escape, when it came, was clever and simple. In early 1941 the Spanish authorities permitted him and Magda to take lengthy car drives together, often over the course of an entire day. Carol duly built up a detailed picture of the road network to the west of Seville, while at the same time establishing a daily pattern of managing to outdistance the Spanish police car which had been designated to escort him. Finally, he just drove to the Portuguese border and managed to gain entry.

He was far from alone in seeking refuge in Portugal at this time. Following the German military successes of 1940 thousands of individuals made their way to Portugal, either with a view to staying there or obtaining a visa for travel to America. The wealthier among them, including exiled royal personages such as Carol and Magda, made their way to the coastal municipality of Cascais, and in particular to the resort of Estoril. They were certainly refugees of a kind, albeit their experiences were a far cry from less privileged people who found themselves in exile.

[illegible]

Passport registration book, 6-1941 – 5-1942

1 bound volume; handwritten forms, paper; 21,5 x 32 cm

Torre do Tombo – National Archives of Portugal

Ref Code: PT/ADLSB/AC/GCL/H-D/002/00022

# The registration of Jean Moulin's visa

One will occasionally come across famous names when viewing sources such as passport registration books. In this Portuguese volume covering the June 1941 – May 1942 period we see, at number 20623, the visa registration of Joseph Mercier. At the head of the page it is noted that the month is September 1941. 'Joseph Mercier' was in fact the assumed name of Jean Moulin, one of the key members of the French resistance movement.

When Hitler's armies invaded France in May 1940, Moulin was prefect (state's representative) of the Eure-et-Loir department. The Germans arrested him on 17 June for refusing to sign a document which falsely claimed that French soldiers had committed atrocities against civilians in the La Taye region. Sometime after his release the collaborationist Vichy government dismissed him from his position, whereupon he joined the French Resistance.

In September 1941 he made his way to London, travelling via neutral Spain and Portugal. The entry for him in the Portuguese passport registration book is evidence for that part of his journey. When Moulin reached Britain, the Free French leader, Charles de

Gaulle, gave him the task of unifying the numerous resistance groups, and in January 1942 he was parachuted into France to bring this into effect. In February 1942 he returned to London where he was given a leading role in the development of the Council of National Resistance (CNR). He was back in France some weeks later where he went on to chair the first meeting of the group in Paris in May 1943. The following month his luck ran out. The Gestapo arrested him and sent him to Montluc Prison, Lyon, where he was tortured by Klaus Barbie, the infamous 'butcher of Lyon'. He died while being transferred to Germany by train.

Jean Moulin is much honoured in his native land. In schools he is venerated as a great patriot; indeed, many educational establishments across the country have been named after him, as has the museum to the French Resistance in Paris. Many memorials and monuments have also been dedicated to his memory in numerous locations, most notably in Lyon, where he was imprisoned, and Metz, near where he is believed to have died. Perhaps most poignant is that at the Pantheon in Paris, where his ashes were interred in 1964.

Caixa Postal N.º 305  
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Telegramas: "ISMAILIS"

32

**Conselho Ismailia de Sua Alteza Agakhan**

Avenida Luciano Cordeiro n.º 75

Ref. N.º

**BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL  
ARQUIVO  
SALAZAR  
LISBOA**

*Lourenço Marques, 10 de Setembro de 1953*

Excelsência.,

Em nome da Comunidade Esmailita que represento, tenho a honra e satisfação de trazer ao conhecimento e apreciação de V.Excelsência, a transcrição da carta que, nesta data, endereçamos ao Excelentíssimo Senhor Governador Geral da Província de Moçambique, aproveitando a estada de Sua Excelsência em Lisboa, como segue:

"Eu de todos nós, residentes de Moçambique, sobejamente conhecido o muito carinho e amor que devota a esta nossa querida Província, e, por isso, em representação da Comunidade Ismailita, me atrevo a importunar V.Excelsência, embora não ignore que lhe não sobrar tempo para cuidar dos Altos Interesses da Nação.

"O motivo porque ousei em nome da nossa Comunidade, vir até V.Excelsência, já é do vosso conhecimento, assim como a grande importância que para nós representa.

"Senhor Governador. Há já quasi um século que vivemos nesta Província muito querida. Aqui nasceram os nossos filhos, netos e bisnetos. Aqui nos sentimos felizes sob a protecção da Bandeira de Portugal. Aqui trabalhamos afanosamente e ordeiramente sem nunca regatearmos a nossa quota parte para o Bem, Grandeza e Progresso de Moçambique, respeitando e acatando as Leis e as Instituições.

"Mas, Excelsência, enquanto que os nossos descendentes num total de 766 indivíduos de ambos os sexos, aqui registados, têm o orgulho de ser Portugueses, os que vieram da Índia, hoje 295 indivíduos de ambos os sexos existentes, continuam a ser considerados estrangeiros. E por isso, que pedimos a V.Excelsência, como grande e sempre pronto defensor das causas justas, que se digne interceder por nós, junto do Governo da Nação, para que possamos naturalizar-nos Portugueses, com dispensa de apresentação de toda a documentação que a Lei exige, em virtude de tal apresentação se tornar praticamente impossível, para a maioria dos membros da nossa Comunidade, em consequência do desdobramento da Índia, onde, por afinidades com a religião mahometana são, os referidos membros, considerados cidadãos do Paquistão.

"Em Agosto de 1951, o signatário, recomendado pelo nosso Chefe Espiritual, Sua Alteza Agakhan, teve a subida honra de ser recebido pelo Excelentíssimo e Ilustríssimo Senhor Presidente do Conselho, a quem verbalmente expoz a situação na sua exacta realidade.

"Sua Excelsência o Senhor Presidente do Conselho dignou-se prometer tratar do assunto e dele dar noticia por intermédio de V.Excelsência, Senhor Governador Geral de Moçambique, mas como até à presente data nada sabemos de positivo, e dada a sua importância no que representa para nós, é que ousei ainda, solicitar o Alto Patrocínio de V.Excelsência, para dentro do escasso tempo de que dispõe se dignar lembrar a nossa pretensão.

"Com os sinceros votos de profundo reconhecimento, em meu nome e no da Comunidade Ismailita de Moçambique, respeitosamente me subscrevo."

Caixa Postal N.º 305  
Telefone N.º

Telegramas: "ISMAILIS"

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**Conselho Ismailia de Sua Alteza Agakhan**

Avenida Luciano Cordeiro n.º 75

Ref. N.º

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*Lourenço Marques, 10 de Setembro de 1953*

Assim exposto, deixo de confiança ao esclarecido escripto de V.Excelsência, Senhor Presidente, que esta carta, que traduz os anseios dos nossos corações, será digna da vossa singela e favorável acção, pelo que desde já lhe tributamos a nossa profunda gratidão.

A Deus da Nação

*Juliano Marques*

Presidente do Conselho Ismailia de Sua Alteza Agakhan

Excelentíssimo e Ilustríssimo Senhor  
Presidente do Conselho  
LISBOA - PORTUGAL

Application for authorization to obtain Portuguese citizenship for the Portuguese Ismailite community residing in Mozambique, 10-9-1953, Lisbon

2 pages, typewriter, paper; 26,5 x 20,0 cm printed document: 1 page 10,6 x 8,9 cm

Torre do Tombo – National Archives of Portugal

Ref Code: PT/TT/AOS/D-G/7/8/4

# Request to grant Portuguese citizenship to Indian Ismailite immigrants

This document is part of a letter addressed to the prime minister of Portugal, António de Oliveira Salazar, from Gulamhussen Ismail Jina, president of the Ismaili Council of the Aga Khan. It is dated 10 September 1953. Jina writes on behalf of 295 Ismailites who have recently arrived in Mozambique from the Indian subcontinent. He informs Salazar he has requested that the governor general of Mozambique take steps to allow this group of people to be naturalised as Portuguese citizens without having to present all the documentation normally required by the law. He points out that they are unable to obtain such documentation because Indian authorities now consider them to be citizens of Pakistan, due to their Islamic faith.

The Ismailites were Shia Muslims who followed the Aga Khan, a dynastic title first granted by the Shah of Iran in the early 19th century. In 1953 the Aga Khan was Sultan Sir Mohammed Shah (1877-1957), perhaps best known at the time for his extreme wealth and for his ownership of thoroughbred racehorses.

The Ismailites found themselves in a difficult situation following India's independence from Great Britain in 1947. The creation of the Muslim Dominion of Pakistan and the non-Muslim Union of India led to the displacement of some 15 million people

along with the killing of around one million individuals in various massacres across the subcontinent.

Portugal retained Goa and its other Indian territories, but it became clear that this situation was coming to an end during the 1950s, as India began demanding that Portugal relinquish its colonial possessions on the subcontinent. Against this political backdrop, many of the inhabitants of Portuguese India, both Muslims and Europeans, opted to emigrate. For some, the east African colony of Mozambique became an obvious destination. For Europeans it offered up a sense of familiarity in terms of language and culture. For Muslims, such as the Ismailites, it offered a safe haven away from the troubles that may arise should India take Goa and the other territories by force.

The prediction that these enclaves would fall to India proved to be correct. In 1954, Indian nationalists occupied Dadra and Nagar Haveli and established a pro-Indian administration there. The following year, clashes in Goa led to the break down in diplomatic relations between Portugal and India. Finally, in 1961, the Indian armed forces invaded and occupied Goa, Daman, and Diu. It spelled the end of the Portuguese empire in India. Mozambique duly achieved its own independence in 1975.

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-1-

Elnök Ur, Melyentisztelt Bizottság,

Meghatva léptam át ennek a hatalmas épületnek a kapu-  
ját, melynek falai között a világnak az a legtekintelye-  
sebb politikai testülete székel, melynek hatékony  
működéséhez nép-százmillióinak reménye fűződik.

Mi magyarok úgy érezzük hogy az U.N.-en keresztül  
választ vár az emberiség arra a fontos kérdésre, hogy  
kötelesek-e a kormányzatok, -képviseljenek akár kis  
vagy nagy nemzetet- alávetni magukat morális elvekre  
épült szabályoknak, vagy zabolátlanul uralkodhatik-e  
a világon az erős dzsungeltörvénye. Ennek probaköve  
annak a számban kicsi, de lelekben nagy nemzetnek  
ugye, amelynek én is fia vagyok.

Tanuskodni jöttem.

Gyermekkoromtól kezdve hordom a lelkemben a törvényt; *mindig mond  
ar igazságot.*  
hogy csak a valódi tényeket mondom.

Ez az életben néha nehéz, és nagy megpróbáltatások  
előé állíthatja az embert. Ennek megállapításában  
autentikus vagyok. ~~mert~~ megpróbáltam mind a nazi,  
mind a kommunista börtönöket. Életem tekintélyes  
szakaszát töltöttem vizes pincékben és dohos cellákban.  
Büniom csak egy volt. -Az igazságnak magasabb helyről  
belemomlótt törvénye alapján védelmeztem a szabadságot  
zsarnokság~~ai~~ ellen.

Boldog vagyok, hogy hitet tehetek népem harcaról. Tudom  
hogy most ebben a percben magyarok milliói hajolnak  
(titokban) a radio fele és hallgatják ennek a bizottságnak  
üléset. A magyar nép köszönetét szeretném kifejezni  
mindenek előtt a bizottság tagjainak és rajtuk kívül  
keresztül az U.N.-nek hogy meghallgatásunkra módot  
adott. Az igazság elmondása nehéz számomra, mert egy  
nép verrel írott eposzat kell a valóság nyelven  
elmondanom. Harcot, melyben a szereplők meghaladtak  
az átlagos emberi merteket, melyben 14 éves gyerekek  
antik hősokeket, 70 éves nagyanyák régi római matronákat  
mintáztak. És nekem mindezt úgy kell elmondanom, hogy  
a hallgatókban valóságérzetet keltsék.

A diadalmas, ~~napok~~ komor emlékek követik. Az egyikben  
mémoros tömegek boldog újjongása töltötte meg a  
lóportfusz~~ar~~szagu utcákat. ~~És~~ a halálraszant  
emberek komor nyugalma a romba lőtt város piszkos  
utcait.

Az emlékek meg frissek, a tanusagteves nehéz. A szavak  
amiket használni fogok, talán túl költőiek. Azonban  
ami történt annak leírására meg úgy is színtelennek  
fognak hangzani.

Elnök Ur igen tisztelt bizottság, Történelmi tényeket  
nemcsak az események határozzák meg, hanem mögöttük  
a népek vagyai, gondolatai, és érzései állnak.

ORSZÁGOS LEVÉLTÁR  
P. székely

P22HS-B1-W-2

# Hungary's revolutionary cause: József Kővágó's speech to the United Nations

József Kővágó, former mayor of Budapest, appeared before the United Nations Special Committee on 29 January 1957, where he delivered a speech defending the cause of the revolution in Hungary, which had taken place a few months earlier. That he felt the need to do so was evidently necessitated by a degree of misinformation that was circulating at the time.

Most of the delegates who witnessed his speech that day would have understood the context. The Hungarian Revolution, widely reported around the world in late 1956, still retained a currency going into the new year. In essence the uprising grew out of an expectation among many Hungarians that the communist regime in the country would introduce significant liberal reforms. However, events moved too fast and too radically for the authorities, as well as for the Soviet government in Moscow. Hungarian revolutionaries took to the streets of Budapest and other key cities en masse, and violent clashes ensued when state security officers and Soviet troops looked to intervene. The Soviets finally took decisive action when Prime Minister Imre Nagy came over to the revolutionary side and withdrew the country from the Warsaw Pact. On 4 November 1956 the Red Army invaded and swiftly brought the country to heel. Kővágó, who took a leading role in the insurrection, had briefly been

installed as mayor of Budapest during the first few days of November. His UN speech, illustrated here, emphasises that the revolution had been an expression of the people's will for freedom and independence, as against something that had been incited and directed by foreign radio stations. Moreover, the communist government had been mistaken in thinking that very limited liberal reforms would be enough to placate the many people who were calling for more fundamental changes. The revolution aimed to achieve socialism in the 'western' sense of the term, and included demands for free elections and national independence. Kővágó also stressed that the Hungarian Revolution had no anti-Semitic character to it, unlike other such movements in Eastern Europe.

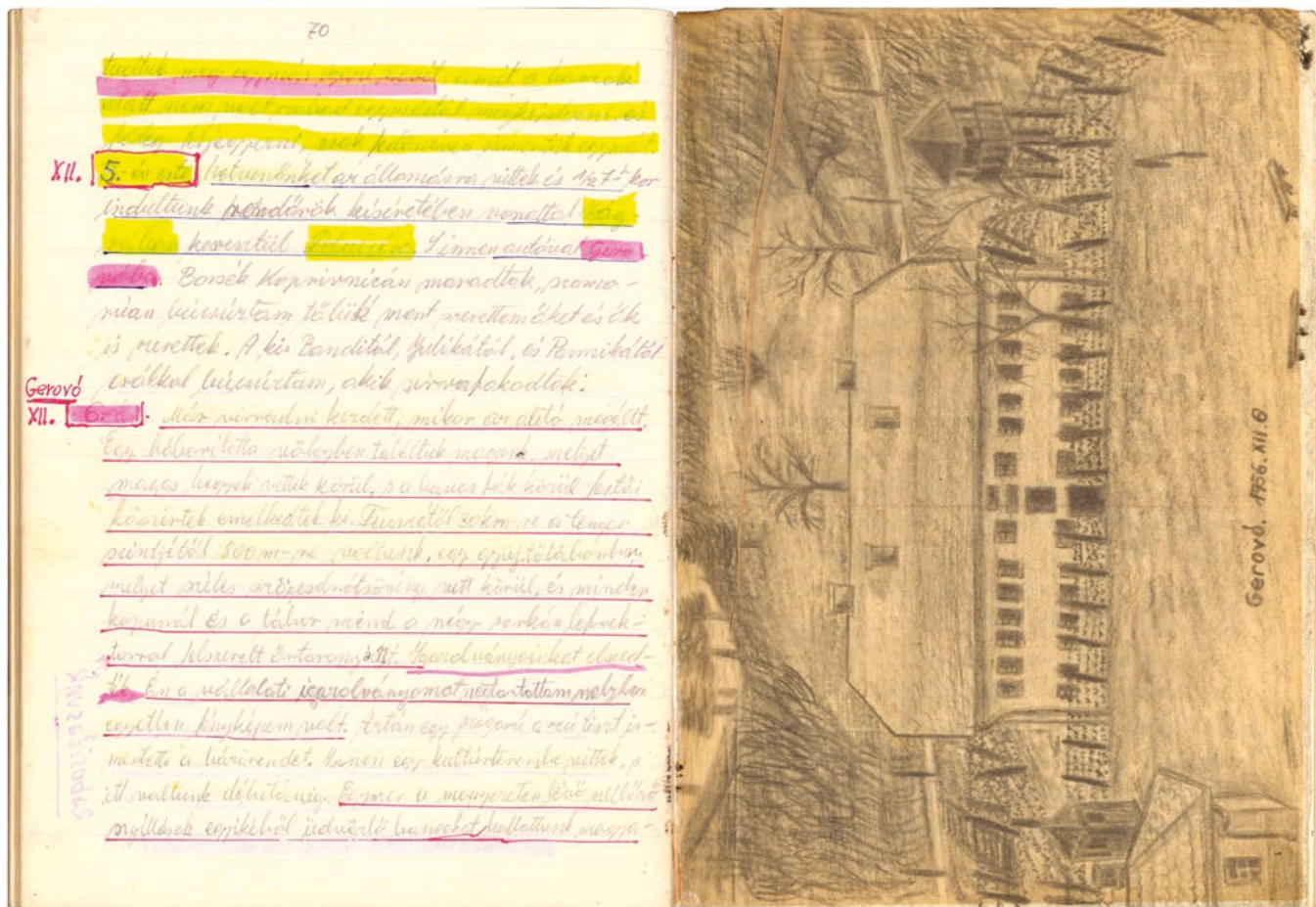
The speech captures Hungarian aspirations at that time. Kővágó clearly crafted it to appeal to an audience drawn from the democracies of Western Europe and the Americas. By the time of its delivery, Kővágó was one of around 200,000 Hungarians who had sought refuge in the West. Of those revolutionaries who remained in Hungary, around 20,000 were arrested and 230 were executed. The fight for freedom from oppression seldom comes without a price.

A draft of József Kővágó's speech, spoken before the UN Special Committee on the revolutionary events of 1956, 29–1–1957, New York

12 folios, typewriter, paper; 21,0 x 29,7 cm

National Archives of Hungary

Ref Code: HU MNL OL – P 2245 – B – 1. – № 1



Dr. Ferenc Tésényi's revolution-diary from 1956, 1956-1958

1 volume hardback, 200 numbered pages on paper (86 pages were written); 17,5 x 24 cm

Baranya County Archives of the National Archives of Hungary

Ref Code: HU-MNL-BaML – XV – 46. – Tésényi hadinapló

# From Revolutionary to Refugee: The diary of Ferenc Tésenyi

The diary of Dr. Ferenc Tésenyi is a very important historical source, recording one man's impressions of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and its aftermath. Tésenyi was a student in the city of Pécs at the time and an active member of the revolutionary group, 'Invisibles of the Mecsek Mountains'. He escaped to Yugoslavia where he was dispatched to Gerovo refugee camp (today in Croatia). He later went to high school in the Federal Republic of Germany before enrolling at the medical school of the University of Zurich, Switzerland. He graduated as a dentist in 1965.

Tésenyi's account shows us what it was like for the people who lived through the revolution. His entry for 23 October 1956, for example, records how he and other revolutionaries were attacked by policemen and officials of the State Protection Authority:

'They were coming step by step, and when they were only 15 steps away from us, they trained their bayonets on us and started running towards us. They were stabbing and beating with the stock of their rifles those who were standing in the front line, while they were trying to disperse us into the streets opening from the square. But they did it in vain, the people always returned to the square on the other side.'

In the entry for 25 October he notes the jubilation that accompanied the initial revolutionary victories: '...the red stars fell down from the theatre and the

trade union centre, and they were replaced with Hungarian national flags. By this time, we were already about 40,000 people. At the main square we sang the national anthem, then a loudspeaker spoke up: "my fellow Hungarians", "my fellow citizens!". It was followed by loud applause, then the police and the State Protection Authority both transmitted apologies...'

Illustrated we can see the pencil drawing that Tésenyi pasted into his diary. It depicts the Gerovo refugee camp as it appeared in early December 1956. At that time the place was surrounded by a double barbed-wire fence, and was overlooked by watchtowers and sentry boxes. It felt more like a Nazi concentration camp than a refugee camp.

In mid-May 1957 the watchtowers and the barbed-wire were removed but the camp still left a lot to be desired. Around 1,400 refugees were packed into buildings designed to hold 600 people. Some families had small rooms to themselves, but most were accommodated in a large common dormitory room along with the others. There was no dining hall at the camp. Some of the refugees lost heart and made the choice to return to Hungary. Others, like Ferenc Tésenyi, stuck it out, and were able to journey to western Europe or America in order to make a new life for themselves.



Children of Portuguese descent born in Angola at Lisbon airport, 27-6-1975, Lisbon

1 black and white photo, paper; 16,1 x 23,9 cm

Torre do Tombo – National Archive of Portugal

Ref Code: PT/TT/FLA/SF/001/5499/023

# Angolan refugee children at Lisbon airport

The photograph shown here was taken in Lisbon Airport in June 1975. At first sight it appears to show a fairly ordinary grouping of children, perhaps on a school trip of some kind. However, the picture takes on a far more serious aspect when placed in its historical context. The children are in fact ethnic Portuguese refugees from Angola, a country which was looking to secure its independence from Portugal at that time.

Portuguese colonial involvement in Angola dated as far back as the 15th century, albeit settlement in the country did not begin until the founding of the city of Luanda in 1576. Like the other European possessions in Africa and the Far East, Angola was rocked by intense anti-colonial agitation during the second half of the 20th century. A serious revolt broke out in the north of the country in 1961 and led to a wide-ranging guerrilla war. The Portuguese government sought to shore up its position by sending more troops to the colony and encouraging a new wave of immigration. Their efforts were aided by the fact that the opposition was divided into three mutually antipathetic liberation groups, with the result that the anti-colonial insurrection had largely been contained by the early 1970s.

The situation changed drastically following fundamental political disruption in Portugal itself. In 1968 the long-standing dictatorial leader of the country, António de Oliveira Salazar, suffered a stroke. This rendered him incapable of running the government and led to his death less than two years later. This sudden change in the leadership, coupled with Portugal's crippling economic problems and growing domestic opposition to the colonial conflict in Angola, brought matters to a head. In April 1974 a group of army officers staged a bloodless coup, thus overturning the dictatorship.

In Angola the army had grown tired of fighting the guerrilla war and it seemed clear that the colonial administration had entered its final months. During 1975 around 250,000 people opted to leave. The majority, including the children in the photograph, went to Portugal, where they were referred to as *retornados*, and were not always welcomed. Others went to Namibia, South Africa, Brazil and the United States. In November 1975 the Portuguese colonial authorities withdrew from Angola, bringing several hundred years of colonial rule to an end.

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