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## Research Note

### Tangled National Identity in Eastern Europe: Bogdan Count von Hutten-Czapski (1851–1937)

Bogdan Count v. Hutten-Czapski, one of the favourite Catholic vassals of the German Emperors William I and William II, was famous as an enthusiastic advocate of Prussian patriotism. In spite of his Polish nationality, Hutten-Czapski supported the position that all Prussian citizens, both Germans and Poles, must unite tightly under the Hohenzollern Dynasty. Hutten-Czapski tried unsuccessfully to block the proclamation and the implementation of the Expropriation Law against Polish subjects (1908). During the First World War, Hutten-Czapski was active as a secret advisor of William II seeking to build a pro-German and anti-Russian Polish puppet state in former Russian territory. An analysis of Hutten-Czapski's life leads to the conclusion that there were circles of German and Polish nobles in Wilhelmine Germany who kept a distance from the radicalisation of both nationalisms, and that German nationalism in the Wilhelmine era was not simply a justifying ideology of the German ruling classes, but also eventually a theoretical weapon of the nationalised people against the “un-German” nobles.

**KEYWORDS:** Hutten-Czapski, Prussia, nobleman, Germany, Poland, Hohenlohe, Bülow, Bethmann Hollweg, William II, Piłsudski

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### 1. *The “Blue Internationals” Between European Nations*

The identity of human kind is always tangled. Nobody can be simply a German or Pole—they are a member of a family, a state, a people, a class, a citizen of a region or a city, and so on. In European history in particular the aristocracy has had a multinational character. International exchanges and marriages, multiple citizenship, and the use of many languages were common among aristocrats with “blue blood.” The existing literature on German history often refers to the Catholics as “black internationals,” the Social Democrats as “red internationals,” and the Jews as “gold internationals.” In this article, aristocrats are referred to as the “blue internationals.”

Bogdan Count von Hutten-Czapski (1851–1937) was a symbol of tangled national identity in Eastern Germany and a prominent example of the “blue internationals.” Hutten-Czapski, a Prussian nobleman from the province of Posen, was one of the most remarkable statesmen in Wilhelmine Germany. In his memoirs, he describes himself as follows: “Noble birth, Polish nationality, Prussian citizenship, Catholic confession, liberal opinion, economic independence, a joy for life, a thirst for learning, a desire to work and travel” (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 1, xiv). Though he was only a military officer in the Prussian Army, as one of the closest advisers to Emperor William I (later Emperor William II) he took part in many political events. Furthermore, he was a friend and counselor of Chancellors Hohenlohe, Bülow, and Bethmann Hollweg.

We look at a failed attempt of this rich and active nobleman to build peace between nations in Eastern Europe. He regarded solving the conflict between German and Polish citizens in Germany as his lifework and attempted to solve it with his connections in the Imperial Court and in political circles (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 1, xvi–xvii). As a loyal Prussian nobleman, he emphasized the importance of a supranational Prussian dynasty to bridge both nations, and the danger of the Russian Empire as a common enemy.

### 2. *The Idea of the National Neutrality of the Prussian State*

The Hutten-Czapski family stood between Germany, Poland, and Russia. The family was Polish and had originally come from Germany. The Hutten family in Franken, Germany, is famous for the humanist Ulrich

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von Hutten. In 1112, approximately one hundred years before the invasion of the Teutonic Knights, Dietrich von Hutten participated in the expedition of Polish King Boleslaw III against the pagan Prussians together with other German Knights. After victory, Boleslaw appointed Dietrich to be lord in Polish Smolangen. Later, his descendants rejected the rule of the Teutonic Order and remained under the rule of the Polish kings. During this time, they translated his family name “Hutten” to “Czapski.” Count Antoni Czapski (1725–1792) was a member of the Czartoryski faction and served King Stanislaw II August as adjutant general. Today, the residence of the Czapski family stands in the center of Warsaw, near the residences of the Potocki and Radziwill families. Antoni’s sons, Mikołaj and Józef, were given their titles of “Count” by Prussian King Frederic William III (KNESCHKE, ed., 1860, vol. 2, 380–81.). Later, in his German days, Bogdan Hutten-Czapski insisted that his family was originally German and was forced to Polonize itself.<sup>1</sup> The Hutten-Czapski family possessed many lands in Prussian and Russian territories.

Napoleon Hutten-Czapski, father of Bogdan, led an interesting and varied life. He joined the *Burschenschaft* (student fraternities) of German students in the uprising in the Kingdom of Poland against Russian rule in 1830–1831. After his life in exile in London, he lived in the Prussian province of Posen and married Eleonore Mielżyński; he died in 1852 (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 1, 2–3). Eleonore’s father had been a brigade general in Warsaw. Eleonore often traveled with her son Bogdan to German spas and associated with German aristocrats, for example with the Prussian King William I, and her family gradually became pro-German (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 1, 1, 3–4).

Bogdan Count von Hutten-Czapski (from hereonin, Hutten-Czapski) had an international education in Paris. He visited the famous Lycée Impérial Bonaparte (today known as the Lycée Condorcet). He became multilingual, speaking Polish, German, French, and Italian, though he could not speak Russian and Belarussian (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 1, 164).

Hutten-Czapski was already attempting to build his connections in European noble societies and in the Catholic Church during his school days. His connections provided him with a base for his political activities. From September 1870 until July 1871, he watched the end of the Papal State with his patron, Pope Pius IX. In Vienna and Berlin, he studied law at uni-

1. *Neueste Nachrichten* (Berlin), 20. December 1906, in: BArch [Bundesarchiv Berlin] N 2126/409, Bl. 20; *Masurische Zeitung*, 20. January 1911, in: BArch N 2126/409, Bl. 98.

versity and learned about many aristocrats (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 1, 4–5, 6–24).

After his studies, Hutten-Czapski became a Prussian military officer. German Emperor William I, his patron in Berlin, advised him to join the Prussian Army. Emperor William I insisted that there was no discrimination against Polish officers in his army, and in 1877 Hutten-Czapski became a lieutenant in the Prussian Royal Guard.<sup>2</sup> However, his status as a military officer in the Royal Guard was important for him only because it served as a passport to the Imperial Court. He was not devoted to military service and worked rather as a secret messenger of emperors and chancellors. Hutten-Czapski enthusiastically admired William I not as German Emperor, but as Prussian King. Although Hutten-Czapski had no close contact with Emperor Frederic III and his family, he knew his son William II well, the last emperor in Germany from his younger days (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 1, 108, 136–37). Hutten-Czapski was appointed in 1895 as a member of the Prussian House of Lords<sup>3</sup> and in 1901 to the House-keeper of the Royal Residence in Posen.<sup>4</sup>

In the Prussian Army, Hutten-Czapski was famous for his immense estate. A German newspaper reported that he was the third richest man in the Kingdom of Prussia after the Krupp and Rothschild families, and the richest officer in the Prussian Army.<sup>5</sup>

The free lifestyle of Hutten-Czapski aroused the suspicion of his colleagues. The Chief of the General Staff, Alfred Count von Waldersee, saw in him a dubious Catholic and Polish conspirator in the Imperial Court (MEISNER, ed., 1922, vol. 1, 218; vol. 2, 371). In his letter to Chancellor Leo Count von Caprivi, he reported on his conflicts with military colleagues.<sup>6</sup> After his conflicts, he abandoned his military career and concentrated on political activities. Nevertheless, he retained his right to wear the uniform of chivalry even after his retreat.<sup>7</sup>

2. HUTTEN-CZAPSKI (1936, vol. 1, 25, 33–34); Auszug aus der Kriegerangliste über den Oberstleutnant d. L. Kav. I Graf v. Hutten-Czapski (mit der Uniform des Hus. R. Nr. 14), in: BArch N 2126/344, Bl. 3.

3. *Vossische Zeitung*, 11. April 1895, in: BArch N 2126/407, Bl. 12; *National-Zeitung*, 13. April 1895, in: BArch N 2126/407, Bl. 13.

4. *Potsdamer Intelligenzblatt*, 15. October 1901, in: BArch N 2126/408, Bl. 23.

5. *Hofgeismarer Zeitung*, 27. February 1896, in: BArch N 2126/403, Bl. 26.

6. Brief (Abschrift) von Bogdan Graf von Hutten-Czapski an Leo Graf von Caprivi, Kassel 15. August 1894, in: BArch N 2126/41, Bl. 4–7.

7. Auszug aus der Kriegerangliste über den Oberstleutnant d. L. Kav. I Graf v. Hutten-Czapski (mit der Uniform des Hus. R. Nr. 14), in: BArch N 2126/344, Bl. 3.

It was not only his colleagues, but also many in German society that observed this protégé of the emperor with suspicion and envy. Shortly after his nomination to the House of Lords, German newspapers wrote that Hutten-Czapski's estate Smogulec was a stronghold of Polish nationalist movements,<sup>8</sup> and they named him the "uncrowned King of Poland."<sup>9</sup> Confronted with many criticisms, the plans to nominate him as a Prussian minister or a secretary of an Imperial office failed.<sup>10</sup>

Hutten-Czapski saw his political lifework in the mitigation of German-Polish conflicts in the German empire. He considered the German rule of formerly Western Polish territories a fait accompli, the change of which was for him neither possible nor desirable.<sup>11</sup> Despite the trend of democratization, Hutten-Czapski trusted the traditional power of the monarchy for the integration of nations. In his opinion, the Kingdom of Prussia was not a German state, but a supranational monarchy. He criticized both German and Polish nationalism because both nationalisms did not match the political character of this kingdom.<sup>12</sup> This idea of the national neutrality of Prussian patriotism was not new. From 1815 until 1831, Anton Marquis Radziwiłł had tried vainly to govern the provinces of Posen and West Prussia without provoking German and Polish nationalisms. Hutten-Czapski hoped that Emperor William I would become a new symbol of national, neutral Prussian patriotism, because William I loved not the title of German Emperor, but that of King of Prussia (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 1, 41, 46–47, 141–42). Emperor William I saw in Hutten-Czapski a conciliator between two nations (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 1, 38). Among Prussian military and civil officers, Hutten-Czapski sought his cooperators, for example General Richard von Seeckt and Arthur Count von Posadowsky-Wehner (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 1, 303). In order to mobilize Prussian patriotism, Hutten-Czapski, as the Housekeeper of the Royal Residence, prepared the ceremonious visits of Emperor William II in Posen.

From 1906 until 1908, Hutten-Czapski organized the opposition against the expropriation law in the Prussian House of Lords. This law aimed at

8. *Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*, 13. August 1895, in: BArch N 2126/407, Bl. 14.

9. *Berliner Tageblatt*, 3 January 1907, in: BArch N 2126/409, Bl. 21; *Neueste Nachrichten* (Braunschweig), 5. January 1907, in: BArch N 2126/409, Bl. 22.

10. *Deutsche Zeitung*, 9. September 1896, in: BArch N 2126/407, Bl. 29; *Kölnische Volks-Zeitung*, 29. June 1897, in: BArch N 2126/407, Bl. 56.

11. Bogdan Graf von Hutten-Czapski, *Die Polen in Preussen und Deutschland*, 1. February 1895, in: BArch N 2126/473, Bl. 2.

12. Rede Hutten-Czapskis im Herrenhaus am 25. May 1897, in: *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Preußischen Landtages 1896/97, Herrenhaus*, vol. 1, 322.

expropriating Polish estates in the provinces of Posen and West Prussia and selling them to German peasants. The initiator of this law was Chancellor Bernhard Marquis von Bülow, a friend of Hutten-Czapski. This law seemed to him to be an unnecessary provocation that would radicalize national conflicts in the east of Germany. Although Hutten-Czapski was able to gather prominent noblemen such as Hermann Marquis Hatzfeldt Duke von Trachenberg, Georg Cardinal von Kopp, Rudolf von Valentini, Ferdinand Marquis Radziwill, and Maximilian Egon II Marquis von Fürstenberg against the law, he could not block the approval of the expropriation law (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 1, 502–33; vol. 2, 170). From 1909 until 1912, he vainly organized once more the opposition against the first implementation of this law in 1912 (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 2, 36–54). The national and protestant circles angrily stated that un-German and Catholic protégés of the emperor were endangering the German nation-state.<sup>13</sup>

Hutten-Czapski also criticized Polish nationalism in the Prussian Kingdom. He insisted that the Prussian or German state was an organism that permitted no foreign objects in it.<sup>14</sup> His parents had kept their distance from Polish nationalist movements and attempted to have relations with German inhabitants. He welcomed the anti-Polish policies of Bismarck, such as the nomination of Julius Dinder to Archbishop of Gnesen-Posen.<sup>15</sup> Florian Stablewski, Polish successor of Dinder and symbol of Caprivi's appeasement policy, was initially the target of his distrust.<sup>16</sup> The formation of national and religious minority parties, such as the Polish Faction and the Catholic Center Party, was in his opinion a misunderstanding of the political party system, because political parties are, according to him, groups of rightists or leftists, but not ethnic and religious groups.<sup>17</sup> The rise of Polish mass nationalism seemed him to be a great threat.<sup>18</sup> Although Hutten-Czapski adhered to the right of all Polish students to receive religious education in Polish, he insisted it was their duty to learn German

13. Wartburg, 1. September 1911, in: BArch N 2126/410, Bl. 13 f.

14. Hutten-Czapski, *Die Polen in Preussen und Deutschland*, Bl. 5.

15. Brief (Abschrift) von Bogdan Graf von Hutten-Czapski an Julius Dinder, Rom, 5. Februar 1886, in: BArch N 2126/57, Bl. 1.

16. Hutten-Czapski, *Die Polen in Preussen und Deutschland*, Bl. 9; Bogdan Graf von Hutten-Czapski, *Die jetzigen Zustände in der Provinz Posen*, November 1896, in: BArch N 2126/473, Bl. 25.

17. Hutten-Czapski, *Die Polen in Preussen und Deutschland*, Bl. 13.

18. Hutten-Czapski, *Die Polen in Preussen und Deutschland*, Bl. 11.

as the state language. According to him, Polish citizens must be gradually assimilated into the Prussian state.<sup>19</sup>

It is important for us to carefully assess whether it was possible for Hutten-Czapski to accomplish his plan on Prussian patriotism. It was true that he was able to rally some of his German peers such as Marquis Hatzfeldt, Cardinal Kopp, Count von Posadowsky, Governor in Posen Robert Count von Zedlitz-Trützschler and Silesian Nobleman Guido Count Henckel Marquis von Donnersmarck, who feared the radicalization of the German-Polish conflicts in the German East. Hutten-Czapski also had patrons in the Prussian Army, such as Chief of General Staff Alfred Count von Schlieffen and Adjutant General August von Mackensen, and Chancellors Hohenlohe, Bülow, and Bethman Hollweg were his good friends. Moreover, Emperor William II trusted him as a counsellor and mediator on the Polish question and therefore appointed him as a member of the Prussian House of Lords and the Housekeeper of the Royal Residence in Posen. But it is not clear to what extent these German elites agreed with his idea of the national neutrality of the Prussian monarchy. At the very least, Emperor William II was no enemy of radical German nationalism, as Hutten-Czapski also had to recognize; besides, Hutten-Czapski had no allies in the German and Prussian parliaments (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 2, 42; WINKLER 1910, 334–35).

Hutten-Czapski's idea of the national neutrality of the Prussian monarchy was far from reality at that time. Needless to say, the Kingdom of Prussia was in fact a leading state in the German Empire. The language of the state was not "Prussian," but German. The king of Prussia was simultaneously the German emperor. It was not easy to divide Prussian patriotism from German nationalism. For Polish nationalists, both ideas were the same, and Hutten-Czapski seemed to them to be an agent of the German government.

It is also doubtful if Hutten-Czapski was really always faithful to his own ideas. Hutten-Czapski dedicated himself to liberalism and joined the National Liberal Party in Germany in 1898. This party was famous for its radical German nationalism. He said that the Hutten family had been originally German and not Polish, and that he wanted to completely transfer from the Polish to the German camp.<sup>20</sup> In 1888, during the short reign of Emperor Frederic III, Hutten-Czapski gave a speech on German nationalism in Ebernburg on the occasion of the founding ceremony of the Hutten-Sickingen monument. In this speech, he emphasized the strength of the

19. Hutten-Czapski, *Die Polen in Preussen und Deutschland*, Bl. 2, 6 f., 16 f., 22.

20. *Elbinger Zeitung*, 3. May 1898, in: BArch N 2126/407, Bl. 74.



German Empire and admired the first German Emperor, William I, and his “iron” Chancellor Bismarck.<sup>21</sup>

We cannot overlook the fact that Hutten-Czapski tried to stress his “German” roots and “invented tradition.” In 1904, he purchased a scenic manor in Romsthal in the Prussian province of Hessen-Nassau. This estate was an old home of the Hutten family. He enjoyed his vacations as a “German” nobleman in this manor and invited only German guests to his residence, especially members of the Baron Hutten-Stolzenberg family.<sup>22</sup>

As a “German” statesman, Hutten-Czapski was not involved in the Polish question, but in colonial policy. He recognized the civilizational mission of the German Empire in Africa and joined many activities related to this matter. He knew the leaders of German colonial policy—Johann Albrecht Duke von Mecklenburg, and the Secretary of the Imperial Colonial Office, Bernhard Dernburg—very well.<sup>23</sup>

In this situation, in which a revival of the Polish state seemed to him to be hopeless, he slowly sought the chance to take part in the rising prosperity of the powerful German Empire and to assimilate himself to German society. At that time, it was difficult to estimate that a great war was soon to come, which would make the revival of the Polish state possible. Obviously, he tried to gain as much as he could under German rule.

### 3. *The Project of a Germanophile Polish State as Opportunity and Menace*

The outbreak of World War I meant the end of the solidarity under the three Eastern European empires at cost of Polish people. The middle powers, Germany and Austria, and the allied power, Russia, sought for the favor of Polish inhabitants in the Eastern front. On July 31, 1914, Emperor William II called Hutten-Czapski to his Royal Palace in Berlin and said that he intended to restore the Polish state in Russian territory as a buffer between Germany and Russia. Emperor William II and Chancellor

21. Bogdan Graf v. Hutten-Czapski, Rede auf den Reichskanzler Fürsten v. Bismarck auf der Ebernburg bei der Grundsteinlegung des Hutten-Sickingen-Denkmal am 22. May 1888, in: BArch N 2126/501, Bl. 5.

22. HUTTEN-CZAPSKI (1930, 3–4); Bogdan Graf von Hutten-Czapski, Verkauf der Herrschaft Romsthal im Dezember 1919, in: Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Abt. 1069, Nr. 174, Prozeß von Hutten-Czapski gegen Stumm um die Rückgabe des Gutes Romsthal; Verzeichnis der Teilnehmer am Essen im Hofhaus Romsthal am 1. Oktober 1907, in: BArch N 2126/507, Bl. 39; Tagebuch (Abschrift), 18. April 1908, in: BArch N 2126/406, Bl. 44 usw.

23. HUTTEN-CZAPSKI (1936, vol. 1, 481–501); *National-Zeitung*, 15. Juli 1900, in: BArch N 2126/408, Bl. 4; *Tägliche Rundschau*, 31. März 1906, in: BArch N 2126/409, Bl. 8.



Bethmann Hollweg begged Hutten-Czapski's cooperation in this matter (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 2, 145–46). Hutten-Czapski had been waiting for this moment for a long time. It had been his dream for the German Empire to wage war with Poland against Russia (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 1, xvii). He returned to active service in the Prussian Army.

Hutten-Czapski had already made a trip in 1892 to Poland under Austrian and Russian rule as preparation for this war. In November 1891, Count Schlieffen asked Hutten-Czapski about the conditions of the Polish people under Austrian and Russian rule, but Hutten-Czapski could not give a clear answer. Therefore, he planned a secret inspection tour from March to May 1892. He also visited his uncle, Emeryk Count von Hutten-Czapski, who had an immense estate in Belarus and was a high-ranking civil officer in the Russian Empire. The results of this trip were presented to Emperor William II, Chancellor Hohenlohe, and General Schlieffen. In this report, Hutten-Czapski emphasized the backwardness of civilization in Western Russia and the resentment of the Polish people.<sup>24</sup>

Hutten-Czapski planned to build a Germanophile Polish state in the emancipated territories in Western Russia as a bulwark for Western culture, but this plan was incompatible with his idea of the national neutrality of Prussian patriotism. Building a Polish state meant triggering Polish nationalism, and the Austrian government in particular feared that this new Polish state would grow to become a stronghold of Polish irredentism. German statesmen thought not only of building a Polish state, but also of peace with the Russian Empire, without changing any state borders.

In the Prussian and German governments there were officers who observed with unpleasantness the activities of this imperial favorite who had no responsibility for the Polish question. In particular, the Prussian Ministry of Home Affairs nervously watched him.<sup>25</sup> His noble friends,

24. HUTTEN-CZAPSKI (1936, vol. 1, 163–71); *Tagebücher (Abschrift)* vom 9. March 1892 bis 12. April 1892, in: BArch N 2126/405, Bl. 27–54; Bogdan Graf v. Hutten-Czapski, *Zusammenstellung der während einer Reise in Russland gesammelten Nachrichten und Beobachtungen, welche für die deutsche Heeresleitung von Interesse sein könnten*, Cassel 10. May 1892, in: BArch N 2126/416, Bl. 42; Brief (Abschrift) von Bogdan Graf von Hutten-Czapski an Alfred Graf von Schlieffen, Cassel 14. September 1892, in: BArch N 2126/239, Bl. 8–19; Brief (Abschrift) von Bogdan Graf von Hutten-Czapski an Alfred Graf von Schlieffen, Cassel 25. Juli 1893, in: BArch N 2126/239, Bl. 22–41.

25. Brief von Johann v. Eisenhart-Rothe an Friedrich Wilhelm v. Loebell, Posen, 9. September 1914, in: PAAA R 20975 *Der Erste Weltkrieg: Polen*, Bl. 104.

such as Hermann Hatzfeld Trachenberg, also thought that the building of a Polish state was a great menace for Prussia.<sup>26</sup>

In spite of the suspicions of his Austrian and German colleagues, Hutten-Czapski insisted on his plan. He believed that the building of a Polish state by the German Army would arouse feelings of gratitude among the Poles in Prussia, and that they would willingly fight against Russia and for Germany and the new Poland. In order to reinforce the ties between Polish and German inhabitants, Hutten-Czapski achieved the nomination of a conservative, Germanophile Polish aristocrat, Xaver Marquis Drucki-Lubecki, to the Prussian House of Lords.<sup>27</sup>

After the German occupation of Warsaw in 1915, Hutten-Czapski received an imperial order to support the new German Governor General, Hans Hartwig von Beseler. Beseler, an acquaintance of his, had no preliminary knowledge on the Polish question. In the new German military government in Warsaw, Hutten-Czapski took charge in cultural politics. He aimed at promoting Polish culture and arousing the gratitude of Polish inhabitants in Russia. In November 1915, he reopened the Polish-speaking universities in Warsaw. In February 1916, General Beseler reopened the formerly orthodox Aleksander Newskij Cathedral as a Catholic Church. In May 1916, a ceremony in celebration of the Polish Constitution in 1791 was held with the permission of the German and Austrian military governments.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, on November 5, 1916, the military governments in Warsaw (Germany) and in Lublin (Austria) proclaimed in the name of both emperors the building of a new Polish state. A spectacular ceremony was held in Warsaw. Hutten-Czapski was the moderator of this ceremony. He interpreted the German proclamation into Polish for the Polish aristocrats.<sup>29</sup>

26. Hermann Fürst v. Hatzfeldt, Herzog v. Trachenberg, [Denkschrift zum über Kongreßpolen], in: GStA PK, VI. HA Familienarchive und Nachlässe, Nl. Rudolf v. Valentini, Nr. 8, Bl. 101–103.

27. HUTTEN-CZAPSKI (1936, vol. 2, 272–73); Sitzungsprotokoll des Staatsministeriums am 16. October 1914, in: *Acta Borussia. Protokolle des Preußischen Staatsministeriums*, vol. 10, 199; *Anlagen zu den Stenographischen Berichten über die Verhandlungen des Preußischen Herrenhauses in der Session 1916/18*, vol. 1, 4, 11; *Schultheß' Europäischer Geschichtskalender 1917*, 74.

28. HUTTEN-CZAPSKI (1936, vol. 2, 266); Tagebuch (Abschrift), 25. February 1916, in: BArch N 2126/406, Bl. 176; Der erste deutsche Gottesdienst in der russischen Kathedrale auf dem Sachsenplatz, in: *Deutsche Warschauer Zeitung*, Nr. 56, 26. February 1916, Beiheft; Erzberger, *Erlebnisse im Weltkrieg*, 179; Warschauer, *Deutsche Kulturarbeit in der Ostmark*, 271–72.

29. Kriegstagebuch von Erik Poncet, 2. Teil, 26–27 (BArch PH 30 II, MSg. 1/1024).

After the ceremony, he wrote a letter of appreciation for the building of the Polish state to his patron, Emperor William II.<sup>30</sup>

Hutten-Czapski's prediction, that the building of a new Polish state would arouse a feeling of gratitude among the Polish people, turned out to be an illusion. As many Austrian and German statesmen had feared, this proclamation aroused the will of the Polish people to independence not only from Russia, but also from Austria and Germany. The quick building of the Polish Legion in 1916, the Russian Revolution and the participation of the USA in the war in 1917, and the cooperation between the German Army, the Austrian Army, and the new Ukrainian government in 1918 made the situation for Germany difficult (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 2, 309–533). The German Revolution of 1918–1919 and the defeat of the German and Austrian Armies totally destroyed Hutten-Czapski's work in Warsaw.

#### 4. *A New Chance Under Two Dictators?*

With the defeat of the German Army, Hutten-Czapski lost everything important in his life. His homeland, Smogulec, was caught in the battle between Polish and German inhabitants. His powerbase, the Imperial Court, disappeared after the revolution. In the period of democratization, the patronage of the monarchs no longer played any role. He lost his Prussian citizenship because Smogulec was now a part of the new Polish Republic.<sup>31</sup>

German society treated this Polish nobleman as the “destroyer” of German interests. In the period of nationalization, there were no more places for the “blue internationals.” The German-Polish family name “Hutten-Czapski” seemed now to be strange and confusing.<sup>32</sup> In the storm of criticism, Hutten-Czapski sold his favorite manor, Romsthal, in 1919.<sup>33</sup> From October 1920 until January 1921, he was in a mental hospital in Munich with depression, a totally broken man. He was afraid that he would lose his estate and become a beggar.<sup>34</sup>

30. HUTTEN-CZAPSKI (1936, vol. 2, 307–308); Brief (Abschrift) von Bogdan Graf v. Hutten-Czapski an Kaiser Wilhelm II, Warschau 5. November 1916, in: BArch N 2126/303, Bl. 31.

31. Tagebuch (Abschrift), November 1918 bis January 1919, in: BArch N 2126/406, Bl. 250–55; HUTTEN-CZAPSKI (1936, vol. 2, 534).

32. *Unabhängige National-Correspondenz*, 3. February 1919, in: BArch N 2126/410, Bl. 96.

33. Tagebuch (Abschrift), 26. December 1919, in: BArch N 2126/406, Bl. 266; Hutten-Czapski, *Ein Kampf ums Recht*.

34. Ärztliches Gutachten von Geheimrat Dr. Rudolf v. Hösslin (Kuranstalt Neuwittelsbach), München 2. March 1922, in: Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Abt. 1069, Nr. 174, Prozeß von Hutten-Czapski gegen Stumm um die Rückgabe des Gutes Romsthal.

Hutten-Czapski had to find his place in the new Polish state. Because he had no wife and children, with his immense wealth he established the Bogdan Hutten-Czapski Smogulec Foundation for scholarships for Polish students. For this, he was given the title of Doctor *honoris causa* from the Warsaw Institute of Technology on his eightieth birthday in 1931. Hutten-Czapski became a counsellor of the new Polish dictator, Józef Piłsudski, with whom he had become acquainted in his Warsaw days.<sup>35</sup>

In his last days, Hutten-Czapski found one more chance for his political activities. The new German dictator, Adolf Hitler, and Piłsudski concluded the German-Polish Nonaggression Treaty. Hutten-Czapski enthusiastically welcomed this new German-Polish peace (HUTTEN-CZAPSKI 1936, vol. 2, 533) and visited Hitler in February 1936 in order to present his memoirs to him.<sup>36</sup> Hutten-Czapski died on September 7, 1937. Only two years later, the German-Polish war began. His dream of German-Polish friendship was ultimately destroyed.

### 5. *The End of the “Blue Internationals”*

This article has come to the conclusion that German nationalism was not always a moral cudgel of the conservatives, although German nationalism in the Wilhelmine era is widely known as “right nationalism” (WINKLER 1979; WINKLER 2000, 213–377). In the German Empire, not only the Catholics, the Social Democrats, and the Jews, but also the aristocrats were checked to see if they were good nationalists or not. There were aristocrats in Germany, for example in the Prussian House of Lords, who feared the radicalization of national conflicts in the German East and tried to block the provocation from the German side. Hutten-Czapski had personal connections beyond state borders in the European aristocracy and used them in order to moderate the clash of nations. The world of the “blue internationals” was, however, lost forever in an era of nationalization and democratization. Even Hutten-Czapski, who insisted on the national neutrality of Prussian patriotism, was not completely free from German and Polish nationalisms.

35. HUTTEN-CZAPSKI (1936, vol. 2, 534–44); Tagebuch (Abschrift), November 1918 bis December 1919, in: BArch N 2126/406, Bl. 250–66.

36. Zeitungsausschnitt vom 28. February 1936, in: BArch N 2126/531, Bl. 36.

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