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Introduction: "our story belongs to you"

The aftermath of the revolutions of 1848 was a moment in the history of nineteenth-century Europe when prevailing assumptions about the character of political exile were challenged. The image of political persecution in the middle of the nineteenth century was mainly defined by two groups. The first were the émigrés of the Polish revolution of 1830–1831, cavalry officers and soldiers, often members of the nobility, who found asylum across Europe and the Atlantic. The second were German liberals, mostly middle-class intellectuals, who were persecuted for their political views and settled in Switzerland, England or the United States. In other words, the archetypal image of a political émigré consisted of individuals or small, politically and socially homogeneous groups that could be relatively easily absorbed by the politically sympathetic states that granted them asylum. The practice of asylum in Europe in the nineteenth century was not designed for large-scale population movements and certainly not for tens of thousands of refugees. It consisted of a web of extradition laws that were formulated in the aftermath of the Congress of Vienna and were periodically refined throughout the century (1833, 1849, 1870, 1892). The extradition laws could be applied selectively because the definition of a political crime, which formed the basis of each claim for asylum, remained vague through the century. Asylum was in effect a "politically motivated act of tolerance" that could be granted or revoked depending on a number of variables, including the political climate, economics and diplomacy.[1] And the same figure that lived in the imagination of the

[1] Jochen Oltmer, "Flucht, Vertreibung und Asyl im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *IMIS- Beiträge* 20 (2002), 110.

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lawmakers also appeared on the pages of contemporary literature as an impoverished count (or countess) or a man of letters fleeing persecution.[2] Even in the historiography, in comparison to the mass population displacements of the twentieth century, political exile in the nineteenth century is often presented as "the fate of the individual" or the fate of a relatively small group.[3]

Exile in the aftermath of the revolutions of 1848, however, did not affect a socially or politically homogeneous group, nor can it be considered as the fate of the few. The revolutions of 1848 defined an entire generation. Although both contemporaries and later generations were divided over the legacy of the revolutions – 1848 was a "fine year," "the revolution of intellectuals"; it was "incomplete," perhaps even "unnecessary"; it was seen as "partially successful" or "slow" depending on the particular focus of the author – the revolutions of 1848 produced nonetheless a European moment like few others in the nineteenth century.[4] The January uprising in Sicily, the February Revolution in France, the "March Days" in the German lands and the Habsburg Empire resulted from political reform movements that had their own, separate origins and dynamics in each state, yet they were also related to each other. Several common denominators connected the revolutions across Europe. At the center of each of these conflicts were questions about representation and constitutionalism, and in each state a broad section of the population agreed that political reforms were necessary. Moreover, the development of the infrastructure of travel and information enabled

[2] Such figures appear in Henry James, *The Bostonians*, or Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women*.

[3] Oltmer, "Flucht, Vertreibung und Asyl im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," 107–108.

[4] According to Reinhart Koselleck, the revolutions of 1848 were a truly European phenomenon, the only instance in European history of such historical synchronicity that was not the direct result of a war. Reinhart Koselleck, "How European Was the Revolution of 1848/49?" in *1848 – A European Revolution? International Ideas and National Memories*, ed. Axel Körner (London: Macmillan, 2000), 213. Similarly, Charlotte Tacke considers the revolutions of 1848 "one of the first moments in European history when individuals from different regions in Europe experienced a common event whose strategies for negotiation and even encouragement extended beyond the local level." Charlotte Tacke, "Introduction" in *1848 Memory and Oblivion in Europe*, ed. Charlotte Tacke (Brussels; New York: P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2000), 13. Others such as Jan Merk call attention to the limitations of this cooperation in terms of actual political results. Jan Merk, "Nationality Separates, Liberty Unites? The Historical Commemoration of 1848/49 in Baden, a European Frontier Region," in *1848 – A European Revolution? International Ideas and National Memories*, ed. Axel Körner (New York: Macmillan, 2000), 185. I agree with Charlotte Tacke: it is possible to think about the revolutions of 1848 as a European event without necessarily turning it into a European founding myth.

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the emergence of a shared space of information that connected the revolutionary movements. News about the elections to representative assemblies across Europe in the spring of 1848 traveled fast, and although the reformers formulated their agendas within local political frameworks, they were aware that they were participating in a series of events that had a broader impact.[5]

Like the reform movements that strengthened each other in the spring of 1848, the reassertion of monarchical power across Europe was a process in which individual events were only partially linked to each other through direct causality, but in which each event made an impact that reached across state borders. The military victories of General Joseph Radetzky von Radetz against the uprisings in the Italian dominions of the Habsburg Empire in the spring and summer of 1848, the abolition of the Prussian parliament and the imposition of a constitution by Friedrich Wilhelm IV in November 1848, the dissolution of the Frankfurt parliament in April 1849, the restoration of monarchical order in the Grand Duchy of Baden and the Rhineland-Palatinate in the summer of 1849 and finally the defeat of the Hungarian war of independence by the Habsburg and Russian armies in August 1849 added up to a narrative of the gradual and Europe-wide consolidation of monarchical power. One corollary of this process was the creation of a mirror image of the revolutionary movements in exile. Representatives of both emblematic sites of the revolutions of 1848, the parliament and the barricades, were among the refugees as revolutionaries of various political convictions and social backgrounds all over Europe left their home countries to seek asylum elsewhere. They ended up in places as close to home as Switzerland or England and as far away as the United States or the Ottoman Empire. Just as the revolutions of 1848 mobilized a broad section of the population across central Europe, a mobilization that cut across national, political and social boundaries, so did the experience of exile touch a broad section of society. The revolutions were a Europe-wide phenomenon, and so also was the political exile that followed.

Thousands of people from the German lands and the Kingdom of Hungary were among the political exiles in the aftermath of the revolutions of 1848. Some of the refugees fit the profile of the political émigré contemporaries had in mind: They were male, educated and politically

[5] Dieter Langewiesche, "Kommunikationsraum Europa, Revolution und Gegenrevolution," in *Demokratiebewegung und Revolution 1847 bis 1849. Internationale Aspekte und europäische Verbindungen*, ed. Dieter Langewiesche (Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 1998), 11–35.

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engaged, and they played an important role during the revolution.[6] They often remained politically active in exile. They continued to publish widely on political matters and carefully constructed and cultivated their biographies as revolutionaries and refugees.[7] The middle of the nineteenth century was in many ways the epoch of great émigrés. Giuseppe Mazzini, Giuseppe Garibaldi (two key figures in the process of the unification of Italy) and Lajos Kossuth (the governor-president of the short-lived independent Hungarian state) were familiar names to the newspaper-reading public in Europe and across the Atlantic; their public appearances were often nothing short of a spectacle and their exile had a decidedly public character. They were all charismatic figures, whose stories became public at a particular point in time when politics and entertainment merged in new ways in the printed media in the countries where refugees found asylum, in particular in Great Britain and the United States. As Lucy Riall pointed out, writing about England: "publishing and theatre, and especially the new methods and genres of mass-circulation literature and drama helped create a new 'community' in the public in relation to its leaders."[8] The speaker's pulpit was often looked upon and treated as a stage where Mazzini, Garibaldi and Kossuth were able to make public appearances that both confirmed and perpetuated what contemporaries expected from political exiles.

Celebrated leaders of revolutionary movements accounted for only a small minority of the tens of thousands of émigrés after 1848, however.

[6] In Hungarian historiography in particular the figure of Lajos Kossuth (and his immediate circle) has the largest share of the literature. See the classic works by István Hajnal, *A Kossuth-emigráció Törökországban* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1927); Dénes Jánossy, *A Kossuth-emigráció Angliában és Amerikában, 1851–1852* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1940); Jenő Koltnay-Kastner, *A Kossuth-emigráció Olaszországban* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1960); Lajos Lukács, *Chapters on the Hungarian Political Emigration, 1849–1867* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1995). For an overview of the recent, more diverse trends in the historiography: Róbert Hermann, *Negyvennyolcas történetünk mai állása* (Budapest: Magyar Napló, 2011).

[7] A comprehensive account of Hungarian exile memoirs: Márta Nagy, *Az 1848–49-es emigráció memoire irodalma* (Budapest: [Kovács és Szegedi Nyomda], 1936). On 1848–1849 in the broader context of memoir literature, Róbert Hermann, "Műfajok és tendenciák az 1848–49-es polgári memoárirodalomban," *Századok* 128:1 (1994), 113–134. On diaries as possible historical sources: Zsolt Horváth, "Naplók és memoárok mint 'lehetséges történelmek.' Az 1848–49-es emlékezések történeti képe és olvasási dilemmái," *Alföld* 51:5 (2000), 81–99. An example for a nuanced application of the individual biographical approach to the study of exile: Sabine Freitag (ed.), *Die Achtundvierziger: Lebensbilder aus der deutschen Revolution 1848/49* (München: C. H. Beck, 1998).

[8] Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 135.

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How should we classify the soldiers of the Hungarian army who crossed the border to the Ottoman Empire, fleeing from the Habsburg and the Russian armies, but returned home after having spent only a couple of months abroad? Where does the story of Mihály Almássy belong – a shoemaker who joined the Hungarian army as a young man, fled to the Ottoman Empire, worked making shoes in Istanbul and returned to the Kingdom of Hungary with an amnesty in 1857? Into which category does Johannes Reichle, a bad-tempered innkeeper from Tuttlingen (Württemberg) fit, who, in a state of inebriation freed the local bookseller, a well-known democrat, from prison, was arrested in turn and exchanged his prison sentence for voluntary emigration to the United States? How should we understand the emigration of his wife and three children, who moved to New York a year before Johannes Reichle received "amnesty on the condition of emigration" to convince the ministry of justice that, upon leaving prison, he too would move across the Atlantic as he promised?

Perhaps it would be fitting to distinguish between émigrés (people who remained politically active in exile) and refugees (people who were "drawn into the events," to use the language of the time, and behaved as regular immigrants once they arrived abroad). But does this distinction hold in the face of the evidence that shows that political migrants often exercised considerable agency negotiating the terms of their exile or that, at times, the migration of people who played only minor roles in the revolution made a significant political impact locally in the years that followed? Of course, émigrés considered their migration and the time they spent abroad as a consequence of the revolution, and the distinctions they drew between various types of migration arose from the way they understood their participation in the events of 1848. That said, the sharp contours of the archetypal émigré as we know him from scores of memoirs become less clear if, instead of the self-perception of a relatively small group that consciously cultivated their biographies as émigrés, we take the revolution itself as the vantage point for the study of the political exile.

Based on case studies of émigrés from the German lands (mostly the Grand Duchy of Baden and the Kingdom of Württemberg) and the Kingdom of Hungary in four host societies (Switzerland, the Ottoman Empire, England and the United States), the following chapters consider exile in the aftermath of the mid-nineteenth century revolutions as a pan-European phenomenon with a global dimension that made an impact on a large section of the population. The book builds on existing trends in the historiography as it looks beyond the shadow of great émigrés to

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include the experience of women and the "little men" in exile.[9] It charts, however, new grounds by broadening the geographical scope of the study of exile and also by shifting the focus from individual biographies to the broader social context of exile.[10] One way to get at the collective aspects of what exile meant in the middle of the nineteenth century is to examine a group defined by a political program as Christian Jansen did in his prosopography of the left wing of the Frankfurt parliament, in which he took a particular political orientation as a common denominator and analyzed the biographies of parliamentary representatives in exile and at home.[11] Another approach would be to define a group based on economic and social criteria as Bruce Levine has done in his book on German emigrants to the United States.[12] A third approach, the one this book

[9] Bruce Levine, "Immigrants and Refugees: Who Were the Real Forty-Eighters in the United States?" in *Exiles from European Revolutions: Refugees in Mid-Victorian England*, ed. Sabine Freitag (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 234–253. Also Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany: Exile and Asylum in Victorian England* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) and Sabine Sundermann, *Deutscher Nationalismus im englischen Exil: Zum sozialen und politischen Inneleben der deutschen Kolonie in London, 1848–1871* (Padeborn: Schöningh, 1997). For the history of women in exile: Ashton, *Little Germany*, 188–225; Sundermann, *Deutscher Nationalismus im englischen Exil*, 80–84; as a brief afterthought in Gabriella Hauch, "Frauen-Räume in der Männerrevolution 1848/1849" in *Europa 1848: Revolution und Reform*, ed. Dieter Dowe, Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Dieter Langewiesche (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz, 1998), 897–898. In the Hungarian context: Hajnalka Merényi, " 'Átültetett virágok,' Nők a magyar szabadságharc utáni emigrációban" in *A nők világa*, ed. Anna Fábri and Gábor Várkonyi (Budapest: Argumentum, 2007), 171–172. In general, the role of women in the revolutions has received more scholarly attention in both historiographies than their role in exile.

[10] The 150th anniversary of the revolutions of 1848 produced a wealth of literature calling for a comparative perspective regarding the revolutions themselves, yet this comparative approach was rarely extended to political exile. See Róbert Hermann's overview, "A 150. évforduló termése. Új kiadványok az 1848–1849. évi forradalom és szabadságharc történetéről," *Magyar Napló* 11:7 (1999), 74–77; and the monumental essay collection *Europa 1848: Revolution und Reform*, ed. Dieter Dowe, Heinz-Gerhard Haupt and Dieter Langewiesche (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz, 1998). For a contextualization of exile in a European perspective see Wolfram Siemann, "Asyl, Exil und Emigration" in *Demokratiebewegung und Revolution 1847 bis 1849: Internationale Aspekte und europäische Verbindungen*, ed. Dieter Langewiesche (Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 1998), 70–92. For a comparative approach to exile see the introduction and essays in *Exiles from European Revolutions: Refugees in Mid-Victorian England*, ed. Sabine Freitag (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003).

[11] Christian Jansen, *Einheit, Macht und Freiheit: Die Paulskirchelinke und die deutsche Politik in der nachrevolutionären Epoche, 1849–1867* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 2000).

[12] Bruce Levine, *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

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takes, is to identify specific social settings and examine a range of biographies through their lenses.[13]

This book analyzes the dynamics of exile in three social settings: the family, professions and social networks. Each of these settings frames exile on a practical level and also conceptually. The family functioned as a collective source of material and psychological support in exile and often also as an effective lobby group for amnesty. In addition, the metaphor of the family played a key role in petitions for amnesty. The concept of the family was evoked as a proof of responsible, un-revolutionary behavior (e.g., the family provider wanted amnesty so that he could take care of his responsibilities at home), and it also served as a powerful image for the restoration of the monarchical order in the state: a way to conceptualize that monarchical subjects regained their filial piety toward their ruler and that the ruler magnanimously forgave them. Similarly, professional identities played a practical role, informing émigrés' choices regarding a country of asylum (as we shall see, different places offered different career possibilities) and, at the same time, contributing to the fundamental building blocks of an émigré's self-understanding in relation to ordinary labor migrants. Additionally, the professional trajectory of émigrés played an important role in the construction and also in the evaluation of petitions for amnesty in a way comparable to the concept of the family:

[13] On various methodological approaches to the study of migration in general, see the introduction to *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*, ed. Caroline B. Brettell and James F. Hollifield (New York; London: Routledge, 2000). The scholarship related to exile, in particular literary theory, has been fascinated with the richness of exile as a factor in an individual biography. Along with diaspora, exile is often used to describe the postmodern condition: a perpetual state of detachment from one's surroundings and an alienation from any one master narrative, an alienation that is ultimately individually empowering. Edward Said writes: "Seeing 'the entire world as a foreign land' makes possible originality of vision. Most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality of vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that – to borrow a phrase from music – is *contrapuntal*." Edward Said, "Reflections on Exile," *Granta* 13 (Autumn 1984), 172. In a similar vein, André Aciman writes about exile as a "state of perpetual transience." André Aciman, "Editor's Foreword: Permanent Transients," in *Letters of Transit: Reflections on Exile, Identity, Language and Loss*, ed. André Aciman (New York: New Press; distributed by W. W. Norton & Co., 1997), 13. For further examples see *Borders, Exiles, Diasporas*, ed. Elazar Barkan and Marie-Denise Shelton (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998). More recent work on exile, however, reintroduces the importance of acknowledging trauma and loss, not only as a source of nostalgia that characterizes exile but as one of its core experiences. Sophia A. McClennen, *The Dialectics of Exile: Nation, Time, Language, and Space in Hispanic Literatures* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2004), 1–3.

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petitioners presented the dedication to their careers abroad as an indicator of their apolitical behavior upon returning from exile, and ministries evaluating the petitions tended to accept this argument. Finally, social networks (both among émigrés themselves and émigrés and their home countries) shaped the contours of migration on the practical level by providing emotional and infrastructural support for migration and on a symbolical level by serving as a broader, international context for exile. The family, professions and social networks form the basis of the thematic chapters of the middle section of this book. Each of these settings shows a different aspect of the same argument: that the plethora of different forms political migration took in the aftermath of the revolutions served as a key context in which the legacy of the revolution was formulated.

EXILE AND OTHER FORMS OF MIGRATION

Each chapter of this book focuses on a particular aspect of the social context of exile, but there are two broader themes that run through all the chapters, providing a common ground. The first theme, formulated as a question, is often posed by policy makers and scholars, historians of migration of all epochs among them: how does political exile relate to other forms of migration? Scholars of migration such as Dirk Hoerder argue that we should think of migration not as a singular event but as a process: emigrants prepare for their journey, which includes gathering information, and once they reach their destination, it takes time before they settle.[14] The chapters of this book apply this concept to exile and argue that although we tend to think of exile as a radical break in a person's biography, it was also a process. Chapters 1 and 5 examine "Leaving" and "Returning" as two prolonged transition periods and provide chronological bookends to the three thematic chapters in the middle of the book. Exile was certainly a traumatic event, but as a form of migration it was also embedded in a broader context of historical and contemporary migration processes. In other words, political exile from one country of origin in the aftermath of the revolutions of 1848 should be examined in relation to trends in labor migration, to earlier waves of political exile and also to political exile from other countries of origin after 1848. Some historians, most notably Bruce Levine, have offered numerous examples of the relevance of the experience of 1848

[14] Dirk Hoerder, *Geschichte der deutschen Migration: Vom Mittelalter bis heute* (München: C. H. Beck, 2010), 11.

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among those German immigrants who would normally be considered labor migrants in the United States.[15] Rosemary Ashton and Sabine Sundermann have also argued that the history of German political exile in England cannot be understood apart from the history of the German diaspora.[16] The close interconnectedness of various forms of migration is one of the reasons why the term *political exile* so "notoriously difficult to define."[17]

To examine the intricate relations between various forms of migration, two important centers of the revolutions of 1848 with different patterns of migration were chosen as case studies: the German Southwest and the Kingdom of Hungary. It was at a rally in Mannheim in the Grand Duchy of Baden in February 1848 that the so-called March Demands (*Märzforderungen*) were formulated. They called for, among other things, the creation of a German parliament. These demands were promptly followed by similar ones across Baden and other German states.[18] It was also in Baden and Württemberg that the most important accomplishment of the Frankfurt parliament, the German constitution, was defended for the longest time. When Friedrich Wilhelm IV, the King of Prussia, rejected the imperial crown that the Frankfurt parliament offered him, the parliament was dissolved. The representatives of the left wing of the Frankfurt parliament, however, formed the so-called rump parliament and moved to Stuttgart, the capital of Württemberg, at the end of May 1849, hoping to continue their work. Meanwhile, Prussian army troops were successfully putting down popular uprisings that sprang up to defend the German constitution in Saxony, the Rhineland-Palatinate and Bavaria. The Prussian military victories foreshadowed the return of monarchical stability to the German Southwest. Although the rump parliament was forced out of Württemberg in a matter of weeks, a popular uprising in Baden lasted until the end of July, when the last stronghold of revolutionaries at the fortress of Rastatt capitulated, on July 23, 1849. In

[15] Levine, *The Spirit of 1848*, 2–10; and Levine, "Immigrants and Refugees," 234–253. Also see Dorothee Schneider, *Trade Unions and Community: The German Working Class in New York City, 1870–1900* (Urbana; Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994).

[16] Ashton, *Little Germany*, x–xi, 139–187, 225–244; Sundermann, *Deutscher Nationalismus im englishen Exil*, 12.

[17] Sabine Freitag, "Introduction," in *Exiles from European Revolutions: Refugees in Mid-Victorian England* (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), 1.

[18] Wolfram Siemann, *The German Revolution of 1848–49* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 57–58.

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the course of 1848 and 1849 (and in the following years) thousands of people left Baden and Württemberg as a direct consequence of the revolution.

As thousands of militia members from Baden and Württemberg fled across the border to Switzerland, the remnants of the Hungarian revolutionary army crossed the border to the Ottoman Empire in retreat from the Habsburg and Russian armies. A higher degree of national autonomy within the Habsburg imperial structure along with social reforms, most importantly the abolition of the feudal system, marked the key goals of the Hungarian reform movement in the decades leading up to the revolution of 1848. The imperial court in Vienna agreed to the Hungarian demands in April 1848. However, as the imperial center regained military control across the empire, and the goals of various nationalities living within the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom clashed with each other, the Hungarian "lawful revolution" gradually turned into a military conflict that developed into a full-fledged war of independence against the Habsburg Empire.[19] Encouraged by initial military successes against the Habsburg army, an independent Hungarian state was proclaimed, with Lajos Kossuth as its governor-president, a year after the April laws were passed. When the Russian tsar Nicholas I came to the help of Emperor Franz Joseph, however, the days of the young Hungarian state became numbered. By August 1849 the remnants of the Hungarian army were cornered in Southeast Hungary and the soldiers who did not surrender crossed the border to the Ottoman Empire. With the official surrender of the rest of the Hungarian army on August 13, 1849, and the capitulation of the fortress of Komárom (today a town split by the border between Hungary and Slovakia; in Slovak, Komárno) at the end of September, the war of independence in Hungary was over.

A wide range of actions during the years 1848–1849 resulted eventually in migration in central and eastern Europe. The first wave of refugees from the South German lands came from among radical republicans who found the parliamentary reforms of the spring of 1848 too slow and tried to organize popular uprisings. Several such attempts took place in the spring and summer of 1848, during the time period when the political future of individual states and a unified Germany were being debated in

[19] István Deák, *The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848–1849.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); also, Deák, "The Revolution and the War of Independence, 1848–1849," in *A History of Hungary*, ed. Peter F. Sugar, Péter Hanák and Tibor Frank (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 209–234.

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