

Murder, Revolt and State of Siege. Reforming Cluj/Kolozsvár's City Police in 1901*

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Abstract: *Murder, Revolt and State of Siege. Reforming Cluj/Kolozsvár's City Police in 1901.* In August of 1901, after the brutal murder of an army officer by two police agents, followed by an uprising in Cluj/Kolozsvár, long serving chief of police Pál Deák was removed from office, and the city's police institution was reorganized, to the extent of conditioning even the private life of police agents. The study presents a detailed account of the events, contextualizing them inside the dualist-era history of the city's police, attempting, in the narrative process, to bring its protagonists and their motives as close as possible to the contemporary reader.

Keywords: Urban history, Police, Self-government, Institutional reform, Violence.

Rezumat: *Crimă, revoltă și stare de asediu. Reforma poliției din Cluj/Kolozsvár în 1901.* În august 1901, după uciderea brutală a unui ofițer de armată de către doi agenți de poliție, urmată de o revoltă la Cluj/Kolozsvár, șeful poliției în serviciu de două decenii, Pál Deák a fost înlăturat din funcție, iar instituția poliției orașului reorganizată, în măsura condiționării chiar și a vieții private a agenților de poliție. Studiul prezintă o cronică detaliată a evenimentelor, contextualizându-le în istoria poliției orașului din epoca dualistă, încercând în cursul narațiunii să aducă protagoniștii evenimentelor și motivele lor cât mai aproape de cititorul contemporan.

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Cuvinte-cheie: istorie urbană, poliție, autoguvernare, reformă instituțională, violență.

The events presented in this study are absent even from the most extensive works dealing with the history of Cluj/Kolozsvár in the dualist era, even though the crime and the rebellion that followed in 1901 were an important moral landmark in the early 1920s, when Hungarian Parliament decided to nationalize the urban police forces. However, I stumbled upon a curious reference to the events in the massive series of ten volumes (but only eight were issued) *History of Hungary*, published in Budapest between 1976 and 1989 by the Hungarian Academy, under the coordination of Zsigmond Pál Pach. Inside volume 7, part 2, under the chronology of the 1890-1918 period, next to the date of August 5th 1901, we find: “In Kolozsvár workers free the jailed political prisoners”.¹ In the good tradition of the communist historiography, which tried hard to identify socialist movement even where there wasn’t one to find, only the location and the verb truthfully relate to what happened, the rest being utterly false.

The violent events of 1901, as well as their roots and consequences, could open the door to a wide range of opportunities for historical analyses into urban politics and social history, but here I chose only to account the events by following the simple order of cause and effect, beginning with a crime committed by two police agents up until the reorganization of one of the basic institutions of Cluj/Kolozsvár’s local government in the dualist era. The narrative inevitably touches on some of the particularities of local and nationwide social and political circumstances; furthermore, a contextualization of institutional functioning is necessary, so I must begin by conjuring up a short historical overview of the city’s police, and its precursor, the city captaincy.

City captaincy of Cluj/Kolozsvár was first created in 1765² (restructuring the medieval institution of the captains’ office mandated by the local council with maintaining order inside city walls³), when the Great Principality of Transylvania was reorganized as a semi-autonomous administrative territory inside the Habsburg Monarchy. In 1800, city

¹ “1901. augusztus 5. Kolozsvárott a munkások kiszabadítják a börtönbe zárt politikai foglyokat.” See: *Magyarország története 1890-1918*. Péter Hanák, Ferenc Mucsi (eds.). Vol. 7/2 of *Magyarország története tíz kötetben*, Zsigmond Pál Pach (coord.) (Budapest: Hungarian Academy Publishing, 1983), 1248.

² Elek Jakab, *Kolozsvár története* 3. Kötet (Kolozsvár, 1888), 399–450.

³ András Kiss, “Kolozsvár településrendszere a XVI. században: fertályok, tizedek” in András Kiss, *Más források, más értelmezések* (Marosvásárhely: Mentor Kiadó, 2003), 193–202; Andor Csizmadia, *Tizedesek a régi Kolozsváron* (Kolozsvár, 1942), 20–22.

captaincy got its very own local regulation,⁴ led by the police captain, who also happened to be the city magistrate.⁵ The two offices were separated in 1846,⁶ and from that year on Cluj/Kolozsvár's city leadership was to elect its own police chief captain, but the events of the 1848-1849 revolution brought a swift end to this short period. In 1861, the captaincy was reinstated, and, as its first leader, the general assembly elected lawyer Károly Minorich, who held office up until 1881, when he became mayor, being followed as chief captain of city police by Pál Deák, who was also a lawyer.

Initially, beginning with 1874, the chief captain was elected for a six-year term by the general assembly of the municipal committee,⁷ but that changed with the Administrative Act of 1886,⁸ from which year on the chief captains of police were appointed by the Lord Lieutenants of the respective municipalities (in towns by the county's Lord Lieutenant), but was required to confirm them in office every six years at the general renewal of office personnel. Considering that the chief captain also served as deputy mayor in Cluj/Kolozsvár between 1874 and 1888,⁹ and since he was also a council member and had a right to vote in the most important municipal body of the city, the General Assembly, thus being the third most prestigious public official locally (behind the Lord Lieutenant and the mayor), and also considering that many aspects of local government (city policing, public services, protection of the local government, putting into operation public utilities, licensing the use of public or private buildings, response to all kinds of violations, market regulation, opening of commercial units, housing of army officers, etc.) depended on the approval of the chief captain of the police, his person and the institution built around him played a key role in both urban politics and public life. During the dualist era, Cluj/Kolozsvár had five chief captains: Károly Minorich (1861-1881), Pál Deák (1881-1901), Rezső Polcz (temporarily in 1901-1902), Endre Hadadi (1902-1918), and in the last months of the Great War, former metropolitan police draftsman Sándor Bottka.

⁴ *Szabad királyi Kolozsvár várossa Politiae Directorának Instructioja*. City Counsel document nr. 9518 of 1800. To be found at the Cluj-Napoca Library of the Romanian Academy.

⁵ I use the term "city" only for the purpose of not having to reiterate the name of the settlement, but at the time Cluj/Kolozsvár was merely a small town in comparison to the great Western-European cities. Nevertheless, in Transylvanian circumstances, it can be considered a city.

⁶ "Kolozsvártt a rendőrigazgató- és királybíróság külön választása 1846-ban", in *Kolozsvári Naptár az 1847-ik évre*, printed by János Tilsch (Kolozsvár, 1847), 37-40.

⁷ Administrative Act nr. XLII of 1870: *A köztörvényhatóságok rendezéséről*, § 65, to be found on <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torvenyei> (last accessed: 01.06.2021).

⁸ Administrative Act nr. XXI of 1886: *A törvényhatóságokról*, § 80, to be found on <https://net.jogtar.hu/ezer-ev-torvenyei> (last accessed: 01.06.2021).

⁹ *Sz. kir. Kolozsvár város törvényhatósági szabályrendelete. Az 1870-es évi XLIII. országos törvényczikk alapján*, printed by János Ny. Gámán and his successors (Kolozsvár, 1873), § 104, 31.

In the dualist era, starting with the Administrative Act of 1870 on the reorganisation of municipalities (counties, and cities with county rank), in the Hungarian half of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy each city and town set up and organized its own police after the model of the one in Budapest (outside their territories, on a county level, peace and order was maintained by the gendarmerie), the only difference being that these were subdivided into self-governments with relative autonomy, which could be limited (towns with regulated council, under the administration of the county) or more extensive (cities with county rank), and these local police institutions operated with little disparities in uniforms, regulations and apparatus. In Cluj/Kolozsvár, after the implementation of the City Administrative Act of 1874, the police institution and the intervention corps were structured thusly: 1 chief captain, 2 deputy captains, 3 commissioners, 5 sector captains, 37 agents, 10 sector agents and 4 cavalry agents, completed by a small number of bureaucrats.¹⁰ In 1888, when the 1886 Administrative Act was enforced, which outlawed the former act and reorganised the municipalities, in Cluj/Kolozsvár, besides the chief of police, there were 4 deputy captains, 1 inspector, 5 sector captains, 4 commissioners, 64 agents, 10 sector agents and 8 cavalry agents.¹¹ The institution's own regulations from 1874, drafted by the then chief captain Károly Minorich,¹² specified only the legal framework and the limits of the intervention, and, over the years, these rules included additional provisions – responses to violations which were described in the self-governmental regulations of Cluj/Kolozsvár, as well as the actions necessary in case of minor or major infractions described by criminal law. According to the 1874 regulations, the agent was allowed to use his weapon (sword) only in self-defence or in cases when immediate life-saving was necessary;¹³ regarding the consumption of alcohol, he was to avoid being drunk, otherwise bearing the consequence of being fired;¹⁴ however, there was no provision on frequenting pubs during service or in his free time. City police had its headquarters in the backyard of the townhall up until 1902, when it was moved to the Bánffy Palace in Main Square, in a few ground floor rooms rented by the city.¹⁵

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 95-96.

¹¹ *Kolozsvár szab. kir. város törvényhatóságának szervezeti és ügyviteli szabályrendelete (az 1886. XXI. és XXII. Törvénycikkek alapján)*, printed by Ferencz Ormós (Kolozsvár, 1888), 202-208.

¹² *Szab. királyi Kolozsvár városának szolgálatában levő rendőrök számára ideiglenes utasítás*. City Counsel document no. 2989-1974, printed by Miklós K. Papp (Kolozsvár: 1874), to be found at the Cluj-Napoca Library of the Romanian Academy.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 5-6.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁵ National Archives of Romania, Cluj County Branch. Fond no. 1: Cluj City Townhall/General Assemblies. Microfilm nr. 14-1-85-178: June 20 1902/247.

During the dualist era, Cluj/Kolozsvár's police institution underwent four organizational reforms: in 1874, in 1888, in 1901 and in 1906. The Municipal Administrative Acts of 1874, 1888 and 1906 (the latter was never approved by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but, nevertheless, the city leadership tried to implement measures inside its own purview in order to expand police bureaucracy) only set a broad framework for action, enumerated the staffing and minimally described the regulations of legal response to violations. Following the massive scandal of 1901, the city leadership was forced to specify a code of conduct for police agents, in order to restore peace and put an end to further aggression.

After this brief historical and institutional overview, it is now time to take a closer look at the individual protagonist of the scandal and the events in which he was involved in 1901.

Pál Deák was the longest-serving city official in dualist-era Cluj/Kolozsvár, an ambivalent character, who served as chief captain for about 20 years, when he was removed from office; however, the general assembly elected him chancery lawyer in three consecutive elections for another 18 years, during which time he also had a right to vote in the general assembly. In the course of his terms as chief captain, the contemporary public opinion considered him partly a romantic but hardliner conservative figure, partly a rigid bureaucrat, whose attitude towards the street and towards the opponents of the philo-Compromise liberal governing forces (student protesters, labour movement) could often be viewed as the actions and decisions of a man who had no problem with abusing his office.

Born in 1839,¹⁶ he studied at the Academy of Law in Cluj/Kolozsvár in the early 1860s,¹⁷ later opened a law firm in association with Dénes Szamaj, and in one of the most talked about divorces of the age he represented Mária Juhász against Emil Buczy, the administrator of the Mănăștur/Kolozsmonostor estate, winning the lawsuit and, moreover, even marrying the newly divorced lady.¹⁸ Their marriage ended up childless, but they adopted a boy named Mihály, who grew up to be a lawyer in the 1930s.¹⁹

In April 1881, Pál Deák was elected chief of police by the general assembly.²⁰ As such, between 1881 and 1888, he served as chief captain and

¹⁶ *Keleti Újság* V. 15. January 20 1927: 5.

¹⁷ *Emlékkönyv dr. Haller Károly működéséről. Negyven éves tanári jubileuma alkalmával* (Kolozsvár, 1906), 12-13.

¹⁸ *Keleti Újság* V. 15. January 20 1927: 5.

¹⁹ *Keleti Újság*. XVIII. 107. May 12 1935: 9.

²⁰ *Fővárosi Lapok*. XVIII. 93. April 24 1881: 517.

deputy mayor. In 1888, Lord Lieutenant Count Ákos Béldi appointed him chief of police, then in 1892²¹ and 1898²², on the occasions of renewing office personnel, re-confirmed him in office. After the riots in early August of 1901, he was immediately removed (or asked to retire), but come beginning of the following year, he was elected chancery lawyer by the general assembly,²³ a position he held until December of 1918. In the final years of his life, in the 1920s, “in order to survive, he was forced to keep buffaloes whose milk his wife carried home”.²⁴ He died on January 19th 1927, nine days after his wife, receiving an honorary burial by the mayor’s office.²⁵ The cornerstones of his active office years are often marked by events which engaged public opinion for longer periods of time, but sometimes he himself incited scandals using forceful interventions, in some cases being personally responsible for drowning out banal stories, yet his decisions on other occasions presumably averted more serious consequences.

As an antecedent to the 1901 rebellion, it is necessary to touch on a slightly similar event two and a half years prior. During the 1899 parliamentary elections held on the 17th of February in the second district of the city, Baron Arthur Feilitzsch in Liberal Party colours won against the “Ugronist” (one of the many parties for independence from the opposition, led by the Transylvanian Gábor Ugron) candidate Dénes Pázmándy. Following the announcement of the results in the evening, the crowd – which consisted of men of low-income and thus without a right to vote²⁶ – gathered under the townhall balcony attacked the police agents present to maintain the order. The crowd broke windows, threw stones at the police (many agents suffered skull fractures and facial wounds), and, in response, the agents drew their swords and blindly, indiscriminately, began chopping into the crowd. The agents of the gendarmerie who oversaw the elections also intervened; many fleeing stone-throwers trampled through the crowd, then regrouped and attacked again with stone showers from the adjacent side streets to the Main Square. The clash lasted roughly an hour, with

²¹ National Archives of Romania, Cluj County Branch. Fond no. 1: Cluj City Townhall/General Assemblies. Microfilm no. 14-1-85-172: April 26 1892/46.

²² National Archives of Romania, Cluj County Branch. Fond no. 1: Cluj City Townhall/General Assemblies. Microfilm no. 14-1-85-176: June 6-7 1898.

²³ National Archives of Romania, Cluj County Branch. Fond no. 1: Cluj City Townhall/General Assemblies. Microfilm nr. 14-1-85-178, January 30 1902/41.

²⁴ *Ellenzék*. XLVIII. 91. April 24 1927: 11.

²⁵ *Keleti Újság* V. 15. January 20 1927: 5.

²⁶ Voting right in the Hungarian parliamentary elections was bound to wealth-related or intellectual census, as well as gender, alas, in the cities, only every fourth or fifth man had a right to vote (women did not), leaving an extensive number of men without the slightest influence over high politics, this also being the root of every third of fifth year’s mass frustration.

countless wounded on both sides. From the belligerent crowd, many were hospitalized with severe cuts and wounds on their heads.²⁷ It very well may have been a spontaneous reaction by the police, and not an armed intervention ordered by the chief captain, but I consider this event to be the pretence for a long-awaited revenge taken on the police two and a half years later, simmering under the peaceful surface of the everyday city life.

The details that follow were gathered from the newspapers *Magyar Polgár* (liberal), *Kolozsvári Újság* (liberal), *Kolozsvári Friss Újság* (oppositional) and *Ellenzék* (oppositional), published between the 1st and the 15th of August 1901. Considering that local newspapers from both political sides rarely contradict in narrative, I chose not to highlight the difference of accounts, but to rather use only the particular details on which all accounts agree. Accounts from the daily newspapers will be not referenced, seeing that the publications reported the same events in the same manner. Stories are narrated in the present tense.

On the night of Wednesday to Thursday, July 31 - August 1 1901, police officers Sándor Pap and Dénes Kilyén pick up their salaries and visit several pubs on Ferencz József Street (today Horea). At about 3 o'clock, they enter the Feuerstein tavern on Kőmálalja Street (today Stephan Ludwig Roth) in an advanced state of intoxication. Four students from the Academy of Economics make fun of their drunkenness. The policemen draw their swords and rush after the students, who flee towards the bridge over the Someş. As soon as the Pap and Kilyén step out into the street, they are greeted by the also tormented platoon leader Jenő Gödri, who, seeing the swords, asks the police agents to identify themselves, but they cut him swiftly with their swords, and continue to pursue the students.

Gödri, wounded and covered in blood, slowly makes his way to the bridge, when Pap and Kilyén return angrily (having been unable to catch the boys) and ready for revenge, beat the platoon leader again and cut him on the sidewalk in front of the Berde Palace. Gödri loses three fingers on his left hand, has his brachial arteries lacerated and his arms severed, destroyed a vertebra in the lumbar area, cut on the scalp and stabbed in the back. Butcher Sándor Székely, who lived on the ground floor of the Élián-Benigni Palace, goes out in a dressing gown to intervene, but is also stabbed by Pap. He runs away, the agents follow him and catch up to him near the Babos Palace, but police commissioner Gyula Philippi arrives on the spot and puts an end to the tragedy. Aided by the crowd gathered around, Philippi opens the pharmacy in the Széki Palace, calls an ambulance by telephone, which transports the two wounded to the

²⁷ Szocialista zavargás. *Magyar Polgár*. XXII. 40. February 18 1899: 3-4.

Karolina Hospital in Karolina Square (today Museum Square), and escorts his subordinates to the nearest ward. Gödri is transferred to the military hospital on Kül-Farkas Street (Traian Moşoiu), where he dies at 5 o'clock in the morning due to massive blood loss.

On Thursday afternoon, the local press breaks the news. Public opinion explodes, and the immediate dismissal of chief of police Pál Deák and the punishment of the killers are demanded. Merchant Károly Sipos collects signatures for a popular assembly, the municipal committee meets in an emergency meeting, and local press begins to count the abuses of the police in the recent past. Kilyén and Pap are interrogated, imprisoned and charged with first degree murder. The prosecutor's office appoints lawyers Lajos Hunwald and Aurel Isac (writer Emil Isac's father) to defend the two. Sent to court, Kilyén receives a sentence of 7 years and Pap 10 years in prison for aggravated murder.²⁸

On Saturday, August 3rd, at around 1 a.m., police agent no. 49 kicks an 11-year-old newspaper salesman in the chest in front of the tobacco factory (where the Office building is today), and is immediately chased by several workers on their lunch break, forced to seek shelter in the attic of a nearby house.

Jenő Gödri is buried in the central cemetery on Saturday afternoon with the participation of several thousand people. The spotlight is now shared by the widow and the six children of the platoon leader killed at the age of 48. The brother and cousin of the deceased, Judge Sándor Gödri and Ferenc Gödri, mayor of Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy promise to report what happened directly to Prime Minister Kálmán Széll. All the while, Count Ákos Béli, Lord Lieutenant of Cojocna/Kolozs county and Cluj/Kolozsvár city, as well as mayor Géza Szvacsiná spend their holidays in Western-Monarchy spas.

On Sunday, August 4th at 10 a.m., a popular assembly takes place in the courtyard of the fencing sports club in Széchenyi Square (Mihai Viteazul), attended by hundreds of people and several representatives of the townhall, as well as the liberal deputy Baron Artur Feilitzsch, who takes the opportunity to hold a long electoral speech without any relation to the current events. (The elections will take place in October, Feilitzsch wins in the city's second electoral district). A memorandum is being drafted to the Minister of Internal Affairs, requesting the restructuring of the city's police. Some participants file complaints against police officers, including abuses and "savagery" committed by them in the past.

²⁸ *Magyarország* VIII. 225. September 22 1901: 12.

At around 8 p.m., police officer Károly Élénk chases a drunken citizen through the crowd gathered around the Enders Brothers' circus tent set up in Hunyadi Square (today Ștefan cel Mare Square). Promptly, several men, workers, waiters, journeymen take the citizen's defence, and attack the policeman, who takes refuge in a nearby house. The crowd rushes at another policeman, who receives the help of other agents with swords drawn, at which point the citizens also look for some weaponry, breaking from the seedlings recently planted in Emke Park (Avram Iancu Square), and head towards the townhall. "Down with Pál Deák, down with the criminals" is chanted. Arriving in front of the townhall on Deák Ferenc Street (Eroilor today), they ask in unison the presence of the chief captain, who appears, but is hit by a piece of asphalt and retreats. With no other goal, the crowd smashes all the windows of the building.

From the nearby Command of the 51st infantry regiment of the common army (k.u.k. armee) comes a company that pushes the crowd towards the Main Square, which retreats and further reaches Unió Street (Memorandumului). They quickly realize they're on the street of Pál Deák's house. The door being locked, they climb in through the broken windows and a total devastation follows, destroying everything they grab, stealing in the process the money from the house and the captain's wife's jewels, who had meanwhile locked herself in one of the rooms at the back of the yard. The crowd then continues on to Sétatér (Emil Isac) Street, destroying streetlights, several windows, chanting and whistling.

They head to Széchenyi Square (Mihai Viteazul), overturn the merchants' tents, arm themselves with bars and poles, arrive in front of the fencing sports club building, which upstairs housed the city's history museum, and urge the guard to hand over the swords from the club's and the museum's inventory. He refuses, the crowd breaks a few windows again, heads to the house of deputy police captain József Szabó on Hosszú (Ploiești) Street, and the same scenario is repeated: furniture destroyed, money and jewels stolen. Shortly after midnight, they arrive in front of the city correctional centre (dologház) on Nagy-Malom (George Barițiu) Street, where thieves, vagrants and homeless people were imprisoned, they smash the gate and free the 26 detainees, four of which return during the night. The crowd then heads to Fürdő (Cardinal Iuliu Hossu) Street to destroy another apartment of one of the policemen, taking into consideration the burning down of the Summer Theatre, but a violent storm cuts their appetite for destruction, and return to their homes.

The next morning, first counsellor and deputy mayor Móric Nagy fires chief captain Deák Pál, a decision quickly published in the newspapers to avoid another riot, and appoints lawyer Rezső Polcz as

interim. The police arrests merchant Károly Sipos, the organizer of Sunday's popular assembly, as well as several random citizens who had gathered at the destruction sites. Armed military guard the townhall and its surroundings all day on the 5th of August, but in the late afternoon, when a new crowd starts forming in the Main Square, City Council asks for reinforcements from military commanders in Gherla/Szamosújvár and Szeged. A regiment of hussars from Braşov/Brassó, who were conducting exercises with the 51st infantry regiment enter the Main Square, dispersing the peaceful crowd. A state of siege is proclaimed, the opening hours of pubs and restaurants in the suburbs are shortened, and a 9 p.m. curfew is declared. The thieves released from the correctional centre carry out a few burglaries in the next two or three nights, until the gendarmerie manages to gather almost all of them. The Lord Lieutenant and the mayor return to the city, stop at Gödri's grave and pay a visit to the wounded butcher in the hospital. Within three days, 34 police agents resign, another 8 are fired, and attempts are being made to recruit new agents from the gendarmerie.

The position of chief captain of the police is occupied in November by Gyula Kolozsváry, a former police commissioner in Budapest, who, however, resigns following the *Ellenzék* newspaper's discrediting campaign. Eventually, the position is occupied in January 1902 by Endre Hadadi, former chief of police in Hódmezővásárhely,²⁹ who would serve as chief captain of the police of Cluj/Kolozsvár until the summer of 1918.

The new regulation of the city police is drawn up by the interim Rezső Polcz, voted in the general assembly and promulgated by the council and mayor on October 30th, entitled: *Regulation on the purpose, duties of the police agent and general instructions for service in the police guard*.³⁰ In addition to general instructions regarding the law enforcement service, the new regulation now requires military discipline in the service and strict abstinence in private life.

In fact, it even contains an article in this respect, Article 11: *The police agent's conduct in private*, which prohibits alcohol consumption, gambling, debt and disorderly lifestyle. Paragraph 14 also prohibits the police agent from entering pubs and bars, from being in contact with people of bad reputation, and from having relations with other women outside of marriage. The policeman is also forbidden to have a job other than that of agent, to practice trade, to be a member of a party or to take part in political meetings. During service, he is not allowed to enter

²⁹ National Archives of Romania, Cluj County Branch. Fond nr. 1: Cluj City Townhall/General Assemblies. Microfilm no. 14-1-85-178: January 27 1902/1.

³⁰ *A rendőrség őrségének rendeltetése, hatásköre és általános szolgálati utasítás a rendőrség őrsége számára*. Printed by Ferencz Gombos, Kolozsvár, 1901.

restaurants, bars, cafes for any purpose other than what the service requires, he is forbidden to smoke, even casual conversation is prohibited (paragraph 18).

"The policeman must never forget that he exists in order to serve the public, and not for the public to serve him – so his duty is to have a polite, calm and serious attitude" (paragraph 20), and paragraph 17 compels him, above all, to "conduct himself in a military, cool, sincere, polite and calm behaviour, cut his speech short, charge his step in a quiet and temperate manner."

These provisions did indeed manage to discipline police agents, thus putting an end to major scandals regarding drunken policemen in the years to come, and aside from only three excessively aggressive cases involving city police³¹ which outraged the local public opinion, the institution managed to develop a harmonious relationship with the citizens of Cluj/Kolozsvár during the 16 years of Endre Hadadi's captancy.

³¹ 1. On October 12th 1902, at the inauguration of the King Mathias group of sculptures, the police used their sword blades to try and stop Hungarian students from singing out loud during the intonation of the Austrian anthem. 2. In 1906, when a government commissioner is sent to Cluj/Kolozsvár, because city leadership refused to install the Lord Lieutenant forced upon the county and the city by the newly appointed cabinet, citizens protested by inciting small riots on the streets where they were met with force by the police at the orders of the newly instated commissioner; 3. In 1908, a police agent is murdered and another is wounded by teenagers shooting revolvers; in consequence, city leadership introduced a new regulation which limited the carry and the use of guns to a permit issued by the mayor's office.

