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I. Introduction / Overview

The Hungarian Parliament established the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie with a law passed in 1881 to provide safety of persons and property in the rural areas. The Department of Interior directed the organization's work, but it was militarily organized, so its personnel also fell under the Ministry of War. It became an internationally renowned corps which the communists disbanded in 1945, and persecuted all its members. The veterans continued their close association with each other by the way of the Hungarian Royal Gendarme Veterans Association (MKCsBK) to the end of their lives.

II. Purpose and Duties

The gendarmeries duty was to establish and maintain peace and civil order, to assure the laws of the land are kept, to protect the safety and property of all legal inhabitants, prevent loss and damages of persons or property from any possible source, intentional or accidental, investigate all crimes, and turn all violators of the law over to the proper authorities.¹

III. History of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie

Antecedents

After the Habsburgs, with the help of the Russians, put down the Hungarian 1848-49 revolution and war of independence, they established 16 gendarme regiments according to the French pattern, to restore order in the rural areas of all their territories. Several of these were stationed in Hungary.² Though they were quite successfully providing safety and security, the Habsburgs also used them to suppress and apprehend the Hungarian patriots,³ so they were bitterly resented and seen as symbols of Austrian suppression and absolutism.⁴

The Compromise of 1869 united Hungary and Austria as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Both nations were autonomous regarding their internal affairs, but they functioned as one country regarding areas of common interests:

1. affairs of the royal court
2. ministry of foreign affairs, ministry of war, and finances relating to these operations
3. state credits
4. customs and international commerce.

Since providing law-enforcement was each nation's independent responsibility,⁵ Hungary disbanded the Austrian-organized gendarmerie – called *zsandárság* – with the exception of the Transylvanian and Horvát-Szlavón commands, as they were considered necessary for international security reasons.⁶ But the Hungarians felt this decision was a violation of their sovereign rights, so these commands were transferred to the Hungarian Royal Military in 1876.⁷ Their name was changed to the Hungarian Royal Transylvanian Gendarmerie and Hungarian Royal Horvát-Szlavón Gendarmerie and they changed their official language to Hungarian.⁸ The Hungarian Royal Transylvanian Gendarmerie consisted of 17 officers, 156 non-commissioned officers and 624 gendarmes (enlisted) on May 1, 1876.

The police provided law-enforcement in the cities, while county authorities organized special groups (*pandurs*) to protect the law in the rural areas (90% of the country). Their small number, poor training, corruption, and servant-, rather than law-enforcement mentality of the *pandurs* resulted in their ineffectiveness.⁹

Formation

The establishment and growth of civil society required civil order, which the pandurs and police were not able to provide.¹⁰ Goons, organized thieves, robinhoods kept the people in terror, except in the areas under the authority of the Hungarian Royal Transylvanian and Horvat-Szlovan Gendarmeries, where public safety was exceptionally good. Based on this observation, and yielding to the counties' growing request for a nationally organized law-enforcement corps, the Hungarian Parliament decided to extend the gendarmerie's service to the rest of rural Hungary. Kálmán Tisza, prime minister of Hungary, submitted a bill on November 29, 1880, to create the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie after the pattern of the well-functioning Transylvanian gendarmerie. The bill proposed the gendarmerie come under the authority both the Ministry of War and Ministry of the Interior. It called for the gradual development of the corps, and the incorporation of current law-enforcement personnel, who have sufficient training and local familiarity.

After a long debate, the Parliament adopted the bill, and created the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie with the 1881. / III. and II. law,¹¹ which the Monarch sanctioned on February 14, 1881. Since 1934 to the present, all gendarmes have celebrated February 14 every year as "Gendarme Day" which was made official by Admiral Horthy's Order of 1932. December 30.¹²

This centrally organized corps, whose duty was to enforce the laws of the legitimate government quickly established the safety of the people and property throughout the land, so Hungary gained the reputation of being one of the safest countries of Western Europe by the end of the nineteenth century.¹³

They organized the gendarmerie in military fashion.¹⁴ It was fully developed by 1888, with only little modifications of regional commands. The Ministry of the Interior had authority over their service and financial matters, while every personal and disciplinary matters fell under the Ministry of War. From 1886, the superintendent of the gendarmerie was the corps' military head.¹⁵

The Transylvanian gendarmerie became the Hungarian Royal gendarmerie's I. regional command.¹⁶ By January 1884, the II. regional command in Szeged, the IV. regional command in Kassa, the III. regional command in Budapest, the V. regional command in Pozsony, and the VI. regional command in Székesfehérvár were established. Each of these divided into districts, then into sections, and those into garrisons. There were 882 garrisons in 1887, and the gendarmerie consisted of 5383 gendarmes and 117 officers. Their number was 6 000 in 1893, 8 000 in 1899, and over 13 000 in 1913. By then, VII. regional command was added in Brassó (1903), and the VIII. in Debrecen (1907). The training of gendarmes occurred year-long during this phase of expansion, but each new district started their service on January 1 of a given year.¹⁷

With January 1 1899 the new judicial system excluded the officers from direct law-enforcement or detective work.¹⁸ Their responsibility was training and oversight.

At the turn of the century the "gendarme school" in Nagyvárad was established for the training of gendarmes and non-commissioned officers.¹⁹

WWI and The 1018-1919 communist take-over (“proletar dictatorship”)

During the war the workload of the gendarmes greatly increased. A significant number of them had to serve in the army as soldiers or military gendarmes or border patrol, while the crime rate sharply rose with crimes unknown in peace-time, such as evading the draft, price gauging, and robberies committed by escaped prisoners of war, etc.²⁰

On March 21, 1918, taking advantage of post-war circumstances, the communist seized power with the help of the social-democrats. On March 26 they announced all laws of the land invalid and with it they abolished the gendarmerie. To secure order, they established the Red Guard under the direct control of the Communist Party's leaders.²¹ Most of the gendarmes serving in the villages automatically became members of the Red Guard, unless they actively objected. But most of the gendarmes, excluding the senior officers, continued their service of keeping the order and preventing crimes, not out of political conviction, but out of duty, out of felt obligation toward the people of the land they vowed to protect.²² Other factors also contributed to this. Most of the political upheaval occurred in the cities, and news reached the villages rather slowly and incoherently, thus preventing deep changes from occurring in rural areas. Also, the new government erased the old laws, but yet to made new ones, so keeping order practically meant application of common sense,²³ which the gendarmes were well trained to do.

During their short lived reign (133 days), the communist leaders only had time to replace the leadership of the original gendarmeries. As there were not enough communist leaders to fulfill all posts, they placed proletariat and peasant activists into these positions, who had zero experience in that area. They utilized a minority of the previous experienced leaders in administrative areas, but stripped of all their authorities.²⁴

A part of the Red Guard functioned as a terror corps. Its members almost exclusively were the most faithful communists. The so-called Lenin-boys and the Cserni-commandos used brutal force to eradicate those who opposed them. They did not only put down any attempt against them, but they also brought judgment and executed their enemies. This elicited an aversion from the people,²⁵ for Hungarians were not accustomed to such barbarian practice. Even during wars it was an exception to take a life without a proper judicial process and verdict.²⁶

The Red Guard also took action against potential opposition. Before they came into power, there was a large gendarme unit in the Danube-Tisza Interspace. The Lenin-boys attacked them under the cover of night, and disarmed and disbanded them.²⁷

The leading officers of the gendarmerie were dealt with more brutally. The communists dragged Lt. General FERY Oszkár, and Lt. Colonel MENKINA János és BORHY Sándor from their homes. Nothing was heard of them afterwards. Investigations after the fall of the proletar-dictatorship revealed their fate. They were taken to the basement of the Schoolmistress-training Institute on Mozdony Street, where they were stabbed with bayonets numerous times until they died, then their bodies were thrown into the Danube River under cover darkness. They also executed with various brutal methods another Lt. general, six Lt. colonels, a captain, a 1st Lt., six non-commissioned officers, and sixteen gendarmes.²⁸ In memory of the bestial murder of FERY Oszkár, MENKINA János és BORHY Sándor, the Mozdony Street was renamed to FERY Oszkár Street. After 1945 the communist changed the street's name to Kiss János Street, after the men who died resisting the Germans.²⁹

Reorganization, development and effectiveness

After the downfall of the communist regime, the reorganization of the Gendarmerie became a priority to provide the necessary safety and peaceful conditions to re-build the war-ravaged country. The duty of the gendarmes, just as before the communist regime during the fast changing hands of governments, was to provide security for the habitants of the land so they could restore their lives.

The official writing the Laws and Regulations regarding the specifics of the organization and service of the gendarmerie started a year later. In a 1920. November 10 decision, the Cabinet Council determined to set the number of gendarmerie at 18084 men, organized into 200 mounted and 951 regular garrisons, under 169 district commands, 26 county commands, seven division commands, and 22 supply offices.

This plan later had to be modified. The Trianon treaty treated Hungary very severely. In addition to taking nearly 3/4 of her territory, it also set many limits on the country. Among these were the number of the rural law-enforcement corps, the gendarmerie, at its 1913 level,³⁰ which they later modified to 12 000 persons (600 officers and 11 400 enlisted),³¹ and allowed only 35 000 voluntaries in the military including the law enforcement corps. The Hungarian government therefore removed the gendarmerie from under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of War in order for the gendarmes not to be counted in the permitted 35 000 total military personnel. From this time on, the Gendarmerie only came under the Ministry of War. Many military officers were transferred to the gendarmerie after a one-year mandatory probation service. This both preserved these officers and strengthened the gendarmerie's leadership.

In 1925, the government reorganized the regional commands (kerületi parancsnokság): I. Budapest, II. Székesfehérvár, III. Szombathely, IV. Kaposvár (later Pécs), V. Szeged, VI. Debrecen and VII. Miskolc regional headquarters. They hammered out the final organization of the gendarmerie between 1921 and 1925. Under the seven regional commands, they had regional commands corresponding to the counties (osztályparancsnokság), under which were the wing-commands (szárnyparancsnokság), corresponding to 2-3 sub-county districts (járások). These divided into district commands (for each sub-county district), which directed and supervised the 5-6 garrisons' work (őrs) in their areas.

This organization expanded by three more regional commands as a result of the return of some of the territories lost by the Trianon Treaty (VIII.-Kassa, IX.-Kolozsvár, X.-Marosvásárhely)

A major change occurred as a result of specialization and modernization of the corps, which allowed the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie to become one of the world's most effective organization in providing personal and material security to the people of the land. They solved 85-95% of all crimes committed, even the most petty ones, like a theft of a chicken, and an even higher percentage of serious crimes. Their regular patrol of their given area resulted in a drastic reduction in the crime-rate.³² They were recognized for their achievements at the 1926. world law-enforcement convention,³³ and foreign agencies came to study their methods. Their effectiveness came from their excellent relationship with the local population, the respect and trust they enjoyed nationwide, their excellent and constant training, their absolute resistance to bribery,³⁴ and a very strict following of their regulations. They had strict guidelines as to when they were permitted to use weapons and when it was mandatory to use them. The gendarmes felt though that their success was due to their mentality of submitting their personal interests to the interest of the people they served, to their faithfulness and self-sacrificial love for the people and their homeland.

The Ministers of Military and of Interior, in charge of the gendarmerie, wrote of the gendarmerie in 1920³⁵:

“ We never needed a strong, well armed corps more than these days. The war and the following illegitimate governments in Hungary undermined the respect for law, authority, and morals. Instead, rambunctious, rebellious behavior, thefts, burglaries, and crimes of all sorts became commonplace. These can only be curtailed by a well-organized gendarmerie...As the Minister of Interior, I was developing this corps with great care and love, and I consider them a first class organization, one of Hungary's best achievement, which well serves her honor...” Count Gyula Andrásy, Government Advisor.

“The root of the gendarmerie is the need for securing the public's safety, and it always served this purpose of his existence well. All the enlisted and officer gendarmes' well-disciplined, self-sacrificial, tireless work and attitude earned the trust and respect of the wide layers of society, which is actually necessary for their hard but effective work.” Dezső Kolossváry, Retired minister of military, mounted forces general

„Devoted work, iron-disciple, and exemplary sense of duty developed the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie into such a excellent outstanding corps, which rightly earned the highest regard nationwide.” Baron Samu Hazai, retired minister of military, army general

WWII

The treaty of Trianon robbed Hungary nearly 3/4 of her territory and nearly 2/3 of her population. Naturally, Hungary longed to regain her land and people and this desire drove her to ally herself with Germany, who was sympathetic to the Hungarian cause. This hope initially seemed to become a reality with the return of Felvidek, Transylvania, and Delvidek. Of course, it was the gendarmes duty to provide public safety in these added territories as well. The increasing crime rate brought on by the war added to their workload. Since the protection of all legal citizens, including the Jews was also a part of their duties, they were further burdened with extra work as they had to ward off and investigate the anti-Semitic population's attacks on Jews and against Jewish property. At the same time, many of them were sent to the front lines, where their losses were greater than the army's in general, for they were not adequately trained for war and were very poorly equipped. They tried to supplement the greatly decreased number of gendarmes from the ranks of the army, but these new gendarmerie naturally could not achieve the excellence in the work that characterized them before the war. In spite of all these set-backs, they were able to provide satisfactory public safety throughout the years of the war.

The Red Army reached the eastern Hungarian border in the summer of 1944, and by August it invaded Transylvania. At the advice of the Ministry of Interior, the garrisons withdrew from the advancing Russian occupied territories. From the withdrawn members, as well as from the members of gendarme schools they organized gendarme battalions against the invading Red Army.

The German occupation, followed by the Arrow Cross Party's takeover of power in October of 1944 further surprised the gendarmerie. The existing gendarmes automatically came under the new regime, along with the existing government offices and ministries. In these turbulent times of war and power shifts, it was impossible to have a clear view of events. Some of the leaders, who had a clearer understanding of the events, tried to get out of their obligations, but most of the gendarmes continued the only duty they were trained to do, thinking that by doing so they could still serve their homeland according to their decades-long motto, “*Faithfully, honorably, valiantly.*”

Gendarme units took part in the defense of Budapest during the siege by the invading Russians. Under the leadership of vitez Gyula Szilády, most of the 3,000 enlisted and 50 gendarmerie lost their lives in the desperate battle. A few were captured, many executed on the spot, and the rest taken prisoners of war. Many of POWs later died in Russian prison camps or were executed, or tortured and imprisoned by the communists upon their return to Hungary.

The units serving in the western parts of Hungary retreated from the advancing Russians and eventually ended up in Austria, from where most of them did not return to Hungary since the communists had immediately started their fierce persecution of all gendarmes in early 1945.

The Gendarmerie and the Jews

See under that heading.

Abolition of the gendarmerie

After the Soviets occupied Hungary, the communist leaders returned from Russia with a Moscow-approved prepared plan for the seizing of power. As their goal was the abolition of the previous civil society, they had to destroy first of all its strongest pillar, the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie. Therefore, the Temporary National Administration, which established itself in Debrecen even before the war ended, on December 22, 1944, among its first rulings disbanded the Gendarmerie for exclusively political reasons,³⁶ and declared all past and present gendarmes collectively guilty of crimes against the proletariat and the peasantry, and started their brutal eradication. Of course, this justification would hardly be accepted in the eyes of the allies and the world in general, so the communists had to find another excuse for the unjust and brutal treatment of the gendarmes and their families. The American discovery of the German concentration camps and their inspection of the sites gave the communists the perfect opportunity to use the gendarmerie as a scapegoat. The gendarmeries participation of the deportations was soon enlarged to eventually blaming them for the holocaust itself.³⁷ The propaganda machine of course had to suppress the fact that the gendarmerie was only one of the law-enforcement and government agencies participating, in the collection of the Jews and had to suppress the fact that no one at the time, not even the Jews knew the fate awaiting the deported Jews beyond the Hungarian borders. In order to keep people ignorant of the facts, they also had to destroy all of the written evidence³⁸ that would have shown the true nature of the gendarmerie. In order to secure their political power and to justify their brutal eradication of the gendarmerie, the communists did not only seek the physical eradication of the gendarmerie, but also their moral depravations well. The slanting of some facts, overemphasizing or silencing others, and propagating plain lies³⁹ in the past 65 years, has produced a generation who has a grossly distorted view of the gendarmerie. Today, many people view and judge the gendarmerie solely on the basis of their forced involvement in the deportations at the end of WWII, ignoring their previous 63 years of service, the service for which they were called into existence and which work they had performed excellently and most honorably. The Jewish question therefore requires a more thorough treatment (see under its own heading), Here only some basic facts stated in a nutshell:

-The gendarmerie was strictly involved with law-inforcement and had no part at any time in making laws

-There were no concentration camps in Hungary, so neither the gendarmerie, nor any other agencies were executing Jews at any time

-The nature of the concentration camps (in Poland and Germany) were not known to the public,⁴⁰ including the gendarmes and the Jews themselves. Both believed the Jews were deported to work camps.

-The gendarmes were not “rounding up” the Jews, but lead the groups, voluntarily gathered on the advice of the Jewish Council, to specified locations⁴¹

-The turbulent times of the war and the prevailing anti-Semitic sentiment of the people created opportunities for some individuals, even among the gendarmes, to abuse their power. But in these instances, the gendarmes acted against their own standards and were called into account by the gendarmerie itself, when discovered. They are certainly, but only individually liable for their own actions. It must also be noted that in all groups of people, including the Jews, one finds individuals, who selfishly act to the detriment of others,⁴² especially during the adverse war-times.

- Only a section of the gendarmerie took part in the deportation process, and only a portion of those acted in an abusive manner. The Jewish organization of DEGOB⁴³ (their title translated: National Committee for the Care of those Deported) collected the reports of the deported Jews (these reports are currently stored in the Hungarian Jewish Museum’s archives). In these, nearly 1 200, about 1/3 of the total, mentioned gendarmes (two dozens very positively), while the total number of gendarmes was about 18 000 during WWII. Instead of holding the guilty ones personally responsible, the communist regime mounted an all-out attack against every single gendarme, as their rage against the gendarmerie was political, and not deportations-related.

- the brutalities with which the communists treated the gendarmes, and other people they considered as “enemies” of the regime, far surpasses the number and degree of the “gendarme brutalities” reported during the deportations, as the ever increasing number of discovered cases, or a visit to the House of Terror Museum testifies. Furthermore, the manner with which the Soviets transported their prisoners in train wagons was not any less brutal than the deported Jews experienced. Nobody, personally or collectively has yet been held accountable for these crimes, or for the fate of countless Hungarians, gendarmes and others, who died horrible deaths in the work-camps of Hungary or in the prison-camps of the Soviet Union. The persons who committed the crimes against the gendarmes and other “enemies” of the communists currently still enjoy their comfortable retirement, while the blind-to-the-facts, hate-driven hunt against the gendarmes is still ongoing, as the recent Képiró trial testifies.⁴⁴

The Order, which dissolved the Gendarmerie, itself is an absolute proof that the abolition of the corps had nothing to do with Jews or with their deportation (it does not even mention the Jews), but it had everything to do with the political goal of the communists. In order to establish their power, they felt necessary to eradicate the gendarmerie, the most solid pillar of the pre-war civil society. The *1690/1945. ME. Rendelet* (Order)⁴⁵ gives the following reason for the abolition of the gendarmerie: “The Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie served the previous anti-national regimes with blind obedience, ruthlessly tried to destroy the Hungarian democratic movements, and committed countless acts of violence against the Hungarian peasantry and proletariat.” Vitéz Gábor Kiss, the central director of the MKCsBK pointed out the blatant lies of these accusations in his speech delivered at the Florida Law-enforcement conference in 1998.⁴⁶ According to his summary:

1. If the previous regime was “anti-national,” then the blame would be on the nation itself that elected such a government through their proper elections, as the gendarmes only upheld the laws that legitimate government created.

2. The laws provided for peaceful carrying out of various “democratic movements,” and the gendarmes, true to their oaths, made sure that these indeed were carried out without interference. Only those movements seeking the forceful overturn of the government, namely the communist movements, were made illegal by the 1921/3 Article of Law (and all governments of the world, without exception, take stand against such efforts). So, the gendarmes helped to prevent the communist from carrying out their intended activities against the government.

3. The vast majority of gendarmes were selected from the ranks of the peasantry and working youth, and their love for the people and country was an expected and further nurtured characteristic of every one of them. Therefore, it is unthinkable that they could have committed “countless acts of violence” against their own countrymen, against their own parents, siblings, friends.

The collective judgment and openly hostile persecution of every member of the gendarmerie was against the laws of any civil society, as it violated all general judicial guidelines:

-An organization should only be condemned collectively, if it was specifically created to harm a part of the society;

-One must judge the action of a group or individual on the basis of information known at the time of their action in question;

-Every individual must be judged on the basis of their own action, and not by the action of others.

The gendarmerie was clearly created for the benefit of society and indeed was greatly responsible for the order and peace that allowed Hungary’s unprecedented civil development in the first half of the twentieth century.

The communist regime blatantly ignored these guidelines when they condemned the gendarmerie collectively, to this day blaming them for something no one knew at the time, and persecuted each of its members regardless of their individual actions, even the ones who protected the Jews at their own risk, or who fought against the Germans. And thus they tortured, mistreated, imprisoned, killed, or pushed to the edge of society all the gendarmes, just because they were gendarmes.⁴⁷

All gendarmes, even the ones retired before the start of the war, had to appear before a “proving board,” made up of communist party members, who personally might have found themselves opposed by the gendarmes before the war, when communist activities were against the law. Therefore it is not surprising that over 90% of the gendarmes were not “proved,” as approval required proof that the gendarme actively acted against his vows, or that he fought against the German.⁴⁸ The latter one made it possible for some gendarmes to be proved, and some of these even served in the new government after 1945, but they too were executed a few years later⁴⁹ when the communists felt their power secured, or persecuted some other way, then, or after the 1956 revolution (see the biographies in the website’s library, e. g. Rács Balázs).

According to the August 25, 1946. issue (number 192) of the publication, *Magyar közlöny*, only 235 persons were proved out of the 5 000 gendarmes, who appeared before the proving boards. They, who were refused, could only appeal at the very same board, which would have been totally futile. Most of those “not proved” were persecuted in various ways, and none of them were able to enter the mainstream of society.

Among those executed were the aforementioned vitez Colonel Gyula Szilády, whom the communists lynched before dragged to the gallows before lynching him, colonel István Láday, colonel Norbert Orendy, colonel László Hajnácskőy, Lt. colonel vitéz patakfalvi László Ferenczy, Captain Dr. Endre Radó, 1st Ltd. Dr. Bálint Balassa; Colonel vitéz lőfő kibédi Jenő Péterffy was beaten to death during his interrogation; and Major General vitéz szinai Béla Szinay and brigadere General vitéz nemes István Vadászy took their own lives to escape the brutal molestations of the AVH. Colonel vitéz József Czigány, Colonel vitéz battyáni Tibor Paksy-Kiss, Brigadere General Endre Temesvári, Ltd. General vitéz Márton Nemerey and Ltd. General József Finta were sentenced to long prison terms, and we could continue the line with the many gendarmes executed, imprisoned, sent to the hideous work camps of Recsk, Csepel, Kazincbarcika, were deported from their homes to the planes of the Hortobágy, or given over to the surrounding communist countries for persecution and execution. Those returning from the hell of the Soviet prison camps years after the war, were also automatically persecuted, typically taken into custody as they stepped off the train upon their arrival. Those not “proved” could not engage in any public service or could only have the lowest, most poorly paid menial jobs. They were only allowed to work as skilled laborers from the mid fifties, but many were too old or too feeble from the severe physical treatments they received for the demanding physical labor, and therefore had to live the rest of their lives under the poorest circumstances.

The family members of the gendarmes also suffered. They lost their homes and all their possessions, and had no pension, medical, or social support. Their children were greatly hindered from getting higher education. Thousands of families were banished from society and forced into a minimal existence just because they had a gendarme family member.

The purely political motivation behind the severe persecution of gendarmes, having nothing to do with the Jewish deportations, clearly shown by their treatment after the fall of the 1956 freedom fight. After the Soviets crushed the revolution, the communist party (MSZMP) on December 5 made a list of those they felt responsible for bringing about the revolution, and established a branch within the Department of Interior (Belügyminisztérium II. főosztályának II/5. alosztálya) to take over the work of the infamously brutal AVH and to develop a plan to revenge these groups according to the “party’s political purposes and directives.”⁵⁰ The gendarmes were specifically mentioned as such a group. Therefore, another wave of gendarme persecution started, affecting all gendarmes still living in Hungary, regardless what they have been doing or not doing during or since the war, or during the revolution. Many were killed, or died as a result of their brutal interrogation, and all of them were persecuted to some degree. Some of these stories are now recorded in the website’s Biography section (e.g. János Kún, Balázs Rács, László Kristóf),⁵¹ but many families are still hiding these information in fear of the still on-going anti-gendarme propaganda. For example, one gendarme, whose name the family still does not want to reveal, was beaten to death during his questioning, and then the family was commanded to tell everyone that he died as a result of falling off a horse.

Gendarmes in exile – MKCsBK

The fate of those gendarmes and families that were in the west at the end of the war and did not return to Hungary was quite different. Most of the gendarme troops retreating from the advancing occupying Soviet army surrendered to the American troops on May 4th in the Traunfall Forest. From April 28th, under Árpád Zámbery gendarme colonel, the remnants of the I. II, III, and VIII. regional gendarme commands organized themselves into one unit. The American forces, familiar with the world-famous integrity of the gendarmes, did not disarm them, but rather engaged them in the law enforcement of the displaced person camps. They organized themselves into two wings, nine garrisons, with seven NCOs, and seven officers. The camp operated until October, at which time the Americans repatriated most of the camp residents.

The British and French POW camps also used the gendarmes to provide security. The Galanta III. gendarme training battalion was employed in much the same way in the British zone until the summer of 1947. By the end of 1945, news of the arrests and imprisonments of gendarmes in Hungary filtered out to the west, so the remaining gendarmes tried to escape into the French zone, as there was never a war-declaration between Hungary and France, so the French did not extradite the prisoners at the request of Hungary. Because of the total uncertainty of the times, about 150-200 gendarmes, many of them former officers, volunteered to serve in the French Foreign Legion, in which they later fought in Algeria and Viet Nam, often defending French interests with their lives.

But most of the gendarmes in the west eventually found civilian occupations, and many became strong pillars of their new communities, contributing to the welfare of their adoptive countries. Due to the life-long and very strong camaraderie among the gendarmes, they also formed the Hungarian Royal Gendarme Table Society on June 21, 1947, in Graz, Austria. They changed the name to Magyar Királyi Csendőr Bajtársi Közösség, MKCsBK (Hungarian Royal Gendarme Veterans' Association – only the Hungarian name is official, as the registered name in various countries. The English translation of it varied among Central Directors; see in article on MKCsBK) in August of 1949. The organization, vowed to be maintained as long as two gendarmes remain alive, initially provided financial support to those in Hungary, and help in the transition of those forced to restart their lives abroad. Later the focus shifted to the preservation of their relics and written materials to facilitate the future rehabilitation of the gendarmerie, which fell under the vicious attack of the communists. In the 1990s they supplied the National Széchényi Library with gendarmes books they collected, gave a substantial size collection of gendarme memorabilia to Hungary, and placed a gendarme memorial plaque on the wall of the War-history Museum.

In 2004, they created a website for the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie, where in a virtual Library and Museum the visitors may see original documents, photos, objects, listen to speeches of gendarmes, see them on videos, and read and study all the laws and regulations that governed their work, as well as read the books produced by the corps. These were completely out of the reach of people in the past 65 years due to the communists efforts to destroy and make them inaccessible. The books are scattered all over the world; it is estimated that about 1/3 of them are forever lost, and the rest have only one-to-a-few copies surviving. The hope is to find as much of possible of the currently known 280 or so books, and make them available to everyone via the internet, so the facts may clear the maligned name of the gendarmerie.

The MKCsBK teamed up with the Szemere Bertalan Hungarian Law-enforcement-historian Scientific Society to carry out the digitalization of the gendarmerie's written material. After digitalizing all the laws and regulations of the gendarmerie, two years ago we

gained the help of the Library of the War-history Institute and Museum. They allowed us to photograph the books in their collection, page by page, which material then we convert into readable “books” for our website. After processing their material, the National Széchényi Library gave us permission this summer to photograph their gendarme books the same way. Then, they offered to help with the digitalization of our photographed material as well. This will result not only in better quality, but better access of the material, as well, because the OSZK-prepared books are also posted on their website (www.mek.oszk.hu).

As our website’s content grows, so does the number of its visitors (more than 50 000 visits to date). Now, we have a dozen or so books on line which people brought to our attention from foreign countries, and were kindly willing to photocopy them for the website. So, with literally world-wide effort, a wide selection of the gendarmerie’s written material is already available (and will be more so in the future), allowing a historians and laymen alike learn the facts about the gendarmerie, which was hidden and distorted over 60 years.

Rehabilitation

In 1971, approximately 3,000 gendarmes were living in Hungary and at least 1,000 abroad.⁵² Unfortunately, only very few survived to see the end of the communist regime. Those living in Hungary were only able to meet in the greatest of secrecy. After the 1989 fall of communism, not only they could freely associate, but new organizations sprouted studying the history of the gendarmerie⁵³ or aiming to preserve their memory and traditions.⁵⁴

The rehabilitation of the gendarmerie in Hungary began in 1987 with the Interior Ministry’s order of 86/1987 that stated that all decrees of the government issued before January 1, 1960, are nullified unless listed in the addendum.⁵⁵ The addendum did not include order 1690/1945, which dissolved the gendarmerie and collectively labeled them war-criminals, so that order was also considered nullified (“de jure”), but they considered it to apply to only to those gendarmes who were “approved”. Therefore true rehabilitation only became a reality when the communist government was replaced by a democratic form of government, which issued the Constitutional Court’s declaration of “44/1991. (VIII. 28) AB” on August 28, 1991, naming the gendarmerie’s disbanding order of 1690/1945 unconstitutional, including also the aforementioned 86/1987 order. The still living members of the gendarmerie became qualified to receive retirement benefits, and the XXXII. Law enacted in 1992 provided some reparations for loss of life, freedom, and property, suffered by all people persecuted for political reasons. Of course the rehabilitation did not pertain to those individuals who actually had committed criminal acts. Sadly, only a small percentage of the gendarmes lived to experience the rehabilitation.

During the communist party’s rule, all material relating to the gendarmerie was strictly forbidden. The people could only keep such material in their possession at a great risk of imprisonment or the whole family being sent to displacement camps. The gendarmerie-related material was persecuted as the gendarmes were. Most of the material was destroyed by the communists, only a small portion of it was preserved in a few select libraries but kept under lock. Some copies, as prized possessions, survived that were taken by those gendarmerie who managed to escape to the west.

After the fall of communism the locked-up material became publicly accessible, but their few numbers and aged physical condition, which prevented photocopying, rendered them still inaccessible to both the public and to historians. This hinders the spread of knowledge about the true nature of the gendarmerie, so the anti-gendarme sentiment continues. As the Hungarian government has not taken any steps toward the moral

rehabilitation of the Gendarmerie, the MKCsBK took it upon itself to digitalize all their available written material, including all the laws and regulations governing the gendarmes' work and making them assessable to the general public.

Current Situation

The Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie is an integral part of Hungary's history, but its proper evaluation and study has yet to be done. This lack of true information has substantially contributed to the slanted views and lies still propagated on either side of the political spectrum. It is for this reason that the MKCsBK has been actively working to make all written material of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie available. Through this effort the MKCsBK hopes to restore the gendarmerie's deserved honor and at the same time provide Hungary with time honored proven methods that can be modified and utilized to establish effective law enforcement nation to handle the desperate situation as it is today. But the reluctance, on the part of the government, to examine and utilize the experience of this world-renown effective corps delays the remedying of the current situation, where the high crime rate interferes with the proper growth and development of the society.

The political left's constant negative propaganda is still seriously hindering the objective evaluation of the gendarmerie. At the same time, the extreme political right seeks to re-establish the gendarmerie as a way of promoting their own agenda. As a result, the people are deeply divided emotionally over the issue. For this reason, the MKCsBK felt it necessary to declare its stand on the matter, which official statement can be found on the website's opening page.

This negative bias of the gendarmerie in Hungary was clearly shown in the recent trials of Dr. Sandor Képíró, gendarmerie captain. At the same time, no mention or charges are brought against the communists who committed numerous brutal atrocities against the people. To counter this double standard, the MKCsBK has started a Biography section on the website, making publically known the outrageous crimes committed against gendarmes, who were brutally persecuted for the mere fact that they were gendarmes. The hate and fear instilled in the families touched by the brutality of the communist secret police is so profound that many are still unwilling to talk of the ill-treatment of their gendarme relatives until after their passing. As a result, many of the stories of such persecution will die with them and their persecutors continue to live in comfort and will only be accountable in the heavenly courts.

IV. Organization

Geographic areas of operation

The Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie was responsible for keeping the peace and security of people and their possessions in the rural areas of Hungary, which entailed about 90% of the land. In larger towns and cities the police was responsible for the same.⁵⁶

Subjection

The gendarmerie's service and financial affairs fell under the authority of the Department of Interior, while each gendarme in his person was under the jurisdiction of the Department of Defence, as the gendarmerie was militarily organized.⁵⁷

Utilization

The service of the gendarmerie had two parts. The bulk of their duty, the so-called “ordinary” duty, meant the guarding of safety on their geographic area. They performed this quite independently, although strictly according to the most specific regulations. They also had to carry out services requested by the local or governmental authorities.⁵⁸ In the latter cases, the requesting authorities were responsible for the content of their request, while the gendarmes were responsible for carrying it out efficiently, and exactly according to their rules.⁵⁹ The gendarme had no right to judge the content of the service he was called to do.⁶⁰ At the same time, the gendarmes’ service manual gave precise instructions as to what kind of a service a gendarme may be called upon to perform, and that only, if it did not hinder him in performing the usual law-enforcement duties of his service area.⁶¹

Organization

The organization of the gendarmerie had changed somewhat over the years, as they established the superintendant position⁶² and shifted the oversight between the Departments of Interior and Defense. The following divisions reflect the situation of 1941.⁶³

1. Command headquarters (Központi vezetés)
2. Operational centers (Központi szervek)
3. Unit commands (Csapatalakulatok)
4. Supply centers (Gazdálatskezelési szervek)

1. Command headquarters (Központi vezetés):

- Hungarian Royal Department of Interior – “VI. b.” gendarmerie division
- Hungarian Royal Department of Defense – 20. Gendarmerie personnel division
- The Superintendant of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie

2. Operational centers (Központi szervek):

- Committee for instruction of gendarmerie and development of regulations (szabályszerkesztő és tanulmányi bizottság)
- Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie’s Officer Training schools (tiszt tanfolyamok)
- Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie’s supply depot (felszerelési anyagraktár)

3. Unit commands (Csapatalakulatok)

- **Regional gendarme commands (kerület)** headed by a colonel, and designated by their location and with a Roman numeral. Each had an assigned lawyer and physician as well.

- I. Budapest
- II. Székesfehérvár
- III. Szombathely
- IV. Pécs
- V. Szeged
- VI. Debrecen

VII. Miskolc

VIII. Kassa

IX. Kolozsvár

X. Marosvásárhely

- **Gendarme sections (osztály)** generally covered a county with 25-50 garrisons, with a Lt. colonel or major in command. They were named according to the location of their headquarters (i.e. egri, győri, etc.)
- **Wings (szárny)** were headed by a Captain and were responsible for the gendarmerie in one or several townships, with 8-15 garrisons. They were also named according to name of the city where they were located (i.e. Hungarian Royal Wing-command of Kassa).
- **Platoons (szakasz)** consisted of 3-5 garrisons located within the same township. They were headed by a alhadnagy, and named according to the town of their location (i.e. Hungarian Royal platoon Tata).
- **Garrisons (csendőrőrs)** were directly responsible for keeping order and providing safety and all law-enforcement activities. The foot and/or mounted patrol consisted of 6, 9, 12, 15 and 16-25 gendarmes, including a senior sergeant in charge. With the exception of supply, they were under the supervision of the wing commanders, and named according to their location (i.e. Hungarian Royal Gendarme Garrison Kiskőrös).
- **Detachments (különítmény)** were assigned to areas where temporarily increased gendarme presence was desirable for public security. Within two years, they were either dissolved or converted to a regular garrison, with the exception of seasonal detachments (i.e. bathing resorts), or special guard duties.
- **Gendarme training schools (csendőr gyalog tanosztály)**, under the command of a major had three subsections, each under the command of a captain. They fell under the direct authority of the Budapest Regional Gendarme Command. They were responsible for the training of the enlisted gendarmes.
- **Gendarme schools (csendőr iskolák)**, under the command of a captain, served the training of sergeants and non-military employees attached to the gendarmerie. They were under the authority of the Gendarme Sections of their geographical area, and named according to their location (i.e. Tata gendarme school).
- **Mounted training centers (lovak osztályok)** were located in Budapest and Kiskunhalas. Under the command of a captain, they instructed the mounted gendarmes, both enlisted and officers, as well as trained the horses. There was a veterinarian also assigned to these centers.

4. Supply and financial centers (Gazdálátkezelési szervek):

- The **central office** was responsible for all material inventory, uniform and equipment depot, the payroll of all operational center personnel, and the registry of retired gendarmes living in Budapest.
- The supply and financial **offices attached to the regional and sectional commands** was responsible for the material and supply demands of their regions, the training of supply personnel, and a registry of retired gendarmes living in their areas.

Ranks

The gendarme ranks were identical with the army ranks, as the gendarmes personally were under the authority of the Department of Defense. A gendarme always started in the gendarmerie with a corporal rank, even if he already had achieved a higher rank before his transfer from the army.



Rank insignia on uniform collar and overcoat sleeve of enlisted (above) and officer (to the right) gendarmes



V. Service

Admission requirements

The enlistment into the gendarmerie was strictly voluntary. This policy had only changed toward the end of the two world wars, when their numbers became insufficient due to increased demand (more crimes during wars), and depletion from the losses from the war.

The requirements for acceptance into the gendarmerie were (1941):⁶⁴

- Hungarian citizenship
- unquestionable patriotism and moral behavior
- 20-40 years of age
- single or widowed without children
- qualified for military service
- at least 163 centimeter in height
- mastery of Hungarian language adequate for service
- knowledge and ability of reading, writing, and basic math

The enlisted gendarme had to commit to a minimum of six years of service, which could include a maximum of three years of prior military service. After the 4-6 months of basic training, they were assigned to a garrison for a year of probationary service (18 months for those without prior military service), before they became confirmed as gendarmes. After the mandatory period, they could extend their service one year at a time.

The non-commissioned officers were selected and trained from the most apt and deserving gendarmes. Based on the local need, the regional gendarme commands determined their numbers and the location of their training schools, which lasted 6-8 months.

The regulations applicable to the army officers also applied to the gendarme officers, as to their acceptance, their advancement, and their rank, but in addition they also had to complete the gendarme officer training school (at the Böszörményi facility) and pass the qualifying exam. The officers had to obligate themselves to 20 years of service.

Most of the enlisted gendarmes came from the poor population of the villages, which the gendarmerie served. Young man of good moral character and mind, but lacking the financial means to get higher education beyond the mandatory four years of elementary school, found a very respectable and financially sound future in a carrier within the gendarmerie. The enlisted gendarmes, most of them already having had some military service, were initially trained at local gendarme schools, but later at the newly established school at Nagyvárád. But their true training occurred in the garrisons where they also served. There, their daily training of general subjects as well as professional ones, to make them cultured, disciplined, well-rounded individuals, who could comfortably move in all layers of society. For this reason, gendarmes typically considered the gendarmerie as their own family, and supported each other through their whole life even after the abolition of the gendarmerie.

Expected behavior

„The gendarme is a representative of the state , the pillar of lawful order and peace, the guardian of the nation’s public safety, the symbol of the trust of the government and the people.

The gendarme is to be proud of his noble call, and should consider it a life-goal, a privilege, not just a job. He should be proud to be a member of a corps, which accepts only the morally best, and enjoys everyone’s distinct respect and honor.

He should love his calling and his corps, to which he dedicated his life and service; his every word and every action must purposefully promote the good name and respect for the gendarmerie by performing his duty according to his oath of serving faithfully, honorably, and valiantly.⁶⁵ Both the gendarme oath and the “gendarme ten-commandments”⁶⁶ express their expectations well. Not surprisingly, the communists considered them “un-trainable” to accept the communist norms, and were not able to find among the gendarmes to spy or tell on other gendarmes, even when faced brutal harassment for their stand.

Training and professional development

Those wishing to serve in the gendarmerie had to meet stringent physical and mental standards. They became confirmed gendarmes only after 12-18 months of probation, during which they were trained partly in gendarme schools and partly at the garrisons, where they served as a patrol companion. When not on patrol, they participated in daily instruction at the garrison under the instruction of the garrison commander.⁶⁷ They studied not only subjects directly related to their work, like the penal code and organization and service of the gendarmerie, firearms, first aid, etc., but also general subjects as well, like math, geometry, history, geography, biology, literature, grammar, and even penmanship.^{68, 69} They raised these young men who had just some elementary school education onto the level of an educated person, who was able to conduct himself respectably under any circumstances, and perform the duty of law-keeping as well as crime prevention and crime investigation so effectively that the corps became one of the finest in the world.

The confirmed gendarme, who already had to have a military service and achieve a certain rank before joining the gendarmerie, was to continue a regular study and self-improvement. After completing the patrol companion school, they could attend the patrol leader school, and those who qualified, later could attend the garrison commander school.

They also had other opportunities to further themselves in various specialty courses, such as training in signal corps, transportation, investigation, etc. Their advancement toward the sub-lieutenant rank, the highest enlisted rank, strictly depended on their performance in these schools as well as in their daily duties. A few dozen attained this rank each year.

From 1944, the most prepared, outstanding enlisted gendarmes could achieve an officer rank. On August 20, 1944, former sergeants, senior sergeants, sub-lieutenants with at least ten years of exemplary evaluations and having qualified on rigorous exams were commissioned as warrant officers.

Both enlisted and officer gendarmes were expected to pursue a life-long training and self-improvement, not only relating to their profession, but in areas of culture and physical education as well.

Service / duty

The basic duty of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie was the prevention of crimes and the investigation of criminal activity. Their service was regulated to the smallest details with laws⁷⁰ and regulations.⁷¹ The *Service Manual* (1981, 1924,⁷² 1941), owned and well-familiarized by all gendarmes, was prepared according to these laws and regulations. In addition, similar manuals of regulations were prepared for the various specialties within the gendarmerie.⁷³

The service had two major parts, the public safety service, and the “inner” service within the garrisons.⁷⁴

The inner service in the garrisons was also strictly regulated: the order of the day, training, patrol, watches, uniforms, equipment, livery, disciplinary matters, etc. These served the proper training, military order, and discipline.

It had three parts:

1. Ordinary service: every official service performed in uniform
2. Demand service: at the request of the courts or administrative authorities
3. Inspection service: the superior officers inspected the garrisons in their area regularly, usually every year, as well as in “surprise visits,” and the garrison commanders inspected the patrols every single day.

The law enforcement service was the more important service, securing security and peace in the land, necessary for the life and growth of a civil society. The ordinary citizens of the rural areas daily witnessed this service, which had four parts:

1. the protection of the state from internal and external enemies
2. the protection of the person and property of the people, to prevent crimes and accidents leading to loss of lives or loss of property, to prevent or minimize the damage from natural disasters (i.e. floods, forest fires, etc.). To this end, one of their main duties was the patrol of the main and side roads as well as land of their assigned area. 1/3 of all gendarmes had to be on patrol at any given time.⁷⁵ The patrol consisted of two gendarmes, walking their beat on a specific order in 12-18 hour duty. 1/3 of that time was allowed to use for rest, but only according to strict rules, as they strictly performed *all* their duties according to the most detailed regulations, presented to them in a book detailing the organization and service of the gendarmerie (Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás).⁷⁶ Each gendarme owned and learned to be very familiar with this book.

3. crime investigation to discover and secure evidences necessary for judicial proceedings and to aid the judicial authorities

4. to provide police force at the request of lawful authorities. The so called supplementary gendarme battalion of Galanta was created mainly to this end in 1942. It partly consisted men recruited from the army, as by this time a large number of the gendarmerie was fighting or died at the fronts, or was used in the areas Hungary recently regained.

The enlisted gendarmes provided all law-enforcement services. The officers, after 1899,⁷⁷ were not permitted to participate. Their role was to properly train, direct, and supervise the enlisted gendarmes, and they were responsible for proper military conduct at all levels of the corps.⁷⁸

The basic gendarme service was the patrol (csendőőr járőr), usually two, exceptionally three or one,⁷⁹ gendarmes walking their beat. After 1895, the so-called “patrol-leader” wore

the “patrol pin” on his uniform,⁸⁰ while the other member of the patrol was called the “patrol-companion.”⁸¹ The patrol walked his beat (so-called „partyázás”) for 12-18 hour at a time, in a specific pattern on their given area, checking a number of specific points in their way. Even the location and length of their rest-periods were exactly determined by the garrison commanders, who inspected them daily, at unexpected times. For their rest periods, they often had a designated gendarmerie room with its own entrance in a public building, such as the town hall or forester cabin. There, they were able to attend to their personal hygiene and could rest for a certain time with their equipment somewhat relaxed. Not only their patrol, but every detail of their daily garrison life was also strictly regulated,⁸² and the gendarmes faithfully followed their regulations.

Some garrisons also had mounted gendarmes, and some was solely made up mounted gendarmes. Between 8 to 18 gendarmes served on a garrison, and at any one time 50-70% of the gendarmes could serve on patrol.

Specialization

In 1927, the modernized Organizational and Service Manual (SZUT) and the Management Manual (CSÜSZ) manuals were published. In 1930, the Detective Unit was established in Budapest, with subdivisions in Szombathely, Szeged and Debrecen. A subdivision also opened in Pécs in 1931, and in Miskolc and Székesfehérvár in 1932.⁸³

Highway Garrisons and special units were also established in 1930,⁸⁴ along with Railroad Garrisons. They also developed a network of Signal Corps with a central command, several signal divisions, and technical subdivisions. By 1944, they also had a Central Traffic Command with an airport division, traffic divisions, and central engineering division.

The gendarme garrisons located near the country’s borders had certain border-protection roles, as well. They were to prevent, for example, spy activities, illegal crossings of the borders, smuggling certain items, weapons, and documents across the border, vandalism of border markings, etc., in cooperation with the border authorities.⁸⁵

Between 1891 and 1919, there was a special border-patrol branch within the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie, consisting 11.35% of its force.⁸⁶ Near the passport-requiring borders, that is, at the Hungarian-Romanian and Serbian borders, the nearby garrisons fulfilled certain border duties in addition to their regular local public-safety duties. This in peacetime included the capture of those crossing the borders illegally, but the help of Jews fleeing from violent Romanian anti-Semite attackers, during the anti-Semite Romanian laws (pogroms).⁸⁷ During wartime, the near-border garrisons were also responsible for the observation of enemy spies and agents, as well as the protection of bridges, railroads, government buildings and warehouses. In case of military mobilization, the nearby recruits had to report first to the garrisons, where they received their equipment. To prepare the garrisons for these wartime duties, they extended the buildings to increase their holding capacity, and set up additional garrisons in the area from “snow-melt to snow-fall.” These seasonal garrisons fell under the direct authority of the regional gendarme commands during peacetime, but under the appropriate military commands in wartime,⁸⁸ but regarding their highly regarded⁸⁹ intelligence activities, they were directly connected to the assigned military reconnaissance stations. Since Romania did not enter into WWI, there were no such garrisons along the Hungarian-Romanian border, and no military units were stationed nearby. Therefore, when the Romanians suddenly attacked Hungary in 1916, they were able to advance into Transylvania, in spite of the brave resistance of the area’s gendarmes, practically

all of them giving their lives in an effort to protect their homeland against the overpowering Romanian invaders.⁹⁰

A part of the gendarmerie served within the military, as so-called military gendarmes (tábori csendőr).⁹¹ During military mobilizations and wars, some active duty gendarmes were ordered to serve in this branch for police duties within the mobilized military. Their responsibilities included keeping order, prevention of crimes, and providing safety on highways. They had their own organizational hierarchy under the heading of the military law-enforcement service staff officer directly, and under the Chief of staff, indirectly. During WWII, a detective unit was added to the military gendarmerie, which served both within the military and among the civilians of their given geographic area. They numbered about 2000 during the war. The gendarmes ordered to serve in this capacity returned to their original garrisons for regular gendarme duties after a few month, and new ones were assigned in their place. (The military gendarmes are not to be confused with “troop gendarmes” (csapat csendőr), who were soldiers assigned to work along with the gendarmes).

VI. Uniforms⁹²



Gendarme staff sargeant tunic (above) and 1st.
Lt. dress tunic (right)

More information can be found in the website's Museum, and detailed description of uniforms and gear is given in the **1887**, **1926** and **1937 *Gendarmerie Handbooks*** (with the relating list of Orders in the latter two) and in the **1935** and **1941 *Csendőrségi Lapok***.



Gendarmerie hat (green cord denotes probationary status)



Gendarmerie sidecap for rank of captain.

Gendarme in winter great coat.

After the Hungarian-Austrian Compromise, the Transylvanian Gendarmerie came under Hungarian authority and its name became Hungarian Royal Transylvanian Gendarmerie. The Austrian grenade on the Tyrolese hat was replaced by the arms of Hungary, and the tunics were supplied with half-sphere shaped buttons. They desired the uniforms to express national characteristics, practicality, and orderliness, to elicit respect and national belonging. They added the rooster-feather to the hats to symbolize vigilance.

While the gendarme uniform originally was planned to be grey, khaki brown was chosen due to financial considerations, so both the army and gendarmerie could use the same basic uniforms. The gendarme uniform was very similar to the army's uniform, but after

1906, the black lacquer belt was changed to a brown leather belt, and after 1916, a dark green backing was added to the dark red collar patches.

In 1921, the side cap was introduced (Bocskey hat) and the tailored tunics received buttons with the relief of the Hungarian royal crown. (More information in Hungarian).

VII. Weapons

At its establishment, the Hungarian Royal Transylvanian Gendarmerie continued to use their previous Fruhwirth repeating rifle, but the newly established regional gendarme commands were supplied with Kropatschek eight-rounds carbines, and with time eventually replaced the Fruhwirth in the Transylvanian Command as well, after 1887.

In 1906, the 95 m. Mannlicher rifle⁹³ fitted with a gendarme bayonet was introduced. The mounted gendarmes used the shorter carbine.



Mannlicher rifle/carbine, gendarme bayonet and scabbard.



Frommer pistol.

After 1912, the Frommer automatic pistol was also introduced, but the 1922/VII. statute, in compliance with the 1921 dictate of Trianon, limited the gendarmes' weaponry to the rifle alone.

VIII. Publications

Handbook (Zsebkönyv). Published yearly, except between 1918-1923. Zoltán Pinczés, gendarme captain (later Major, then Lt. Colonel). It contained lists of officers, NCOs, decorated enlisted gendarmes, villages and towns, gendarme commands information, addresses of government offices and courts, etc.

Gendarme Newspaper (Csendőrségi Lapok) ⁹⁴ The mostly bimonthly beloved newspaper of the gendarmerie was a very important part of the corps. It was published from 1907 to 1919 (volumes I-XIII.), and then from 1924 to 1944 (volumes XIV-XXXIV.).

The gendarmerie itself covered its printing cost, so it did not burden the government. Its editors also worked on it in their free time, taking on the editing responsibility in addition to their usual obligations. Every officer and every garrison subscribed to it. In the beginning the Handbook Committee prepared it, but later individual officers took on the work: Lajos Mahács (Mohácsy), Zoltán Pinczés, Kálmán Beöthy, and finally Mihály Benedek.

Officers and NCOs provided the articles on topics related to the work or life of the gendarmes. It printed personal information on marriages, birth of children, various achievements, promotions, transfers, etc. It published stories and methods of investigations, and answered questions on legal and professional matters. This openness is in stark contrast to the secretiveness of the communist era, and is a testimony of the honorable and honest way the gendarmerie conducted its work, always according to the laws, which greatly contributed to the great respect and honor they enjoyed from the people they served.

Bajtársi Levél, the newsletter of the MKCsBK, was published between 1948 and 2005. At times hand typed and copied, at other times printed by press, from a few pages to 80 pages, it kept in touch the gendarmes scattered throughout the world, and helped preserv their memory. Some articles were written anonymously or under false names from fear of the communist retaliation. They will provide historians with an important source of information on the gendarmes and their service in the second half of WWII, as all that information was destroyed by the communist regime after the war and was replaced by the anti-gendarme lies. Since 2008, quarterly Newletters (Körlevél) have taken the place of the ***Bajtársi Levél***, which is also available via the internet. Some local groups and individuals also had their own publications for various periods of time.

Organizational and Service Manual (Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára – Szut.) This book was prepared on the basis of all the laws and regulations directing the organization and the work of the gendarmerie. It dealt with all aspects of their service to the smallest details. It was first published in 1881, in the year of the establishment of the corps. They then modified its service-related section in 1900, and again in 1912. The more widely revised 1927 issue greatly contributed to the modernization of the gendarmerie, which led to its excellence, and for which the gendarmerie was known and respected internationally. There were only minor modification in the 1941 issue. It was often reprinted during the years to meet the demand since every gendarme had to own one (and know much of it by heart).

Bulletins (Közlönyök). The Department of Interior and Department of War both published in their Bulletins regulations pertaining to their organization and service. Some of the more important regulations were published in both of the Bulletins. The Gendarmerie also published bulletins which had various names over the six decades of the existence of the gendarmerie. All the regulations, from the three publications, directly affecting the work of the gendarmerie have been collected, compiled, digitalized and now posted on our website as a result of our joint efforts between the MKCsBK and the Szemere Bertalan Hungarian Law-enforcement-historian Scientific Society (Szemere Bertalan Magyar Rendvédelem-történeti Tudományos Társaság). The gendarmerie is the first Hungarian law-enforcement agency, whose regulations and ordnances' are posted on the internet in its entirety. This openness makes it more evident what a respectable organization the gendarmerie indeed was.

Teaching materials (Szabályzatok és tananyagok) The Gendarmerie had published dozens of book to aid the gendarmes to become familiar with the laws and regulations they

had to follow in their service, and books to widen their knowledge in general. As these were used in the daily study sessions in the garrisons, the personal and professional education of the gendarmes led to the renown excellence of the corps.

Books on literature and science(Szépirodalmi és ismeretterjesztő könyvek) The gendarmerie had issued these books, which were encouraged to be stocked in the garrison libraries for individual development of the gendarmes, most of whom did not have the chance for a higher education. These books also served as the “village library,” as local residents also could borrow them. The books also reflect the high ideal and honorable values the gendarmerie was trying to install in the gendarmes and in society as well.

As all the above written material is the direct proof of the honorable nature of the Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie, making them known and available is the most important way to counter the 60 years of communist lies and slants. This is the most important mission of the MKCsBK at the beginning of the 21st century. The work is advancing quickly. Now all laws and regulations are on the website along with more than half of the books of the total we currently know existed. Clicking on the small gendarme hat icon at the title of a given book in the website Library’s Bibliography takes the visitor to the complete to read or to download.

IX. Further information on the website

The gendarmerie and the Jews (in English and in Hungarian)

MKCsBK (in English and in Hungarian)

MKCsBK’s declaration regarding the attempts in Hungary to re-establish the gendarmerie (short statement in English on the English opening page, and a long exposition in Hungarian)

MKCsBK website’s Library

- all laws and regulations relating to the service of the gendarmerie
- complete Bibliography (as the communist regime destroyed most of the material and did not allow individuals to own any, this had to be built from the scratch, from the books scattered all over the world in limited number – and therefore it is expected to grow in time)
- over 160 entire books (can be read online or downloaded)
- numerous writings on the gendarmerie, mainly by the gendarmes themselves

MKCsBK website’s Museum

- over 1500 photographs depicting the life and work of gendarmes
- photographs of numerous original documents
- photographs of gendarmes and gendarme memorabilia
- Film- and voice recordings

v. Zoltán Kőrössy and Katalin Soltész Kőrössy

Kensington, Maryland, USA, May 2011.

Updated in July, 2012.

We express our thanks to the Szemere Bertalan Hungarian Law-enforcement-historian Scientific Society, specifically to Drs. József Parádi and SándorSzakály for their invaluable help and advice.

X. References and end notes

Note: all the cited Hungarian Royal Gendarmerie books may be read on-line through the Bibliography posted in the website's Library

¹ Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.). s.n. Budapest, 1941. 13 p

² A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából). Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 5 p.

³ HESZTERA Franz: A csendőrség parancsnoklási rendszere 1850 és 1993 között. Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Preasidii Ordinis), IV.évf. (1994) 5.sz. 28-35.p. A tanulmány korábbi változata 1993. szeptember 21.-én Budapesten hangzott el a Szemere Bertalan Magyar Rendvédelem-történeti Tudományos Társaság által szervezett rendvédelem-történeti tudományos konferenciasorozatnak „Háború, forradalom, trianon.” című V. konferenciáján. A publikált tanulmány az előadás javított, bővített és átdolgozott változata.

⁴ A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából). Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 6 p.

⁵ PARÁDI József: A dualista Magyarország rendvédelmi testületei és az önkormányzatok kapcsolata. Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Preasidii Ordinis), I.évf. (1991) 1.sz. 30-37.p. A tanulmány korábbi változata 1990. április 24.-én Budapesten hangzott el a Szemere Bertalan Magyar Rendvédelem-történeti Tudományos Társaság által szervezett rendvédelem-történeti tudományos konferenciasorozatnak „A magyar rendvédelmi testületek és az önkormányzati szervezetek kapcsolata 1848-1945.” című I. konferenciáján. A publikált tanulmány az előadás javított, bővített és átdolgozott változata.

⁶ PARÁDI József: A dualizmus kori magyar pénzügyőrség és vámhivatalok. Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Preasidii Ordinis), VIII.évf. (1998) 9.sz. 82-85.p. A tanulmány korábbi változata 1997. szeptember 23.-án Budapesten hangzott el a Szemere Bertalan Magyar Rendvédelem-történeti Tudományos Társaság által szervezett rendvédelem-történeti tudományos konferenciasorozatnak „Gazdasági rendvédelmünk a XIX-XX. században.” című IX. konferenciáján. A publikált tanulmány az előadás javított, bővített és átdolgozott változata.

⁷ CSAPÓ Csaba: Az erdélyi és a horvát-szlavón csendőrség átvétele a magyar kormány felügyelete alá 1867-1876. Hadtörténelmi Közlemények, LVII.évf. (1994) 1.sz. 90-112.p.

⁸ A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából). Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 8 p. May read it at <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/konyvek/CsTortenete/>

⁹ A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából). Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 8 p.

¹⁰ CSAPÓ Csaba: Ráday Gedeon és a szegedi királyi biztosság. In GERGELY Jenő (szerk.): A hosszú tizenkilencedik és a rövid huszadik század. Tanulmányok Pölöskei Ferenc köszöntésére. Budapest, 2000, Eötvös Lóránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar Új- és Legújabbkori Magyar Történeti Tanszék.

¹¹ <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/jogszab/torvenyek.pdf>

¹² REKTOR Béla: A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség oknyomozó története. Cleveland, Ohio, USA, 1980, Árpád Könyvkiadó Vállalat. 459-460 p. <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/konyvek/Rektor/>

¹³ SZAKÁLY Sándor: A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség az első központosított magyar közbiztonsági őrtestület. Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Preasidii Ordinis), III.évf. (1993) 4.sz. 51-58.p. A tanulmány korábbi változata 1992. szeptember 29.-én Budapesten hangzott el a Szemere Bertalan Magyar Rendvédelem-történeti Tudományos Társaság által szervezett rendvédelem-történeti tudományos konferenciasorozatnak „A dualista Magyarország rendvédelme.” című IV. konferenciáján. A publikált tanulmány az előadás javított, bővített és átdolgozott változata

¹⁴ OLASZ György — PARÁDI József — ZEDILER Sándor: A magyar rendvédelmi testületek rendfokozati rendszere a kiegyezéstől a rendszerváltásig. Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Preasidii Ordinis), XV.évf. (2008) 18.sz. 29-63.p. A tanulmány korábbi változata 2004. október 13.-án Budapesten hangzott el a Szemere Bertalan Magyar Rendvédelem-történeti Tudományos Társaság által szervezett rendvédelem-történeti tudományos konferenciasorozatnak „Karhatalmi feladatok a bűnmegelőzés és a békefenntartás szolgálatában Európában a XIX-XX. században.” című XVIII. konferenciáján. A publikált tanulmány az előadás javított, bővített és átdolgozott változata.

¹⁵ A csendőrfelügyelők listája megtekinthető a honlap könyvtárában:

<http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/irasok/magyar/MKCs%20Fel%fcgyel%f6i%20-%20Szak%e1ly%20S.pdf>

¹⁶ SZAKÁLY Sándor: Egy közbiztonsági testület létrehozása és feladata a XIX-XX. század fordulóján. (A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség). Főiskolai Figyelő Plusz, I.évf. (1990) 2.sz. 213-218.p.

¹⁷ A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából). Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 10 p.

¹⁸ A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából). Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 11.

¹⁹ *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából).* Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 12 p.

²⁰ *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából).* Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 15 p.

²¹ ÖRY Károly: Rendvédelmi szervek az első világháború, az „öszirózsás” forradalom és a proletár diktatúra időszakában. *Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Preasidii Ordinis)*, IV.évf. (1994) 5.sz. 42-54.p. A tanulmány korábbi változata 1993. szeptember 21.-én Budapesten hangzott el a Szemere Bertalan Magyar Rendvédelem-történeti Tudományos Társaság által szervezett rendvédelem-történeti tudományos konferenciasorozatnak „Háború, forradalom, trianon.” című V. konferenciáján. A publikált tanulmány az előadás javított, bővített és átdolgozott változata.

²² ÖRY Károly: Katonapolitika és hadseregszervezés az 1918-as polgári demokratikus forradalom idején. *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények*, LXXXIII.évf. (1970) 1.-sz.

²³ A Forradalmi Kormányzó Tanács LXXXIV.sz. rendelete a nyomozó testületek megszüntetéséről.

²⁴ NAGY Vince: *Októbertől októberig*. Budapest, 1991, Európa-História Kiadó.

²⁵ GRATZ Gusztáv: *A forradalmak kora 1918-1920*. Budapest, 1992, Akadémia Kiadó.

²⁶ MEZEY Barna: A kivételes hatalom. *Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Preasidii Ordinis)*, IV.évf. (1994) 5.sz. 4-6.p. A tanulmány korábbi változata 1993. szeptember 21.-én Budapesten hangzott el a Szemere Bertalan Magyar Rendvédelem-történeti Tudományos Társaság által szervezett rendvédelem-történeti tudományos konferenciasorozatnak „Háború, forradalom, trianon.” című V. konferenciáján. A publikált tanulmány az előadás javított, bővített és átdolgozott változata.

²⁷ SZAKÁLY Sándor: A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség 1919-1941. *Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Preasidii Ordinis)*, V.évf. (1995) 6.sz. 122-129.p. A tanulmány korábbi változata 1994. októberében Budapesten hangzott el a Szemere Bertalan Magyar Rendvédelem-történeti Tudományos Társaság által szervezett rendvédelem-történeti tudományos konferenciasorozatnak „A két világháború közötti Magyar Királyság rendvédelme.” című VI. konferenciáján. A publikált tanulmány az előadás javított, bővített és átdolgozott változata.

²⁸ VÁRY Albert: *A vörös uralom áldozatai Magyarországon*. Vác, Az országos fegyintézet nyomdája

²⁹ PARÁDI József: Elpusztított emlékhelyek. *Rendvédelem-történeti Hírlevél*, XVII.évf. (2008) 29-30.sz. 96-109.p.

³⁰ *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából).* Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 19 p.

³¹ 1922.évi VII. törvények:

<http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/jogszab/1945%20el%20f6tti%20t%20f6rv%20e9nyek.pdf>

³² REKTOR Béla: *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség oknyomozó története*. Cleveland, Ohio, USA, 1980, Árpád Könyvkiadó Vállalat. 433 p.

³³ *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából).* Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 21 p.

³⁴ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 38 p

³⁵ PRESZLY Lóránd: A m. kir. csendőrség története. Budapest. 1920, Honvédelmi Sajtóvállalat. 5-6 p.;

- Harry Hill Bandholtz tábornok vezette USA küldöttség segített a csendőrség újraszervezésében, for which they erected a statue for him, still standing near the current American Embassy, in Budapest

³⁶ PARÁDI József et al. (szerk.): *A magyar rendvédelem története*. Budapest, 1996², Osiris. ; ZLINSZKY János: Kollektív felelősség. *Rubicon*, XX. évf. (2010) 202.sz. 53-56 p.; *Bajtársi levél* Viczián Béla, LV. évf. 2. szám, 2003. november., 4 p.

³⁷ A magyar Wikipedia „csendőrség” címszava alatt a csendőrséget a „zsidó népiért” teszi felelőssé – letöltve 2010. november 10-én.

³⁸ A kommunizmus ideje alatt a csendőrséggel kapcsolatos tárgyak és dokumentumok megőrzése súlyos büntetést vagy elhurcolást vont maga után, így azok zömét az illetékes családok megsemmisítették, a vezetőség pedig az írott anyagból csupán egy-két példányt őrzött meg, de a néptől eltiltva, zár alatt. Ezek 1990 után „felszabadultak” ugyan és szabadon megtekinthetők, de csekély számuk, elszórt elhelyezésük, előregedett fizikai állaptu és kikölcönözhetetlenségük miatt gyakorlatilag továbbra hozzáférhetetlenek a közember számára és kuatásuknak is nagy akadálya. Ezért vállalta az MKCSBK magára a magyarországi Szemere Bertalan Magyar Rendvédelmi Tudományos Társasággal (elnök dr. Parádi József) ezen írott anyag közzé tételét az interneten, digitalizálásuk révén. Ma már az összes jogszabályok olvashatók ott, valamint a csendőrség több tucatnyi eredeti könyve és folyóirata.

³⁹ Például, a még ma is iskolai tanításra használt „Holokauszt Magyarországon” c. honlap

(<http://www.holokausztmagyarorszag.hu> – „A deportálások leállítását” - letöltve 2010. november 26-án)

állítása szerint 1944. júliusában a csendőrök azért gyülekeztek fel Budapestre, hogy erőszakkal deportálják a budapesti zsidóságot Horthy kívánsága ellenére. Stern Samu 1990-ben nyilvánossá tett bizonyágtétele ennek éppen az ellenkezőjét bizonyítja: a csendőröket Horthy titokban azért rendelte fel, hogy egy esetleges erőszakos

német deportálást erővel magakadályozhasson. SCHMIDT Mária: Kollaboráció vagy kooperáció? Minerva, Budapest, 1990. 86-94 pp. „Stern Samu, a Budapesti Zsidótanács elnökének beszámolója” IN ENGLISH: The role of the Jewish Council of Budapest <http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/irasok/zsidóság/>

⁴⁰ <http://www.holokauszmagyarorszag.hu> – „Mit tudtak a magyar zsidók?” - letöltve 2010. november 26-án

⁴¹ MOLNÁR Judit: A csendőrség szerepe a holokausztban. *Rubicon*, XX. évf. (2010) 202.sz. 46, 50. old.: a csendőr-ellenes beállítottságú cikkben közölt képeken csendőr vezeti a laza csoportban haladó zsidókat, előttük menve, puskájával a vállán, hátra sem pillantva

⁴² [Sulinet: A második világháború/Érdekességek](http://www.degob.hu) – „A Kasztner vonat” - letöltve 2010. november 26-án

⁴³ <http://www.degob.hu>

⁴⁴ In Memoriam Dr. Sandor Kepiro,

<http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/irasok/jews/The%20Kepiro%20Trial%20-%20Dr.%20Zolt%20Zetenyi.pdf>

⁴⁵ The complete Order is found in the Library of the www.csendor.com website, in its Legal Archives (in Hungarian) <http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/jogszab/1945%20%e9s%20ut%e1ni%20rendeletek-t%ef6rv%e9ny.pdf>

⁴⁶ His typewritten speech is in the MKCsBK archives.

⁴⁷ ZLINSZKY János: Kollektív felelősség. *Rubicon*, XX. évf. (2010) 202.sz. 53-56 p.; QQQQ: „Kakastollások. Az alkotmánybíróság rehabilitálta a csendőrséget.” *Nemzeti Újság*, 1991. szeptember, 11 p.

⁴⁸ „Az nyerhetett igazolást, aki bizonyítani tudta, hogy: 1. Németellenes ellenállási mozgalmakban személyesen részt vett; 2. A Horthy-rendszer kormányainak rendeleteivel, intézkedéseivel, utasításaival tudatosan, vagy szolgálati mulasztásból szembeszegült; 3. Segítséget nyújtott demokratikus szervezkedéseknek vagy azokban részt vevő személyeknek....” - KAISER Ferenc: *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség története a két világháború között*. Pécs, 2002, Pro Pannónia Kiadói Alapítvány. /Pannónia Könyvek./

⁴⁹ Lásd Korondi Béla példáját:

<http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/irasok/magyar/Korondi%20B%e9la%20utja%20-%20Bar%e1tossy%20Gy.pdf>

⁵⁰ Dr. Zétényi Zsolt, a Nemzeti Jogvédő Alapítvány Kuratóriumának elnöke: A Kristóf-ügy (A dr. Ságvári Endre letartóztatása kapcsán koholt vád alapján elítélt Kristóf László ügye). Valóság, a Tudományos Ismeretterjesztő Társulat társadalomtudományi folyóirata 2008. december LI. évfolyam 12. szám:

<http://www.valosagonline.hu/index.php?oldal=cikk&cazon=835&lap=0>

<http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/irasok/magyar/Kristof%20L%e1szl%20perez%20-%20dr%20Z%e9t%e9ny%20Zolt.pdf>

⁵¹ <http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/biografia/>

⁵² A csendőrség-történeti kutatások még nem tekinthetők lezártak. A jelenlegi kutatási eredmények szerint a második világháború magyarországi harcait megelőzően a testület létszáma mintegy 23 000 fő volt. Ebbe a létszámba a karhatalmi céllal létrehozott csendőrszázadok, illetve zászlóaljak személyi állománya is beletartozott. Óvatos becslések szerint a második világháború harcaiban mintegy 4 000 fő csendőr esett el. A harcok után Magyarországon 16 800 csendőr volt. Egy részük a hadifogságból tért haza. A légénységi állomány tekintetében nincsenek pontos adatok, azonban valószínűsíthető, hogy arányaikban ugyanazt a sorsot érték meg, mint a tisztek. Magyarország szovjet megszállása után a csendőrtisztek közül 29 főt az úgynevezett népbíróságok ítélete alapján kivégeztek, 10 fő belehalt a hatóságok fizikai bántalmazásaiba, 16 fő öngyilkos lett, 15 fő pedig megjárta a Recski tábor, a magyar gulágot.

KAISER Ferenc: *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség története a két világháború között*. Pécs, 2002, Pro Pannónia Kiadói Alapítvány, 133-136.p. /Pannónia Könyvek/

⁵³ Such as the Szemere Bertalan Hungarian Law-enforcement-historical Scientific Society, whit a special branch devoted to the study of the gendarmerie

⁵⁴ The Magyar Csendőr Bajtársi Egyesület (Hungarian Gendarme Fraternal Society) is the first and most repected such organization, providing honor guards dressed like gendarmes, and supporting the now aged still alive gendarmes

⁵⁵ - „A m. kir. csendőrség rehabilitálásának kérdése a rendszerváltást után”

[http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldal/a_m_kir_csendorseg_rehabilitalasanak_kerdese_a_rendszervaltast_utan/;](http://www.rubicon.hu/magyar/oldal/a_m_kir_csendorseg_rehabilitalasanak_kerdese_a_rendszervaltast_utan/)

- az összes joganyag itt olvasható: <http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/jogszab/>

⁵⁶ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)*. s.n. Budapest, 1941. 13 p

⁵⁷ *Utasítások a m. kir. csendőrség számára*. Budapest, 1912. 5 p

⁵⁸ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 15 p

⁵⁹ *Utasítások a m. kir. csendőrség számára*. Budapest, 1912. 7 p.

⁶⁰ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 16 p

⁶¹ *Utasítások a m. kir. csendőrség számára*. Budapest, 1912. 57 p.

⁶² *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából)*. Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 11 p.

⁶³ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)*. s.n. Budapest, 1941. 21-28 p

⁶⁴ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 17 p

- ⁶⁵ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 37 p
- ⁶⁶ See both on the opening page of the website: <http://csendor.com/site/konyvtar-m.html>
- ⁶⁷ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 73 p
- ⁶⁸ A Magyar Királyi Csendőrségi Zsebkönyv Szerkesztő Bizottsága: *Általános ismeretek tára. A M. Kir. Csendőrlégénység részére.* I, II. köt. Budapest, 1908, Franklin-Társulat. 414 p. és 368 p.
- ⁶⁹ See a large variety of books used for instruction in the website's Bibliography http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/Bibliografia.htm#_Toc300957849
- see also an example of a gendarme's workbook and daily schedule at <http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/irasok/magyar/Marton%20Lajos%20csend%f6r%20munkaf%fczet%e9b%f6l.pdf>
- ⁷⁰ <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/jogszab/torvenyek.pdf> - az összes csendőrségre vonatkozó törvény digitalizált formában
- ⁷¹ <http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/jogszab/> and <http://www.csendor.com/konyvtar/rendeletek/> - all the laws and regulations directing the work of the gendarmes to its minutest detail
- ⁷² <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/konyvek/SZUT1912/> - az 1912-es kiadás teljességében olvasható itt
- ⁷³ <http://csendor.com/konyvtar/Bibliografia.htm> - lásd Szabályzatok rovatát
- ⁷⁴ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 34-35 p.
- ⁷⁵ *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából).* Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933.
- ⁷⁶ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 31 p.
- ⁷⁷ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 11 p.
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- ⁷⁹ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 109 p.
- ⁸⁰ *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából).* Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 11 p
- ⁸¹ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 104 p
- ⁸² *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 31-294 p.
- ⁸³ *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából).* Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 22 p.
- ⁸⁴ *A Magyar Királyi Csendőrség Története. (Különlenyomat a Csendőrségi Lapok 1933. évi számából).* Budapest, Stádium Sajtóvállalat, 1933. 22 p.
- ⁸⁵ *Szervezeti és szolgálati utasítás a m. kir. csendőrség számára (Szut.)* s.n. Budapest, 1941. 230-231 p.
- ⁸⁶ - PARÁDI József: *A határszéli csendőrség 1891-1914.* Budapest, 1984, Határőrség.
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- ⁸⁷ - PARÁDI József: *A dualista Magyarország határőrizete.* Bölcsészdoktori disszertáció (ELTE BTK). Kézirat. Budapest, 1985.
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- ⁸⁸ PARÁDI József: *A határszéli csendőrség 1891-1918. Rubicon, XX.évf. (2010) 202.sz.* Online plusz 11 p. <http://www.rubicon.hu>
- ⁸⁹ - PARÁDI József: *A határszéli csendőrség állambiztonsági feladatai. Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek (Acta Historiae Preasidii Ordinis), XI.évf. (2005) 14.sz. 91-94.p.* A tanulmány korábbi változata 1999. februárjában Budapesten hangzott el a Szemere Bertalan Magyar Rendvédelem-történeti Tudományos Társaság Csendőrség-történeti Szakosztálya által szervezett tudományos rendezvénysorozat II. szimpozionján. A publikált tanulmány az előadás javított, bővített és átdolgozott változata.
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⁹³ *Csendőrségi lapok*, 1907, 14. sz. (április 7), pp 157-161

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⁹⁴ SZAKÁLY Sándor: „*A Csendőrségi Lapokról*”. www.korossy.org „könyvtárának” a honlapon át olvasható könyvei között.