

## War Economy, Local Administration and Everyday Life under German Occupation in Bohemia and Moravia: New Approaches for Digital Humanities through Digitization, Databases and Digital Analysis

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### ABSTRACT

World War II led to extensive rationing, both of agricultural production and individual consumption, which significantly shaped the everyday life of the Czech population in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia from 1939 to 1945. This paper shows how new digital methods can be used to contribute to this history of National Socialism, in particular, in the areas of rule, administration, and everyday life in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Different types of sources from the local administration of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia are presented and analyzed using a specially developed software. This provides a structured insight into the everyday life of the local population. The software makes it possible to systematically and statistically evaluate previously unstructured source material. It can be shown that district offices staffed by Czech officials and institutions previously unknown to research, such as the Supreme Price Authority and the Bohemian-Moravian Market Association, were central to the enforcement of the wartime economy in the protectorate. The everyday contact of the local population with the administration was mostly within the framework of a “normative state” rather than a “prerogative state.” In contrast to traditional accounts, this analysis shows that the security organs, such as the Czech or German police and gendarmerie, or Gestapo were only involved to a minor and rather incidental extent. Furthermore, the paper shows that the local population possessed a wide range of agency, which it was able to use.

**KEYWORDS:** Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, administration, World War II, everyday life, digital humanities, 1939-1945

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## Historical Context and Relevance

This paper aims to show how far-reaching questions about one key area of Nazi rule in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia—the everyday enforcement of the war economy—can be addressed by using sources of local administration and evaluating them with the help of custom-built software.<sup>1</sup> The new insights presented in this article, which are part of my doctoral thesis, were made possible through the application of digital methods.<sup>2</sup> The insights significantly correct the common narrative of the German occupation and everyday life, reveal the limits of current cultural study approaches and underscore the potential of digital humanities for historical research. Czech officials, previously unknown Czech institutions such as the Local Authorities (Bezirksämter; Okresní úřady), the Bohemian-Moravian Market Associations (Böhmisch-Mährische Marktverbände; Česko-Moravské svazy), the Supreme Price Authority (Oberste Preisbehörde; Nejvyšší úřad cenový) and other institutions were central to the enforcement and implementation of the state-controlled economy. Furthermore, the study describes the considerable range of agency the local population had within the framework of the war economy. This framework for everyday economic activity was determined by a clear legal structure.

The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was one of the most significant economies under German occupation during World War II, especially in the early and final phases of the war. It was home to one of the largest armaments industries in Europe and was the world's tenth largest producer of industrial goods per capita.<sup>3</sup> The Protectorate became known as the “Arsenal of the Reich” (Rüstkammer des Reiches).<sup>4</sup> A crucial factor of the system of Nazi rule was supplying the population with food and consumer goods to ensure

<sup>1</sup> An early form of this paper was first presented at the conference “New Approaches in Central and East European History: The Digital and Spatial Turn” in Lüneburg from 7 to 9 November 2019. Many thanks to Katja Wezel for organizing the conference and to the Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Nordost-Institut IKG Lüneburg for making this event possible.

<sup>2</sup> This paper makes an attempt to present especially the digital methods of this study in detail. The focus is primarily on the process of digitizing and developing the software and working with it. This is the central difference to my dissertation. For the German version of my dissertation, see JAN VONDRÁČEK: *Herrschaft, Verwaltung und Alltag im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren: Alltägliches Wirtschaften im politischen Bezirk Kladno von 1939 bis 1945*, Marburg 2021.

<sup>3</sup> CHAD BRYANT: *Prague in Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 36, 78.

<sup>4</sup> JAROMÍR BALCAR: “Dem tschechischen Arbeiter das Fressen geben”: Factory Canteens in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, in: TATJANA TÖNSMEYER, PETER HASLINGER et al. (eds.): *Coping with Hunger and Shortage under German Occupation in World War II*, Cham 2018, pp. 167–181, here p. 168.

the effective operation of the armaments industry. For many years, research concentrated on the macro level of politics, economics and administration, leaving their implementation largely unexplored.<sup>5</sup> However, policies, laws and regulations must be implemented by individuals. It is the administrators that translate authority into specific decisions. As Max Weber concludes: “A type of rational, legal administrative staff is capable of application in all kinds of situations and contexts. It is the most important mechanism for the administration of everyday affairs. For in that sphere, the exercise of authority consists precisely in administration.”<sup>6</sup>

When first approaching the research topic, my aim was to write a history of the German occupation with a focus on the supply and everyday life of the local population, because both changed abruptly with the German occupation. In addition to political and racial persecution, everyday economic activity took place in a completely new context: from autumn 1939 on, food<sup>7</sup> and key

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<sup>5</sup> For politics, see DETLEF BRANDES: *Die Tschechen unter deutschem Protektorat. Teil 2: Besatzungspolitik, Kollaboration und Widerstand im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren von Heydrichs Tod bis zum Prager Aufstand (1942–1945)*, München—Wien 1975; PAVEL MARŠÁLEK: *Pod ochranou hákového kříže: Nacistický okupační režim v českých zemích 1939–1945* [Under the Protection of the Swastika: The Nazi Occupation Regime in the Czech Lands 1939–1945], Praha 2012; BRYANT. For economics, see BARBORA ŠTOLLEOVÁ: *Pod kuratelou Německé říše: Zemědělství Protektorátu Čechy a Morava* [Under the Custody of the German Reich: Agriculture in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia], Praha 2014; VÁCLAV KRÁL: *Otázky hospodářského a sociálního vývoje v českých zemích v letech 1938–1945* [Questions of Economic and Social Development in the Czech Lands in the Years 1938–1945], vol. 3, Praha 1959, pp. 332–353; VÁCLAV PRŮCHA: *Základní rysy válečného hospodářství v českých zemích v letech nacistické okupace* [Main Features of the Controlled War Economy in the Czech Lands during the Years of Nazi Occupation], in: *Historie a vojenství 2* (1967), pp. 215–239; KARL BRANDT: *Management of Agriculture and Food in the German Occupied and other Areas of Fortress Europe*, Stanford 1953, pp. 261–295. For administration, see JAROSLAVA MILOTOVÁ: *Personální aspekty tzv. Heydrichovy správní reformy* [The Personnel Aspects of Heydrich’s Administrative Reform], in: *Praginatae historiae: Sborník ústředního archivu v Praze 1* (1993), pp. 196–218; EADEM: *Výsledky Heydrichovy správní reformy z pohledu okupačního aparátu* [Heydrich’s Administrative Reform from the Perspective of the Occupying Apparatus], *ibidem 2* (1994), pp. 161–174. This applies to the German occupation of other European countries as well.

<sup>6</sup> MAX WEBER: *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, New York 1947, p. 333.

<sup>7</sup> These included cereals, milling and flour products, rice, pulses, potatoes and products derived from them, starch, alcohol, sugar, coffee, coffee substitutes, tea, cocoa, chocolate, confectionery, chicory, oil fruits and other raw materials used for the production of oil and artificial fats, hops, malt, beer, animal feed, cattle, pigs and mutton, horses for slaughter, meat and meat products, milk and milk products, natural and artificial fats and eggs. See: *Regierungsverordnung Nr. 206 from 1939-09-18, § 6*, in: *Sammlung der Gesetze und Verordnungen des Protektorates Böhmen und Mähren* (1939), p. 653.

consumer goods such as clothing and footwear could only be bought through ration coupons in the Protectorate, and farmers were forced to deliver most of their production to the state.<sup>8</sup> Since state food allotments were often insufficient to cover the needs of the local population, a variety of illegal practices were developed as a reaction. For example, farmers evaded compulsory food levies and instead sold undocumented and illegally butchered meat. Hidden stores of products, food and ration stamps were traded for other goods as part of a comprehensive black market.<sup>9</sup>

While working on the research and editorial project “Societies under German Occupation,”<sup>10</sup> I gained insights into and access to archives in the Czech Republic.

The results of my archival research demonstrated that the materials from the National Archives in Prague say little about the everyday life of the local population. The materials from the periphery, namely the local archives, reveal only few details about the structure of the supply system. First-person accounts such as diaries, letters and memoirs were generally unavailable, oral history projects on everyday life were not produced after the war, and the survivors were already too old to provide reliable testimony. The sources handed down to us, such as police files, could only provide episodic accounts in certain contexts. At the same time, an immense quantity of legal texts survived: more than half of all laws and regulations passed by the Protectorate government are related to the controlled economy<sup>11</sup>.

The situation can thus be summarized as follows: on the one hand, there were far too few first-person accounts to write classic everyday history. On the other hand, a large amount of material, in particular legal texts and police files, was available. What was missing was an understanding of the structure and framework of everyday life under German occupation which was necessary to make sense of this material. In order to unlock the black box of every-

<sup>8</sup> MARIE DURMANOVÁ: Řízené hospodářství a správa Ústředního svazu průmyslu za nacistické okupace [The Managed Economy and the Administration of the Ústředního svazu průmyslu during the Nazi Occupation], in: Sborník archivních prací 2 (1966), pp. 366–396, here p. 375.

<sup>9</sup> For everyday life under German Occupation in general see TÖNSMEYER/HASLINGER, and for the typical narrative of everyday life in the Protectorate see JAN GEBHART, JAN KUKLÍK: Dramatické i všední dny protektorátu [Dramatic Everyday Life in the Protectorate], Praha 1996, and JAN VONDRÁČEK: Die Rolle der Bezirksämter bei der Implementierung der gelenkten Wirtschaft im Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren, in: MARTIN KLEČACKÝ (ed.): Úředník sluhou mnoha pánů? Nacionalizace a politizace veřejné správy ve střední Evropě 1848–1948 / Der Beamte als Diener vieler Herren? Die Nationalisierung und Politisierung der öffentlichen Verwaltung in Mitteleuropa 1848–1948, Praha 2018, pp. 217–246, here p. 224.

<sup>10</sup> For more information on the project see <http://www.societies-under-german-occupation.com/> (2020-11-19).

<sup>11</sup> ŠTOLLEOVÁ, p. 20.

day economic life under German occupation, the existing material needed to be a) made accessible and b) contextualized within the legal and administrative structures.

### Guiding Questions

My approach to the topic is not to compile a classic everyday-life history in the sense of Alf Lüdtke's *Alltagsgeschichte*,<sup>12</sup> but rather to create a kind of structural history of everyday life at the local level. It is guided by questions about the context in which the daily life of the local population took place after the German occupation in March 1939. It asks about state actors and how contact with them shaped this life for the local population. How did the controlled economy function at the local level? What was the relationship between German and Czech (Protectorate) institutions? How widespread were illegal consumption practices, such as black market purchasing, illicit slaughter and withholding of food? What dangers did the local population face and what scope of action did the actors have? With time, I realized that these central questions were not easy to answer. Individual police files, memoirs and other first-person accounts did not indicate the frequency of violations against the controlled economy, nor did they provide information about the different actors and their importance in the system. Due to the large number of cases and the numerous, constantly changing laws and pronouncements it was not possible to reconstruct how the system worked and which actors played a key role.<sup>13</sup>

At this point, it became apparent that the approaches taken in cultural studies were hardly applicable in this field since we still know too little about the structures, actors and the economic system in general. Up to this point, research concentrated primarily on the research on the drivers of terror, repression and the Holocaust. The actors and the structure of everyday life under German occupation in connection with the war economy remained more or less unexplored.

In the context of the war economy, we can speak of an apparatus of rule that was strongly shaped by norms. From a methodological point of view, this

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<sup>12</sup> ALF LÜDTKE (ed.): *Everyday Life in Mass Dictatorship Collusion and Evasion*, New York 2016; IDEM: *Einleitung: Herrschaft als soziale Praxis*, in: IDEM (ed.): *Herrschaft als soziale Praxis: Historische und sozial-anthropologische Studien*, Göttingen 1991, pp. 9–63; IDEM: *Was ist und wer treibt Alltagsgeschichte?*, in: IDEM (ed.): *Alltagsgeschichte: Zur Rekonstruktion historischer Erfahrungen und Lebensweisen*, Frankfurt am Main 1989, pp. 9–48; IDEM: *Eigen-Sinn: Fabrikalltag, Arbeitererfahrungen und Politik vom Kaiserreich bis in den Faschismus*, Hamburg 1993, sowie IDEM: *Geschichte und Eigensinn*, in: DIEKWISCH, pp. 139–153.

<sup>13</sup> For a more detailed insight into the methodological approach and the theoretical framework of my dissertation, see VONDRÁČEK, *Herrschaft*, pp. 10–21.

means that I applied Ernst Fraenkel's concept of the "Dual State" to an occupation context.<sup>14</sup> In my example, the sphere described by Ernst Fraenkel as the "normative state" is occupied by Czech institutions, while the sphere defined by him as the "prerogative state" is controlled by German institutions in the occupation context.

### The Key Source

By good fortune and a lucky coincidence, the archivist of the District Archive in Kladno showed me three books in which all the violations in the field of production, distribution and consumption in this district from 1941 to 1945 had been recorded. In other archives, these books had not been handed down at all or were incomplete.<sup>15</sup> As it turned out, the Criminal Division of each district authority (Strafreferat der Bezirksbehörde) of the protectorate had recorded all reports submitted to the district authority in specially pre-printed register books from the end of 1941 onwards. A total of 3,846 cases were recorded for the political district of Kladno across three register books, entitled "Register of Food" (A), "Supply" (B) and "Price Offences" (C).<sup>16</sup> This was done on the instructions of the Prague regional authority following an agreement between various institutions operating in the field of controlled economy.<sup>17</sup>

The criminal records thus covered all the cases discovered by the authorities in each district. The "keyword" designation of the cases was left to the officials and therefore it often changed and differed greatly between different officials during the war.

The first page provides space for the name of the respective district authority and the three fields mentioned under A) to C) are listed with the corresponding letter then being highlighted in color.

<sup>14</sup> ERNST FRAENKEL: *The Dual State: A Contribution to the Theory of Dictatorship*, Oxford 2017.

<sup>15</sup> In the District Archive in Zlín, for example, the books are preserved in an even larger (longer) format, which makes digitization almost completely impossible. In other archives they have not been preserved at all, e.g. Státní okresní archiv (SOKA) [State District Archive] Třebíč or SOKA Strakonice.

<sup>16</sup> *Rejstříky vyživovacích (A) –, zásobovacích (B) – a cenových přestupků (C)*, in: Státní oblastní archiv v Praze [State Regional Archive Prague], SOKA Kladno, inventory Okresní úřad Kladno (OúK) [Kladno District Office], 1893–1945, knihy [books] 390–394.

<sup>17</sup> See: *Runderlass der Landesbehörde Prag an alle Bezirksbehörden in Böhmen, 1941-12-27*, in: Národní archiv, Praha (NA) [National Archive, Prague], inventory Nejvyšší úřad cenový (NÚC) [Highest Price Authority], box 11.

Fig. 1: Pages of a register book<sup>18</sup>

The tabular form extends over both sides. The upper section shows the name of each of the eleven main columns of the table written in German. There are 41 columns in total, each of which has a different width.

In summary, it can be said that the register books primarily provide information about the name of the accused (and thus also about their gender), the criminal offence and the respective law or directive which was violated, the institution filing the criminal complaint, the amount of the fine and whether it was paid or not, and any appeals or petitions for clemency that were filed.<sup>19</sup>

I quickly realized that this was the key to unlock the door behind which many answers to the questions above were hidden. It was possible to reconstruct the context in which these three books were written only with addition-

<sup>18</sup> Rejstříky vyživovacích.

<sup>19</sup> In this context, it should be noted that ego-documents of the local population are often extremely imprecise in this respect and that, for example, German occupation organs are generally referred to as SS or Gestapo, although they were quite different institutions. The digital analysis of these hitherto unknown sources thus makes it possible to very precisely name the actual different actors and their fields of activity. Furthermore, the evaluation of this unknown new genre of sources has the advantage that it is administrative material from everyday administrative life. The register books were a tool that was intended to help the officials to work more effectively and thus provide much more reliable values than, for example, the reports of the District Governor, the *Oberlandräte* or even the Reports of the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD) der SS, which were often also evaluated by research.

al sources and a lot of work, because, up to this point, research had not in any way dealt with the local level of administration or with administrative practices and the war economy under German occupation. So I was entering a completely unknown territory.

## Data, Challenges and Software Development

After studying the books for some time, I realized that the information from this kind of serial source can only be systematically evaluated by digitization. At this point I was already faced with a number of challenges: first, the handwritten content of the three books had to be transferred into a digital format. An OCR scan was out of the question for various reasons. Firstly, due to their large size, the books could not be processed with the scanners available at the District Archive in Kladno. Secondly, except for the form itself, the entries were handwritten, and the font varied with every official. Thirdly, the language changed from Czech to German in the summer of 1942. So the data had to be transcribed by hand and the question now arose as to which kind of software should be used for the transfer. It was immediately clear that the use of any kind of Excel sheet would not be safe or simple if you have to work with more than twenty columns of mixed data (data in Czech and German, different autographs) (Fig. 3). Other software such as SPSS and STATA, which is used by our colleagues from the department of sociology, was designed for data analyses and not for digitization.

In cooperation with a computer scientist I work closely with, who agreed to support me in my research, the idea to develop custom-built software was born. After I presented the sources and shared my ideas with him, he developed the first version of the data processing software DATAHIST. The first step in the digitization of the books was creating a simple table mirroring the structure of all 40 columns of the book. Although at this point of the research it seemed that the most important columns were the first 20 in the book, I decided to add all 40 columns to the table—which turned out to be a wise approach to the data collection. To keep the table open for any future and universal data connection, it was created in SQLite using its DB Browser. This utility was also very important for keeping the original Czech and German characters in the file by using corresponding database encoding with the settings for foreign keys enabled.

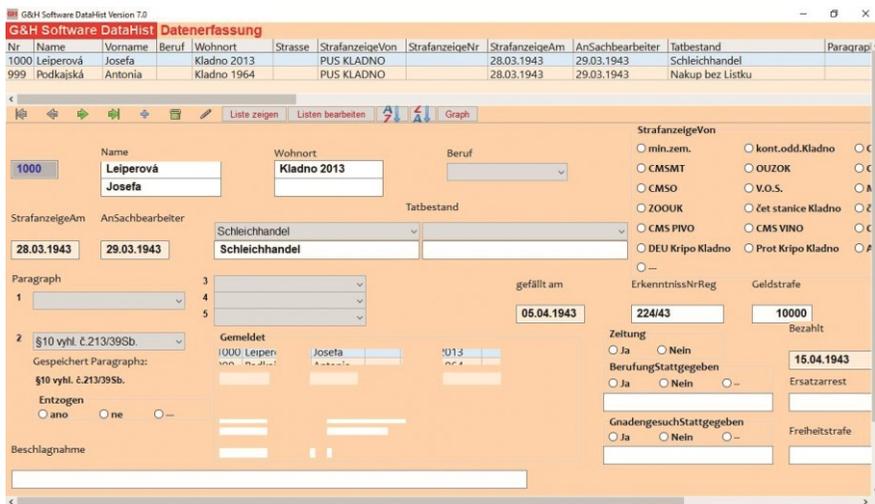


Fig. 2: Interface of DataHist, mirroring the table content

Since custom-made software was now available, I went to the archive again to transcribe the data. It soon became apparent that the transcriptions would take a lot of time. Even the daily transcription was not enough to capture all the data during my research trips to the Czech Republic and so I decided to photograph the books with a digital camera, with one photo per page. In this way I could simulate the opened register books with two screens and transcribe the material in DATAHIST on a laptop without having to be present in the archive. After about four months the data was transferred. Each book was copied to a separate database and then the three databases were merged into one.

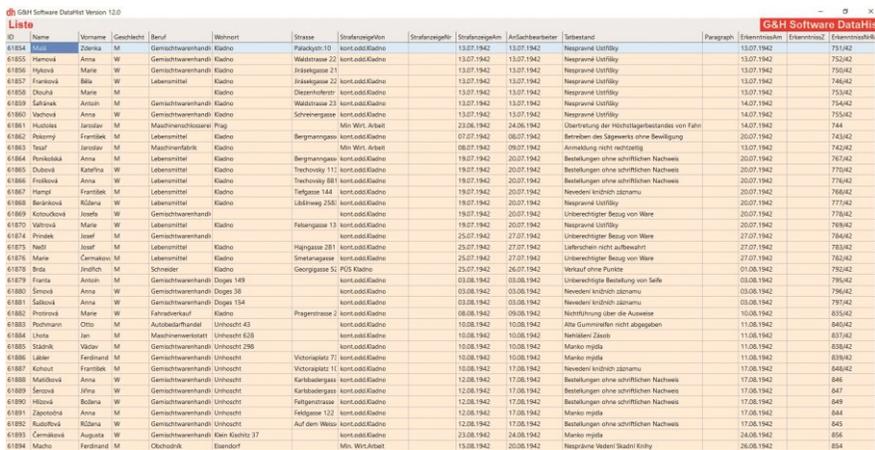


Fig. 3: Attribute table of cases transferred to the database using the DataHist software



For the respective register books, I put the different offences into groups of terms and compared them with the individual paragraphs, as these often differ from one another. This can be explained by the fact that different officials filled in the register books. Moreover, this step had to be carried out solely because, from the summer of 1942, the writing was no longer in Czech but in German.

In order to be able to merge the terms, I checked at this point the legal basis, i.e. the value which is entered in the “Paragraph” column in all the register books. However, as the clerks also wrote this information down individually and in different ways, it was not always clear at the beginning of this process which promulgation, regulation or law each paragraph referred to. For this reason, I first studied the *Sammlung der Gesetze und Verordnungen des Protektorates Böhmen und Mähren*, in which the Protectorate government or ministries published decrees and laws. Fortunately, these legal texts were already available in digital format. However, the laws and ordinances published here represented only a fraction of the paragraphs recorded in the register books. The majority of the paragraphs referred to announcements of the Bohemian-Moravian Market Associations, which were published in the official gazette of the protectorate, the *Amtsblatt des Protektorates Böhmen und Mähren* or *Úřední list Protektorátu Čechy a Morava*. With its 54 volumes and approximately 50,000 pages, this gazette was the most extensive announcement organ of the protectorate, and not available in digital form. I was able to scan all volumes from 1939–1945, which took three months. I sorted the material using Adobe Pro XI and saved it as OCR-capable PDF files. The *Amtsblatt* was initially written in Czech and, from 1942 onwards, in German and Czech.

This was no problem for Adobe Pro, as the quality of the scans was sufficient and the OCR search worked satisfactorily. Individual folders were set up in which the material was first sorted by individual months. Then folders were created in which the announcements of the respective associations were sorted chronologically. In a next step and based on the *Amtsblatt*, the aforementioned paragraphs and facts could be correctly decoded.

For example, the clerks of the district authority (Bezirksamt) wrote down violations of the law against black market trading (§ 9 of the “Regierungsverordnung Nr. 190/1940”)<sup>20</sup> in different ways (“Schleichhandel” or “Tauschhandel” or “Kettenhandel;” and in Czech: “Prodej pod rukou,” “Plechita s zboží,” “černý obchod”). I summarized these offences as “illegal trading” (Schleichhandel) and grouped them under one term, as the original values describe one and the same act. The actual implementation took place as follows: I manually selected the offences directly from the “criminal offence” (Tat-

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<sup>20</sup> Sammlung der Gesetze und Verordnungen des Protektorates Böhmen und Mähren (1940), p. 476.

bestand) column and copied them without any changes to ensure identical spelling.

In order to be able to freely create the list of terms, I introduced a memo field in the software DataHist, where I could summarize the facts. Then I generated the complex SQL query from this memo field.

Furthermore, I summarized, for example, all offences concerning the non-declaration of animals. Subsequently, it was possible to combine the resulting groups of terms into larger units in order to adapt them to the areas of the war economy and the guiding questions of the study. I repeated this process for all of the nearly 4,000 entries, so that I finally created five groups of terms.

I assigned offences related to agricultural production to the term group “agriculture.” The second group of terms was the aforementioned group “illegal trading.” The third group consisted of all offences connected with “fraudulent recordkeeping”, i.e., offences in the field of distribution. The fourth group comprised all offences related to “overcharging of goods,” and this group I called “overcharging” (Überteurung). The last group of terms included all offences concerning “crimes relating to ration cards” (Kartendelikte). The last group thus covered the area of consumption similar to the group of terms related to “illegal trading.”

By systematizing and summarizing the individual facts, it was now possible to make clear statements regarding the frequency of reported crimes in the Kladno political district in the three fields of production, distribution and consumption.

The next step was to think about data visualization. The software developer moved DATAHIST a step further so that it produced a list for each group term, with absolute numbers and with percentages in relation to the total number of criminal charges.

Milchfälschung / alles /				152/3846 (4,0%)	Begriff
ID	Name	Tatbestand	StrafanzeigeVon		
2744	Jansa	Porušení mléka	CMSMT		Kleiderkartendelikte
2759	Novotný	Porušení mléka	CMSMT		Manko Zboží
2815	Hořesšovský	Porušení mléka	CMSMT		Mietzinserhöhung
2823	Čermák	Porušení mléka	CMSMT		Milchfälschung
42339	Lemonová	Verkauf von Minderwert	kont. odd. Kladno		Nichtanmeldung Tiere
42340	Škvára	Verkauf von Minderwert	kont. odd. Kladno		Nichtanmeldung von Ware
42341	Pešková	Verkauf von Minderwert	kont. odd. Kladno		Nichterfüllung der Ablieferungsquot
42342	Hasmanová	Verkauf von Minderwert	kont. odd. Kladno		Saatgut
42343	Šilhan	Verkauf von Minderwert	kont. odd. Kladno		Schleichhandel
42354	Stehlíková	Verkauf von Minderwert	PÜS Kladno		Tierhandel
					Unberechtigter Bezug Karten oder Wi
					Verkauf ohne Karten
					Verkauf von Karten
					Waren Überteurung

Fig. 5: Example for an inquiry about the term “Tampering with Milk” (Milchfälschung; Porušení mléka). 152 cases were found—4 % of all criminal charges

Another central function of the software, which was the basis for the structure of the work, is the option to link fields with each other. The query for the group terms was coupled with the institution that filed the criminal complaint (“Anzeige von” and “Tatbestand”) and displayed as a histogram in the new

program function. For example, questions could now be formulated such as: “Show me all institutions that issued filed charges in the field ‘illegal trading.’”

At this point it also became obvious that I had to unify the terms for the institutions, firstly, because the clerks wrote bilingually and, secondly, because they spelt the names in different ways, and thirdly, because in a few cases some institutions made only a single criminal complaint during the whole period.

The software developer adapted the chart component for my purposes and evaluated and prepared the data statistically with the help of SQL commands, grouped it for histograms and completed it with color designation. I used different forms of charts (histogram, line or pie chart), each matching the intended statement.

These novel ways of working with the acquired data led to far-reaching research conclusions and results, which I will discuss below. The areas of production, distribution and consumption covered by the three books influenced the structure of the work. For each area, I first examined which institutions played the central role, which ones played no particular or only a minor role and the respective reasons for the differences.

## Research Conclusions

Now that I have introduced the functionality of the software and the resulting possibilities of data analysis, let us turn to the conclusions.

One of the central tools of the software is the combination of the institution filing the criminal charge, i.e., “criminal charges issued by” (Anzeige von), and the newly developed “groups of terms” (Begriffsgruppen). Combining information about the type of charge and the institution that issued the charges resulted in an analytical framework for the study. In my doctoral thesis, I dedicate one chapter to each of the fields of production, distribution and consumption and to the actors involved in sanctioning illegal economic behavior, and I examine which kind of offences they sanctioned most frequently. In the following, I will discuss the importance of state and semi-state actors for the implementation of the war economy in general. The data from all three books serve as a basis for this discussion. Then, I will explore the actors in the various fields of the war economy, i.e., in the areas of production, distribution and consumption and the control mechanisms they employed.

The data shows that actors previously ignored by research—above all the district authorities, in this case the District Authority of Kladno and the Bohemian-Moravian Market Associations—played a crucial role in the implementation of the war economy at the local level. Furthermore, the data analysis showed that police institutions responsible for the implementation of the laws up to that point (and also during World War I), such as the gendarmerie (Gendarmerie; četnicvto) or the criminal investigation department

(Kriminalpolizei; Kriminální policie) played only a supportive role in this context with a total of just slightly more than ten percent of all complaints filed (Fig. 6). Another astonishing finding in this context was that German occupation institutions such as the police (Ordnungspolizei, Deutsche Gendarmerie, Kriminalpolizei) as well as the secret police (Gestapo) did not play a significant role in the everyday implementation of the war economy and had little contact with the local population.<sup>21</sup>

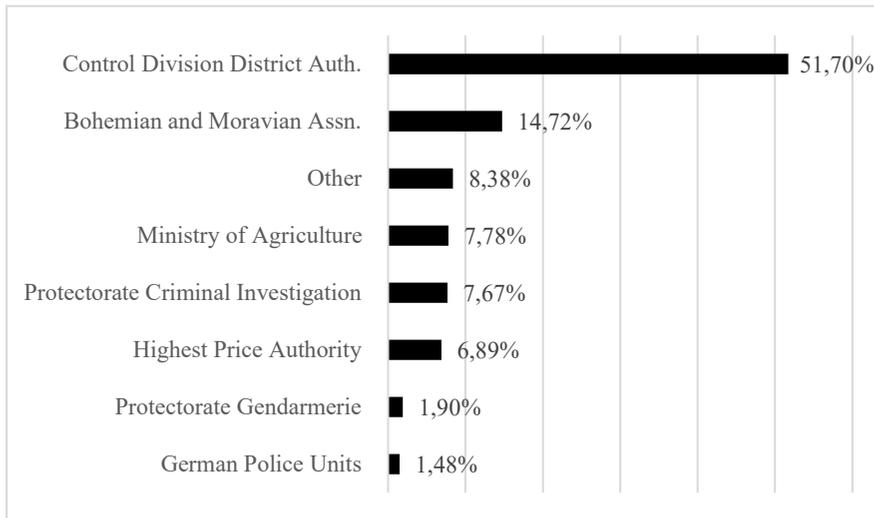


Fig. 6: Institutions that filed criminal charges with the Criminal Division of the Kladno District Office in connection with the war economy in the period 1941–1945. The traditional security agencies accounted for just slightly more than ten percent of the complaints

As shown in Fig. 6, I am able to identify the key actors in the implementation of the war economy at the local level. This data raises new questions. If these institutions filed such a large number of criminal charges, but research has not yet addressed them, is it not important that we learn more about the administrative practices of these institutions? How were these institutions organized? What was their staffing structure? What was their relationship to other German occupation institutions (for example the regional structures such as the *Oberlandräte*)?

In general, it can be said that, from 1939 to 1941, the local administration in the protectorate was responsible for the implementation of the war economy. The experience gained in the first years led to a fundamental administrative reform of the district authorities. From October 1941 onwards, five new departments and divisions were created at each district authority in the protec-

<sup>21</sup> VONDRÁČEK, Herrschaft, pp. 15–16.

torate: the Nutrition Department (Ernährungsreferat), the Supply Department (Versorgungsreferat), the Pricing Department (Preisgestaltungsreferat), the Control Department (Kontrollabteilung) and the Criminal Division (Strafreferat).<sup>22</sup>

The Nutrition Department and the Supply Department were responsible for organizing the production of all goods in the district, for setting the number of food stamps and ration coupons and for their distribution. The Pricing Department had to implement the announcements by the Supreme Price Authority, i.e., setting all prices for goods and services. Officials from the respective control departments had the task of monitoring government laws and regulations and announcements by the Bohemian-Moravian associations and to report crimes to the Criminal Investigation Department of the District Authority. The officials of the Criminal Department noted the cases in the register books and then initiated criminal proceedings. In total, the files of the Kladno District Office show that more than 70 people worked in the above-mentioned units. Most of them were of Czech nationality, including the heads of the various units. Some of the civil servants were former officials of the financial guard (Finanční Stráž) or other trained specialists. The financial guard was disbanded after the occupation of the Bohemian Lands in 1939. Especially the calculation and distribution of food ration cards and ration coupons required personnel with a high degree of training. The same applied to the control of numerous regulations. For this reason, the traditional security forces, such as the gendarmerie, could only perform supporting tasks, because the policemen were simply not qualified. German officials such as the supervising regional authorities (Oberlandratsämter) were less responsible for the administration itself than for the supervision of the administrators.<sup>23</sup>

If I want to know more about the various contexts such as production, distribution and consumption, I need to simply ask the software the same question but combine the actual “groups of terms.” Let me start with the field of agricultural production, the relevant actors and their control mechanisms.

If I combine the fields “criminal charge from” and choose the term “agriculture,” I am able to examine the importance of actors in the field of agricultural production. I find that the Nutrition Control Department (Ernährungs-

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<sup>22</sup> Erlass des Innenministeriums Nr. B-2157-21//10-41-2. from 1941-10-21, in: NA, fond Zemský úřad [Provincial Office], box 600; for further reading VONDRÁČEK, Rolle der Bezirksämter, p. 233.

<sup>23</sup> On the reorganization of the political administration in connection with the controlled economy from March 1939 to October 1941, see VONDRÁČEK, Rolle der Bezirksämter, pp. 219–235.

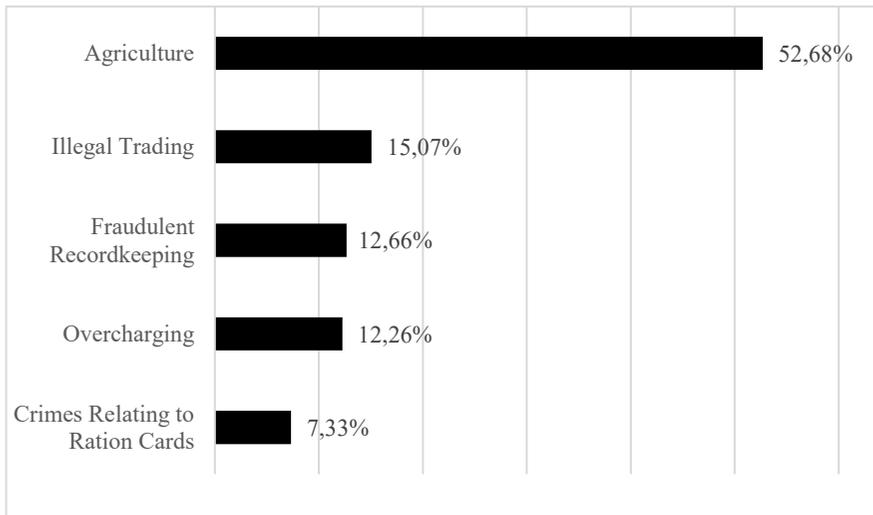


Fig. 7: Distribution of criminal offences reported to the Kladno District Office in 1942–1945, summarized by groups of terms

kontrollabteilung) of the Kladno District Office, the Bohemian-Moravian associations and the Ministry of Agriculture also carried the main burden of implementation in this case, while the different police units played only a supporting role.

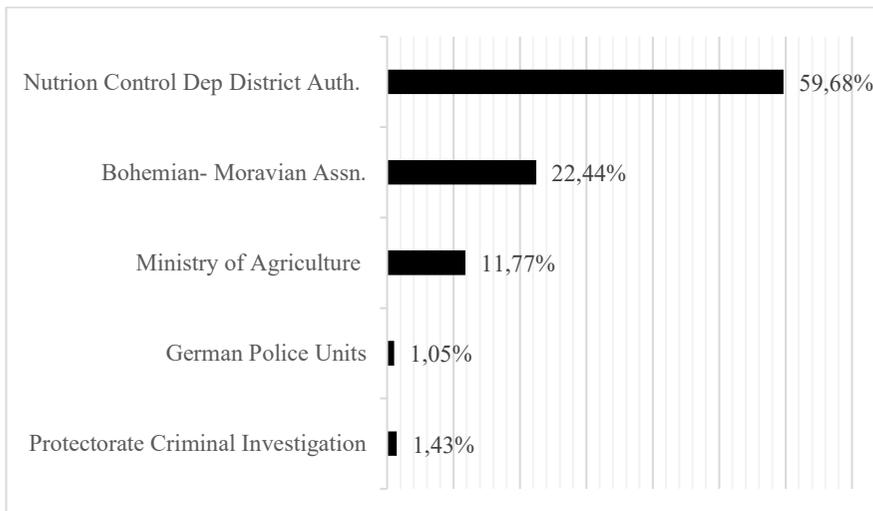


Fig. 8: Institutions that filed criminal charges to the Criminal Division of the Kladno District Office for offences related to agricultural production in the period 1942–1945

These results lead to further questions: How did the actors shape their roles in the implementation of the new economic order? What instruments and control mechanisms were developed by the various local actors to enforce their power? To answer these questions, it is necessary to combine other columns of the database. If I break down the different “criminal offences” summarized in the “groups of terms,” I can draw conclusions about the reported criminal offences. With this step, I am able to investigate the crimes overall and those in the fields of production, distribution and consumption that the authorities were able to uncover most frequently. For example, the data shows that the most important cases detected in the agricultural sector included poultry slaughter, milling of cereals without a license, and the delivery of cattle, eggs and milk. The data made it possible to look at the different cases in a targeted manner and to draw conclusions about the different control mechanisms of the respective authorities and the respective agricultural product.

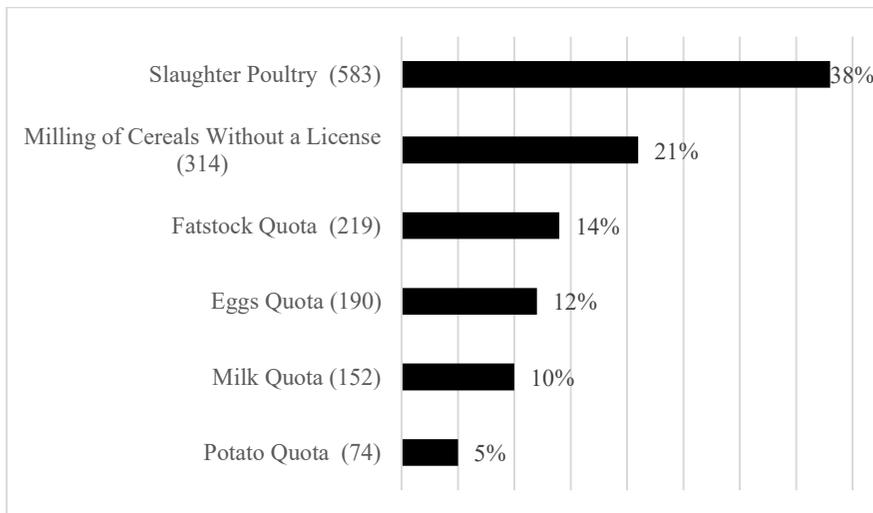


Fig. 9: The most frequent cases in the groups of terms “agriculture” and “failure to meet the delivery quota” (Nichterfüllung der Ablieferungsquote) reported in the Kladno district in the period 1942–1945

One of the most frequent areas of conflict in the field of production was “failure to meet the delivery quota” (Nichterfüllung der Ablieferungsquote). An analysis of the individual case files shows that the control mechanisms strongly depended on the nature of the agricultural product in question. For example, in order to monitor the delivery of cereals, the milling certificate was introduced in connection with the ban on domestic mills and served as an instrument of almost total control. It allowed officials to focus on a small number of mills and deprived farmers of the possibility of legally processing any cereals that they had been hiding after harvesting into flour. The effectiveness of this instrument of control was demonstrated by illegal trading:

grain was one of the most commonly bartered goods on the black market. I can derive this information by looking up all these cases in the database involving grain being traded on the black market. It can therefore be concluded that the farmers sold the retained grain as a raw product and the consumers then processed it themselves. However, success depended heavily on the control mechanisms put in place by the authorities. This example shows very clearly the value of these sources, which have thus far been ignored by researchers. Even without ego documents, I am able to trace action strategies of the local population and gain completely new and specific insights into their everyday life.

Other agricultural goods such as potatoes, slaughter cattle, slaughter poultry, milk or eggs were regulated by quotas. Their delivery could easily be monitored with bureaucratic means. If a quota was not fulfilled, the district authorities imposed fines according to a key defined per kilogram or piece not delivered.

In 1944, the Kladno District Authority sentenced 40-year-old Marie Hamouzová from the small village of Dolní Bezděkov (Unter Besdiekau), located about 11 kilometers southwest of Kladno, to a fine of 1,000 crowns for not fulfilling the cattle slaughter quota for the 1942–1943 marketing year.

She could only partly fulfil the prescribed quota of 1,500 kilos, having delivered 937 kilos of meat and thus 563 kilos less than prescribed.<sup>24</sup> As a “self-sufficient person” (Selbstversorgerin; samozásobitelka) she was allowed to slaughter a pig weighing 90 kg for her household, which in 1943 consisted of her husband and her child. Hamouzová was unable to meet other quotas as well: potatoes, milk and grain. Of the prescribed 1,768 kilos of potatoes, she delivered just under half, 880 kilos. Her milk deliveries were even less adequate. Out of 5,746 required liters, she delivered only 1,711, which means that she only fulfilled one third of the quota.<sup>25</sup> The reasons for the insufficient delivery of meat can be found in the minutes:

“The aforementioned person did not have sufficient fodder, because potatoes and beets were unsuitable and the forage dried out. Other fodder could not be bought anywhere else and the district did not allocate any. After calving the cow had a dead calf, it got infected and was sick for a long time. A sick pig had to be delivered prematurely.”<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> SOkA Kladno, OúK, box 1049, case Marie Hamouzová, p. 878.

<sup>25</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>26</sup> “Jmenovaná neměla dostatek krmiva, ježto brambory, řepa se neurodily, píče uschla. Jiného krmiva nebylo ke koupi a přiděl od okresu žádný. Otelená kráva měla mrtvé tele, nezčistila se a dlouho stonala. Vepř nemocný byl odevdán předčasně.” Ibidem, p. 878v.

The protocol sheet states that Hamouzová had not met the beef quota in the previous year either, and had thus failed to reach the target a second time. Considering the verdict of the Kladno District Authority pronounced in late February 1944 in connection with the non-fulfilment of the cattle slaughter quota for 1943, it is surprising that the penalty was only 1,000 crowns. The judgement also stated that 100 kilos of meat were not delivered. According to the protocol sheet, however, the amount of meat not delivered was 563 kilos. Pursuant to Government Decree No. 96/1942, Hamouzová should have paid a fine of 5,630 crowns for the 563 kilos of meat not delivered. How can the district authority's ruling be explained?

An answer to this question can be obtained by analyzing the farmer's appeal letter and the correspondence handed down in this connection from the Kladno District Authority and the regional authority in Prague. In a letter of 7 March 1944, Hamouzová demanded a revision of the judgement. She stated financial and family difficulties as the reasons. The letter stated that her mother and brother had both recently died after incurable illnesses and that the livestock had been in very poor condition when they had taken over the farm. However, it is clear from the statement of the Regional Governor (Landespräsident) of Bohemia of 7 August 1944 rejecting the appeal that the district authority in Kladno had already taken into account the circumstances mentioned in the farmer's letter:

“The mitigating circumstances mentioned in your appeal have already been duly taken into account by the district authority in the criminal proceedings, since the fine was imposed on you for failure to comply with only 100 kilos of the slaughter quota, although you failed to comply with 563 kilos of the quota in total.”<sup>27</sup>

The fact that the district authority was able to reduce the fine to an amount clearly not permitted by a governmental decree shows that the officials had a broad scope of agency, which they were also able to use to the benefit of the farmers in their district. The regional authority as a higher authority also agreed to such a ruling, as the analysis of the case of the farmer shows. According to the above-mentioned regulations, the district authority could have easily imposed significantly higher penalties, especially when it concerned

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<sup>27</sup> “Die in Ihrer Berufung angeführten Milderungsumstände hat die Bezirksbehörde beim Strafverfahren bereits entsprechend berücksichtigt, da Ihnen die Geldbusse nur wegen Nichterfüllung des Schlachtviehkontingentes von 100 kg auferlegt wurde, obwohl Sie insgesamt 563 kg des Kontingents nicht erfüllt haben.”<sup>27</sup> SOkA Kladno, OúK, box 1049, case Marie Hamouzová, p. 884.

farmers who repeatedly failed to meet their delivery obligations. In contrast to penalties imposed for failure to declare livestock or crops or even for illegal domestic slaughter of pigs, farmers were often not to blame when they failed to meet certain quotas, as in the case of poor harvests or sudden illnesses of animals.

The database shows that about 20 percent of the defendants took the opportunity to appeal to the regional authority in Prague (Landesbehörde Prag) or filed a petition for clemency with the district governor (Bezirkshauptmann). The farmers had various possibilities to influence the revision of the judgement at the district offices in these cases. They were able to give reasons for not fulfilling the quota, such as smaller harvests due to unfavorable weather conditions, poor condition of the cultivated soil, or sick animals. In fact, farmers were often able to obtain a reduction of the fine in this way. Appeals were referred to the next higher authority—the regional authority in Prague, staffed with Czech officials. This sometimes took months. Even in the case of a negative decision by the regional authority in Prague, the accused were still able to appeal for clemency and thus obtain a reduction of the fine or the term of imprisonment. The quota system was thus implemented within a clearly defined framework determined by laws and regulations of the government of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and by announcements of the Bohemian-Moravian associations, which also included the procedures in case of violations: even those caught in the act were given the right to take action against sanctions imposed.

Due to the new insights gained through this research, I am now able to make some initial statements about the entire legal framework in which everyday life in the war economy took place. This life was regulated by the above-mentioned legal framework, but the laws were passed on a non-democratic basis as early as 15 December 1938 and before the beginning of the German occupation on 15 March 1939. After that date, the government in Prague governed on the basis of the Enabling Act<sup>28</sup> and was authorized to pass laws without examination by the parliament. Even before the German occupation, democracy in Czechoslovakia had thus been eliminated. This date played a central role in the introduction of the war economy. The framework for the daily economic activity of the state can therefore not be defined as constitutional. Yet, it is extremely important to emphasize that the sources show that it was a clearly defined, predictable and enforceable system.

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<sup>28</sup> JAN VONDRÁČEK: “Prague Abandons Democratic Role”: Das Ermächtigungsgesetz vom 15. Dezember 1938 als Nicht-Erinnerungsort der tschechischen Geschichte, in: MATEI CHIHAIA, GEORG ECKERT (eds.): Kolossale Miniaturen: Festschrift für Gerrit Walther, Münster 2019, pp. 99–107. For the Second Republic in general see JAN GEBHART, JAN KUKLÍK: *Druhá republika 1938–1939: Svár demokracie a totality v politickém, společenském a kulturním životě* [The Second Republic 1938–1939: The Conflict between Democracy and Totality in Political, Social and Cultural Life], Praha 2004.

The data analysis illustrates that the Department of Distribution (Versorgungsreferat) and the Department of Prices (Preisreferat) within the district authorities played a major role in the area of distribution. The main task of the supply unit was to provide the population with products other than food, primarily with coal, textiles, shoes, soap and other goods such as tires and fuel, all of which gradually became subject to rationing from autumn 1939 onwards.<sup>29</sup> The control unit of the supply department had to monitor the correct distribution of goods and the system of ration coupons, as well as compliance with the applicable regulations on sales and consumption by the municipalities, producers, wholesalers, retailers and tradesmen.<sup>30</sup> In concrete terms, this meant that the Control Unit (Kontrollabteilung) supervised above all the correct and complete record-keeping of the incoming and outgoing goods in the distribution books. Using a wide range of specific and very complex questionnaires the municipal inspectors carried out systematic checks to determine whether the distribution of the receipts to consumers was carried out in a correct manner.<sup>31</sup>

In the Kladno political district, the offence of “fraudulent recordkeeping” accounted for about two thirds of all offences detected by the inspectors of the Supply Department. A large part of the false accounting took place in the area of soap distribution.

At this point an exemplary insight into the reconstruction of administrative practice in this context shall be given. The database enabled me to collect all offences related to soap distribution and to identify the various decrees that were violated. In addition, I analyzed the protocols and files of the supply department that had been handed down as well as the different laws and decrees.

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<sup>29</sup> Textile and shoe goods were rationed from 1939-12-15: Kundmachung Nr. 37 des Ministers für Industrie, Handel und Gewerbe, Nr. 123.793/39, über die Verbrauchsregelung für Spinnstoffwaren und Schuhwaren, in: Amtsblatt des Protektorates Böhmen und Mähren (1939), p. 4506. Soap was already rationed from 1939-09-09, see: Kundmachung Nr. 6 des Ministeriums für Industrie, Handel und Gewerbe, in: Amtsblatt des Protektorates Böhmen und Mähren (1939), p. 2809.

<sup>30</sup> This was done on the basis of § 7 of Regierungsverordnung Nr. 150 from 1939-07-23, in: Sammlung der Gesetze und Verordnungen des Protektorates Böhmen und Mähren (1939), p. 552.

<sup>31</sup> For example, there was a separate questionnaire for the management of soap, as well as for textiles, coal etc.; for soap see: SOKA Kladno, OúK, box 1447: Case File Marie Hamouzová; for textiles see *ibidem*, box 1446: Case File Jan Bartoš.

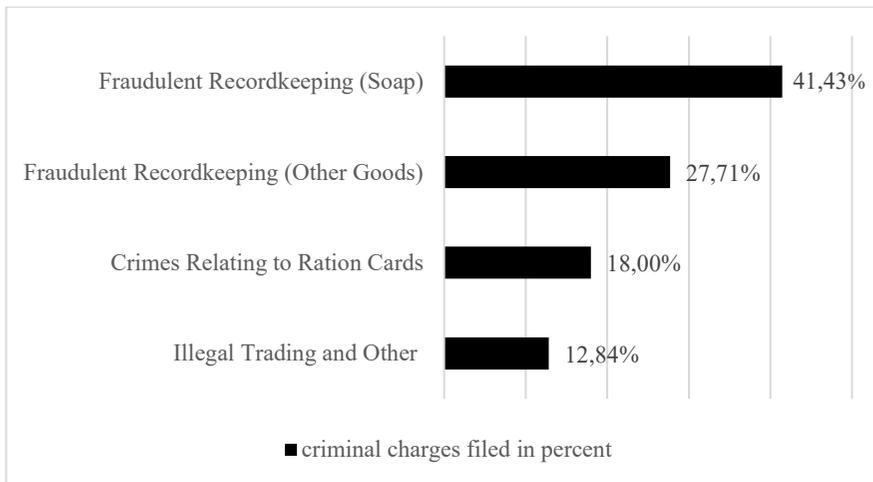


Fig. 10: Offences detected by the inspectors of the Supply Department 1942–1945

As the study of the files of the District Office revealed, the Control Department of the Kladno District Office only employed two officers, who had to supervise all correct accounting in the Kladno District. In Kladno, however, there were 260 retailers, 36 colonial goods shops and 42 general stores, so in total 338 shops had to be controlled.<sup>32</sup>

Similar to the harvest recording and the system of milling certificates, the aim of the authorities was to use low numbers of staff to ensure that the regulations in force were implemented as effectively as possible. The police carried out illegal trading controls at key locations highly frequented by the population such as railway stations, market places or crossroads and this involved a very high level of organization, time and personnel expenditure. In contrast, the checking of accounts could be carried out by only one trained official and needed to be done extremely systematically. This clerk was able to check all transactions in the district regularly, which did indeed gradually reduce the scope available to distributors to obtain goods through legal channels and then smuggle them unnoticed onto the black market.

Furthermore, the introduction of systematic accounting by distributors was in fact an attempt by the authorities to relieve the burden on municipal and district offices. When soap rationing was first introduced, for example, regular bottlenecks and problems with even distribution occurred, as, due to a lack of consumer registers, the number of coupons could not yet be determined. The sources show that an attempt was made to solve this problem by requesting all homeowners to draw up lists of all persons permanently registered in

<sup>32</sup> Adresář horního města Kladna [Address Book of the Mining Town Kladno], Kladno 1932, pp. 45–57.

their homes, which then served as the basis for the distribution of goods.<sup>33</sup> The municipalities or district offices had address books which, among other things, listed all the house owners of the respective towns. In Kladno alone there were 2,513 house owners.<sup>34</sup>

Accurate bookkeeping was therefore not only a way to prevent black market trading, but also an attempt by the authorities to determine the actual needs and consumption in the municipality or district, since the population was also constantly changing. This is one of the reasons why the sellers were obliged to write down precise data on their stocks and sales, not only of the current but also of the previous period.<sup>35</sup> For the same reason, checks were regularly carried out in shops. Shopkeepers were obliged to keep books, not only for soap distribution, but, of course, as a practice for managing all goods and foodstuffs. However, I can also see from the very precise forms printed for the control authorities, that special value was attached to soap.

If I look at the records in the register of the Kladno District Authority's Supply Department for 1942, I can also see that the control authorities systematically checked the district traders. The dates for filing criminal charges were very close together or fell even on the same day. I also noticed, in contrast to controls of illegal trading or price offences, that the controlling bodies carried out the audit of the accounts alone and not, as was usually the case, in pairs or even accompanied by a gendarme.<sup>36</sup>

Since I can evaluate all cases in connection with the criminal offence "improper trading with soap," which was imposed by the district authority, it is possible to comment on the amount of the different fines. In the entire Kladno political district, fines ranging from 20 to 1,000 crowns were imposed. From the database I learnt that Mrs. Hamouzová from the previous example was not only a "self-sufficient person" but also a general storekeeper. The District Authority fined her with 1,000 crowns for "improper trading with soap." The reason why the fine was so high in comparison with other fines can be explained by the fact that she was a "repeat offender." The inspector's report shows that the accused was fined 800 crowns in 1941 and 200 crowns in 1942 for violating Government Decree No. 150/1939. This was the third time that the shop owner had been punished for the same violation.<sup>37</sup> Her name search in the database shows that, in 1944, Mrs. Hamouzová was once again sentenced to a fine of 200 crowns for "failure to meet the 1943 slaughter cattle

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<sup>33</sup> JIŘÍ ŠTĚPEK: *Přídělové doklady z období tzv. Protektorátu* [Ration Cards from the Time of the So-called Protectorate], Praha 2010, p. 172.

<sup>34</sup> *Adresář*, pp. 67–116.

<sup>35</sup> *Niederschrift der Bezirksbehörde Kladno from 1943-08-20*, in: *SOka Kladno, OúK*, box 1447, Case File Marie Hamouzová, p. 344.

<sup>36</sup> Data based on the evaluation of *Rejstříky vyživovacích*.

<sup>37</sup> *Niederschrift der Bezirksbehörde Kladno from 1943-08-20*, in: *SOka Kladno, OúK*, box 1447, Case File Marie Hamouzová, p. 342, and data based on the evaluation of *Rejstříky vyživovacích*.

quota.” This in turn suggests (even if I did not have access to the files previously discussed) that the general storekeeper was also the owner of an agricultural business, as I have learnt from the context of the slaughter cattle levies that these were based on the size of the cultivated fields and the number of cattle.

This finding also makes it clear once again that the simple sociological categorization of the population into clearly defined social groups such as workers, farmers or traders does not lead to any result in our context, as it represents only a very vague or partly inaccurate reflection of reality.

The data shows that the consumption sector was very difficult to monitor by local institutions. The control mechanisms of the authorities were much less organized and more “traditional” than in the production and distribution sector.

Let us take a look at two other examples, “purchases without ration cards” and “illegal trading.” In the Kladno district, the authorities uncovered only a total of 403 cases of “illegal trading” or “purchases without ration cards.” That makes up 11.63 percent of all detected violations in the area of war economy. Furthermore, the authorities uncovered 268 cases of “unauthorized purchase of goods” or other “card offences,” representing a total of 10.13 percent of all detected violations in the area of war economy. Taken together, more than 20 percent of the cases uncovered were offences in the category of “purchases without ration cards”. How can I explain these numbers?

The Czech criminal police played an important role in the attempt of the authorities to fight black market practices. About 43 percent of all detected violations in the context of “illegal trading” were investigated by the Czech criminal police. So in this field, too, Czech officials played an important role. If I look into the individual cases I can reveal local networks of consumption that existed mainly within single families or between neighbors, colleagues and acquaintances.<sup>38</sup> The fact that clandestine goods were more expensive than legal goods makes it clear that the financial system functioned until the end of the war and was not replaced by barter trade. The cases analyzed here show that illegal consumption generally served the improvement of food supplies rather than their maintenance. In contrast to the urban population, part-

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<sup>38</sup> Here a comparison with other studies is worthwhile. The black market networks in larger cities such as Bremen or Berlin had an international character and also differed greatly from the political district of Kladno in terms of the goods exchanged. See for the city of Bremen STEFAN MÖRCHEN: *Schwarzer Markt, Kriminalität, Ordnung und Moral in Bremen 1939–1949*, Frankfurt am Main 2011, and for Berlin MALTE ZIERENBERG: *Stadt der Schieber: Der Berliner Schwarzmarkt 1939–1950*, Göttingen 2008, and IDEM: *Tauschen und Vertrauen: Zur Kultur des Schwarzhandels im Berlin der 1940er Jahre*, in: HARTMUT BERGHOFF, JAKOB VOGEL (eds.): *Wirtschaft als Kulturgeschichte: Dimensionen eines Perspektivenwechsels*, Frankfurt am Main—New York 2004, pp. 169–194.

time farmers (*kovorolníky*)<sup>39</sup> and full-time farmers have always had the opportunity to improve their food supply on a small scale by illegally keeping laying hens or other small livestock. However, these illegal means of consumption depended to a large extent on one's relationship with neighbors and colleagues and were therefore subject to forms of social control.

As long as neighbors or colleagues covered up each other's crimes, there was no starting point for investigations; as soon as one reported the other to the local *gendarmérie*, the actor became a co-(perpetrator). The local population was not only a victim of the system of compulsory levies, but also came to terms with it—with very different courses of action depending on the individual case. It is likely that mainly those who remained excluded from the aforementioned networks filed charges.

### Summary: Methodological Thoughts on Sources, Everyday Life under Occupation and Digital Humanities

This study demonstrates that Digital Humanities is not only an auxiliary science for historians, but it can achieve far-reaching results that are impossible without digital methods. On the basis of the evaluation of data from the register books of the Kladno District Authority, it is possible to make significant corrections to the common interpretation of the history of everyday life under German occupation and to the narratives about the war economy. The implementation of the war economy at the local level was primarily the responsibility of the district offices staffed with Czech civil servants, the civil servants of the Bohemian-Moravian Market Association and the Supreme Price Authority. The Czech criminal investigation department (*Protektorats-Kriminalpolizei*) was also central to the fight against the black market economy. The statistical analysis shows that German actors such as the German police or even the Gestapo, however, played hardly any role at all in the implementation process.

These findings show two things. Firstly, without Czech officials and native Czech institutions, the maintenance of the war economy and the associated Nazi occupation would not have been possible. Secondly, the data shows that the administration of the war economy was regulated by a coherent legal framework of laws and decrees from both the government as well as the pronouncements of the Bohemian-Moravian Market Association. As such, this administration was strongly influenced by norms that had existed before the occupation. The files also show that the local population used the institutions available to them and had a wide range of agency.

In this context, it would be essential to take a closer look at the biographies of Czech officials in the various institutions and also at the motivation for

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<sup>39</sup> BALCAR, p. 170.

their actions. Ideally these results should be examined with different self-testimonies of the actors involved.

In view of the results of this study, it is important to think more intensely about the significance of local actors and their sources. It is striking that the areas of economy and administration, especially at the local level, have been ignored for many years. With the help of Digital Humanities, a large number of serial sources can be analyzed profitably and a fundamental contribution can thus be made to historical research as well as to the understanding of state rule and dominance and of everyday life in general.

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