

„AND TAKE ME AS I AM, A TEARAWAY-IDEALIST WITH THE BEST INTENTIONS“ COLOURFUL LIFE OF FRANTIŠEK KILLINGER

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Abstrakt: „*A ber ma takého, aký som, rebelantského idealistu s tými najlepšími úmyslami*“ *Farebný život Františka Killingera*. Predkladaná biografická štúdia sa zameriava na Františka Killingera. Táto osobnosť sa dodnes teší značnej obľube a pozornosti v Suriname, kde sa v roku 1910 pokúsil o pacifistický prevrat a osamostatnenie tejto holandskej kolónie. Väčšina historických textov, ktoré sa mu venujú, sledujú primárne práve obdobie nevydareného puču a následného súdu. Kvôli Killingerovej tendencii mystifikovať svoje okolie a prifarbovať si vlastný život je to, čo je o jeho živote známe, do značnej miery nepresné, niekedy dokonca úplne chybné. Tento text sa snaží tieto nepresnosti odstrániť a na základe prameňov a dobovej tlače sledovať Killingerove osudy pred jeho cestou do Surinamu, ale aj jeho následný život po prvej svetovej vojne. Sleduje jeho mladosť v Čechách, jeho cestu do Surinamu, jeho návrat do Čiech a snahy o diplomatickú kariéru. Sleduje aj jeho aktivity v rámci moslimského hnutia v anglickom Wokingu a Berlíne, jeho cestu do Thajska a Číny a neskoršie angažmán v službách Tretej ríše. Hodnoverne tiež posúva dátáciu a miesto jeho úmrtia z Turecka (1936) do Nemecka (1956).

Kľúčové slová: Surinam. Killinger. Cestovanie. Vojenská kariéra.

Introduction

The aim of the presented text is to acknowledge society with the figure of František Killinger. Taken this adventurer, inventor, putschist, religious activist and educator already drawn some attention of the European historiography, there are two goals of this study. Firstly to supplement the pieces of knowledge of his life, that are already known, and secondly present the research of those periods of his life, that were up to now overlooked.

The study is thus an attempt at a biography of Killinger, and the methodological background is related to this. The basis is the biographical method – specifically individual biography. This follows, as far as the sources allow, a diachronic approach. At the same time, there is an attempt to trace not only Killinger's life, but also the trace left by his personality in society. Killinger's story intervenes in 'big history' only once – in 1910, when he led the putschists in their attempt to make Suriname an independent pacifist state. As a result, Killinger is still popular in Suriname today. But his work in Bohemia, England and other places/countries is not without interest. Although it is impossible to generalise on the basis of one person, it is undoubtedly important to realise what kind of people may have held police, diplomatic and religious positions. What possibilities they had within the framework of anonymity and to what extent it was possible to shape an image of oneself in different environments using different means.



Killinger (left) with other founding members of the *Moslemische revue*. Zdroj: *Moslemische Revue* (without exact date) 4. 1924, jh. 1, nr.1, [0].

If we put aside the sources of journalistic nature, than there are crucial three recent studies for getting known Killinger's life, which are from Dutch and Suriname milieu. First was written by David George Albert Findlay in 1980.¹ Second by Hans Ramsoedh for *Oso*, the Dutch magazine dedicated to the Surinam studies.² And finally the most recent raconteur of his life is Michiel van Kampen, with his study *Een Hongaarse putschist in Suriname*.³ The above mentioned studies

summarize very well all the findings, that we have about Killinger. Or rather the findings of the Dutch historiography and with it also the land, that happened to be the scene of this adventurer's most noticeable activity – Surinam.

Much richer is the foundation of journalistic sources, that reflect his destinies in years 1910 and 1911.⁴ Those are complemented with references from the time, Killinger used the name Muhammad Tewfiq Killinger,⁵ Naturally Killinger is also mentioned in books concerning the history of Surinam.⁶ Up till now, there were found no mentions of this figure in the Czech historiography. We can only mention a short passage from the book *Surinam and the Netherlands Antilles*, where the author states:

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- 1 FINDLAY, David George. *Het politiek complot van Killinger c.s. in Suriname: Overdrukken uit De West 1911*, [Paramaribo]: publisher not listed, 1980.
 - 2 RAMSOEDH, Hans. De revolutie die niet doorging. In *Oso* 22. *Tijdschrift voor Surinaamse taalkunde, letterkunde en geschiedenis*. Nijmegen : Instituut ter bevordering van de Surinamistiek 2003, b. 187-213.
 - 3 KEMPEN, Michiel van. Een Hongaarse putschist in Suriname. In *Acta Neerlandica* 12. Tropisch avontuur: Hongaren id de Nederlandse koloniën. Debrecen : A Debreceni Egyetem Néderlandisztika Tanszékének Kiadványa, 2016, b. 109-122.
 - 4 Het Komplot. In *Bredasche courant* 24. 7. 1910, ja. 119, no. 143, b. 3; Het Proces-Killinger c. s. In *Het Vaderland* 9. 5. 1911, ja. 43, no. 110, b. 1; De zaak-Killinger. In *Algemeen Handelsblad* 18. 10. 1910, ja. 83, no. 26 403, b. 6; Killinger. In *Suriname: koloniaal nieuws- en advertentieblad* 25. 12. 1913, ja. 65, no. 103, b. 3; De zaak Killinger. In *De West: nieuwsblad uit en voor Suriname* 30. 9. 1910, ja. 1, no. 105, b. 2; Zaak Killinger. In *De West: nieuwsblad uit en voor Suriname* 20. 12. 1910, ja. 2, no. 128, b. 2 etc.
 - 5 Also M. Muhammad Tewfiq Killinger. In *Islamic review* (without exact date) 7. 1924, yr. 7, no. 12, p. 227.
 - 6 e.g. BUENO BIBAZ, R., *Beknopte Geschiedenis van de Kolonie Suriname*, Paramaribo : H. B. Heyde, 1928, b. 104.

„Their despaire (ment the Surinamies, authors note) culminated in the effort of overflowing the government in 1911, called „the Killingers conspiracy“ after the Hungarian imigrant, who joined the lines of the free black men and was able to organize them into a functional unit. Although his intentions of the conspiracy were never proved, he was imprisoned and sentenced to death, which ended also the whole rebellious movement.“⁷

Unfortunately many inaccuracies are to be found in these sentences. Further on in the Czech environs we can find several newspaper articles. One such article reflected his invention of the water cannon in 1902⁸ and one published memory of the son of Killinger's friend from the WW1.⁹ We must not forget also an article written by Killinger himself right after the WW1.¹⁰

The presented text, as stated above, summarizes the previous knowledge and on many places gives it precision and further context. The main merit for Killinger's fortunes is the description of his life since the beginning of the WW1 until his death in 1962. This period, almost half a century long was not mapped yet. The findings up till now agreed on his departure to Turkey, where he died in 1936. However his destinies were much more colourful and his life longer. As a stepping point we can use a personal fund of an orientalist Alois Musil, where are several letters, that Killinger wrote to Musil, which enable us to widen knowledge of this person in a period of his life, out of which nothing is known. Another worthy information provided the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the fund of the I. Section 1918 – 1939, division I/1 and I/2 Czechoslovakian consulates in the abroad, contain a lot of information about Killinger's doings among 1919 – 1928. Unfortunately for the later period no source of information that would enable continual description of his fortunes was found and so we can form only partial conclusions. Partial view to a part of this period can give us screening made in 1953, which is deposited in the Security Service of CR Archive.¹¹

Youth

Killingers birthplace was a village of Hodon¹² in the Romanian district Timis. District Timis is situated in the western part of the Romanian Banat. The area in that time belonged to Hungary and so probably emerged the idea of Killinger being Hungarian. Killingers father was probably in Hodon serving by the archduke Jan Salvator of Tuskany.¹³ Other mentions tell us, his journey lead through Wien to Chodsko (Western Bohemia). When Michiel van Kempen pondered over Killingers nationality, this transfer was very confusing to him. He admitted, Killinger's first names suggest his Czech origin, but he could not find any reason, why would

7 KUBÁTOVÁ, Eva. *Surinam a Nizozemské Antily*. Praha : Libri, 2016, s. 173.

8 »Watersgeschut«. In *Národní listy*, roč. 42, 20. 12. 1902, č. 348, s. 2. 20. (afternoon issue).

9 S dopisem do Surinamu. In *Jihočeské listy*, roč. 42, 18. 7. 1936, č. 56, s. 1-2.

10 Killinger, František. Československá republika a příští její reservoir tropických surovin a potravin. In *Venkov*, roč. 14, 10. 4. 1919, č. 86, s. 2-3.

11 Security Service Archive (further on SSA), fund Testimonies of the Gestapo and SD employees, (no box or inventory number), sign. 52-75-2, Killinger František.

12 In the sources written as Hodoniy; German Hodon, Hungarian Hodony.

13 Hof van Justitie. In *De Surinamer*, 14. 3. 1911, ja. 18, no. 22, b. 1.

a Czech boy travel for education to the Sudetenland – a German speaking region. However Chodsko – region surrounding the town of Domažlice, neighbouring Germany, was traditionally mostly Czech, and so was Kdyně, where Killinger begun his studies.¹⁴ The district of Domažlice in 1880 was in 75 % Czech and in the district of Kdyně in the same year Czechs made 85 % of population.¹⁵ About his studies in Kdyně, there are no sources. He was supposed to live here among the age of 6 to 12.¹⁶ But we know, that in 1888 he commenced his studies on a classical gymnasium in Domažlice. Let us mention, that among his schoolmates was one of the authors of the Czechoslovakian institution Jiří Hoetzel, ort he non-conform philosopher, poet and rebel Ladislav Klíma. The education was in Czech language. Apart from Czech, Killinger learned also German and Latin and was evaluated as an excellent student. Considering he spent most of his life as soldier, we can not be surprised, that he chose PE as a facultative subject. Surprising is just the fact, that in this subject he gained the worst results of all and decided not to continue after one term. Overall student Killinger was evaluated as a diligent and persistent learner.¹⁷ During his studies in Domažlice the family lived in in Kdyně, in the house number 167.¹⁸ In the household lived Killingers father František, mother Kateřina and two years his junior sister Barbora. The census operates enable us further discoveries. Killingers father was in the up to now research presented as an administrator (Verwalter), which would not explain the nomadic life of the family. In the operates he is described as k.k. road mender employed by the k.k. road direction. This occupation corresponds with their frequent movements much better. Killinger, as mentioned above, was born in today's Romania, his sister Barbora saw the light of day in September 1877 in the capital of the monarchy – Wien. It is highly probable that also to Chodsko was the family driven by fathers working duties. It is not certain how long did the family live here, but for sure their apartment in number 167 was empty during the Census in 1900.¹⁹ During his studies, Killinger did not live with his family in Kdyně, but resided by the painter Jiří Löw in Domažlice.²⁰

Based on these information we can exclude with quite a high certainty Killingers noble origin, which is mentioned in several texts. There are no clues, that would prove František Killinger's kinship with later nazi functionary Manfred Freiherr

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- 14 KEMPEN, Michiel van. Een Hongaarse putschist in Suriname. In *Acta Neerlandica* 12. Tropisch avontuur: Hongaren id de Nederlandse koloniën. Debrecen : A Debreceni Egyetem Néderlandisztika Tanszékének Kiadványa, 2016, b. 111.
 - 15 VONDRÁČEK, Karel. *50 let Národní jednoty Pošumavské*. Praha : Národní jednota Pošumavská, 1935, s. 166-168.
 - 16 Hof van Justitie. In *De Surinamer*, 14. 3. 1911, ja. 18, no. 22, b. 1.
 - 17 State District Archives Domažlice residing in Horšovský Týn (further on SOkA Domažlice), fund Gymnázium Domažlice, (no box number), inv. n. 18, Výkazy docházky a prospěchu 1888/1889.
 - 18 According to census operates of 1890 (available online on <http://www.portafontium.eu/>), seen 24/9 2020.
 - 19 Census operates of 1900 (available online on <http://www.portafontium.eu/>), seen 24/9 2020.
 - 20 Also SOkA Domažlice, fund Gymnázium Domažlice, (without the box numbers), inv. n. 18, Výkazy docházky a prospěchu 1888/1889.

von Killinger. As stated above, Killinger's father was a road mender. If we try and seek for the line of František Killinger senior further on, we meet with complication. According to census registers from Kdyně we know, his birthplace was Opočno by Hradec Králové. For the year 1839, which is stated as a year of his birth, are the birth registers of Opočno preserved but no František Killinger is recorded there.²¹ What may help us is the *Amtsblatt zum Prager Zeitung*, which gives us to 1828 a list of military recruits for the Opočno manor. In this list occurs also a forestry apprentice Franz Killinger – supposedly grandfather or other relative of our „hero“, whose post also does not indicate his noble origin.²² However there is no certainty about their family relation.

Killinger's journey after finishing Gymnazium led to the entrance exams to the Riding cadet academy in Hranice na Moravě. As far as we know, he passed the exam, but did not enter the school. As a reason was stated the financial demands of the studies. Instead he is said to become a volunteer in the telegraphic department on the railways. This information occurs in his life descriptions often, but it was not possible to prove it with certainty.²³ Later he probably worked in the laundry and then joined as a volunteer the 14th Dragoon Regiment of the field marshal Alfred, duke Windisch-Graetz.

This regiment was since 1817 enlisted almost solely from Bohemia.²⁴ In the time Killinger entered the regiment, the enlisting district (same as the residence of the regiment) was Klatovy, a town about 20 km far from Kdyně.²⁵ While serving in this regiment there was probably an accident, when Killinger unintentionally shot another soldier. For this offence, he was punished by two months in prison and a fine.²⁶ However information about this matter differs. For example the *Salzburger Volksblatt* and *Délmagyarország* while describing Killinger's life fortunes stated, that he was sentenced for cruelty to the subordinate soldier („*Mißhandlung eines Unter-*

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- 21 Compare: State District Archives Zámorsk, fund Collection of vital registers of the eastern-bohemian region 1587 – 1949, (no box number), inv. č. 7063 (sign. 120-4) Matrika narozených Opočno 1828 – 1840.
- 22 Vorrufung militärpflichtiger Individuen – Vom Oberamte der hochfürstlich Colloredo Mannsfeldschen herrschaft Opočno. In *Amtsblatt zum Prager Zeitung*, 30. 3. ja. 1828, no. 52, b. [11].
- 23 Anonym. *Almanach der k. k. österreichischen Staatsbahnen 1893 and 1894*.
- 24 NOVÁK, Milan. *Dragounský pluk polního maršála Alfréda knížete Windisch-Graetze Nr. 14 a jeho slavná historie se zvláštním zřetelem k městu Brandýsu nad Labem*. Brandýs nad Labem – Stará Boleslav : Tradiční dragounský regiment č. 14 a město Brandýs nad Labem – Stará Boleslav, 2005, s. 10.
- 25 WREDE, Alfons. *Geschichte der k. und k. Wehrmacht die Regimenter, Corps, Brachen und Anstalten von 1618 bis Ende des XIX. Jahrhunderts*. Wien : Seidel, 1901, s. 220-227.
- 26 E. g. Killinger droomde van de toekomststaat Suriname. In *Het nieuws: algemeen dagblad*, 21. 5. 1960, ja. 18, no. 6088, b. 3; Hof van Justitie. In *De Surinamer* 14. 3. 1911, ja. 18, no. 22, b. 1; KEMPEN, Michiel van. Een Hongaarse putschist in Suriname. In *Acta Neerlandica* 12. Tropisch avontuur: Hongaren id de Nederlandse koloniën. Debrecen : A Debreceni Egyetem Néderlandisztika Tanszékének Kiadványa, 2016, b. 111.

gebenen“; „bántalmazás“), but he avoided the punishment and fled.²⁷ The question is, whether to trust the sources from Surinam or Austria-Hungary. It is probable, that a lot of information about Killinger's life before his Surinam adventure comes directly from Killinger himself. Therefore it would be understandable, he altered some of the details. Is it possible, that the interpretation of the Austrian-Hungarian newspapers would be more precise? We can not guess. Killinger's military records were not found. We must count with both possibilities – that is either „clumsiness“ or „insidiousness“. Most of the Austrian-Hungarian sources take information from the Dutch press or does not differ from the information from Netherlands and Surinam.²⁸ We should also notice another difference in the content of the newspaper articles. Whether Dutch, Surinam or Austrian, all refer to him as to Hungarian. Only the Hungarian newspaper see him as Austrian.²⁹

Information of his next journey differ in the sources. In some, we read he did not even start his imprisonment and fled to Netherlands. Other state, that after serving his sentence, he returned to the army, where he served until 1899. Than these sources recon he resigned to his military position and went to help to the Dutch side in the Second Anglo-Boer War. On his way to Transvaal he was arrested in Hambourgh. After paying the stated fine, he was allowed to travel to Netherlands, where he became a soldier again. His target this time was the Dutch East Indies, where he wanted to serve in the troops of Koloniaal Werfdepod. Members of this army were trained in the Dutch Harderwijk for the service in the colonies and then sent especially to the east India, where there was a protracted conflict known as the „war of the infidels“, or simply Aceh war. Killinger was not accepted to the Koloniaal Werfdepod because of his physical weakness. However, this physical weakness apparently did not prevent him from serving in another Dutch colony, Suriname.

Tropical adventure?

He arrived in Suriname on 18th December 1899, and it was just over six months before he began his service with the Surinamese police. What was the motive for leaving the army and joining the police is not entirely clear. However, if we bear in mind that Killinger was an active and ambitious man, we can explain this transfer by the state of the regular colonial army, which did not allow for such career development. In fact, it is not infrequent to find the statement that colonial soldiers in Suriname had a lot of free time but lacked any opportunities for self realization.

Many of them spent their free time with alcohol. Killinger himself said at his trial that the army was a group of undisciplined alcoholics. Killinger rose steeply in the police service. During 1900 – 1905 he was promoted nine times until he became

27 *Mysteriöse Abentauer eines österreichischen Unteroffiziers*. In *Salzburger Volksblatt*, 30. 6. 1910, jh. 40, nr. 144, s. 5; *Egy osztrák katonaszökevény hazaárulási bűnügye*. In *Délmagyarország* 1. 6. 1910, é. 1, ú. 34, o. 8.

28 *Ein Hungar als Haupt einer Verschwörung*. In *Neues Wiener Journal*, 22. 6. 1910, ja. 18, no. 5985, b. 7; *Mysteriöse Abentauer eines österreichischen Unteroffiziers*. In *Die Zeit*, 26. 6. 1910, ja. 9, no. 2784, b. 9.

29 *Egy osztrák katonaszökevény hazaárulási bűnügye*. In *Délmagyarország*, 1. 6. 1910, é. 1, ú. 34, o. 8.

Inspector of Police on 13 November 1905.³⁰ Already as a police inspector he married Louise Henriette Rudolphina Neumann,³¹ who used the name Killinger-Neumann since then.³² Killinger was also active in his private life at this time. He spent his time inventing various improvements. Among other things, he was working on the problem of protecting feet from the environment. He invented special shoes with spats, that prevented the ingress of water and dust. His most famous invention, however, remains the water cannon for dispersing demonstrators.³³ The invention of this machine was one of the moments, when Killinger was noticed by the Czech newspaper.³⁴ After a rather extensive and detailed description of the invention the *Národní listy* ended the article by: „1. It prevents unnecessary bloodshed and thus conforms to the humane ideas of modern bloodless resolution of disputes and clashes; 2. Compared with the present firearms it is infinitely cheaper; 3. It is not only an instrument of war, but also in time of peace it performs important services, e.g. in large fires. - If it should be objected that the effect of the „water cannon“ would not be sufficient, it might perhaps be obtained by the admixture of some effective and cheap chemical agent in the water stream[...] The inventor is Mr. František Killinger, a Czech, formerly a dragoon bookkeeper, now in the service of the Royal Dutch Colonial Army in the West Indies, and at that time commander of the military station at Combe, near Paramaribo, Suriname. Drawing and description of the invention, on the advice of experts, sent to the United States Patent Office at Washington for the cause of obtaining a patent.“³⁵ How the patent turned out in Washington is not known, but Killinger's ambition to make a fortune from his inventions led him to Europe, where he went on „vacation“ in 1907.

In Europe, specifically in Germany, he met a representative of the company Steimel, which at that time had quite a lot of experience in the production of centrifuges and pumps.³⁶ It may be assumed, therefore, that through this agent he wanted to break through with his water cannon. It's likely he failed with the water cannon. However, he seems to have succeeded with Mrs Haddeus, the wife of the Steimel representative. He told her about the colony's problems and how to improve the situation. Haddeus promised her support in the form of funding³⁷ and also introduced him to her brother Bruno Teurschmann, who was to raise additional funds through his links to the financial sector. Teurschmann introduced him to a man named Tarlitt, who also promised to support the „Surinamese action“. By this point,

30 Hof van Justitie. In *De Surinamer*, 14. 3. 1911, ja. 18, no. 22, b. 1.

31 Their marriage ended up in a divorce on 17th June 1910; [no title] In *De West*, 15. 7. 1910, ja. 1, no. 83, b. 3.

32 Zeetijdigen. In *Het vaderland*, 17. 3. 1910, ja. 42, no. 65, b. 2.

33 Killinger droomde van de toekomststaat Suriname. In *Het nieuws: algemeen dagblad*, 21. 5. 1960, ja. 18, no. 6088, b. 3.

34 »Watersgeschut« - vodní dělo. In *Národní listy*, roč. 42, 20. 12. 1902, č. 348, s. 2. (afternoon issue).

35 »Watersgeschut« - vodní dělo. In *Národní listy*, roč. 42, 20. 12. 1902, č. 348, s. 2.

36 Later he was to meet Kurt Richter, who was an engineer for field machines at the Krupp; Utopist of misdadiger? In *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1. 5. 1911, ja. 16, no. 100, b. 11.

37 Killinger droomde van de toekomststaat Suriname. In *Het nieuws: algemeen dagblad*, 21. 5. 1960, ja. 18, no. 6088, b. 3.

according to most sources, the funds were to be used for a regular coup d'état in Suriname, to be led by Killinger. The motives for this coup can now be seen as positive in principle. Suriname was to become a free country without an army or navy, and all state revenue was to be used for cultural purposes and the provision of women and children. In correspondence, the purposes of the various sums were to be camouflaged by the fact that they were financial support for Killinger's inventions. Through the Haddeus family, Killinger also met Clara Doppelt, with whom he fell in love. He did not tell her at first that he was married, and so the engagement took place in September 1909. He was then forced by circumstances to tell his expectant wife about his „first“ wife. However it did not prevent their love and Francis Killinger married Clara Doppelt in Islington, London, on the 6 November 1909. Almost no one knew about the marriage, not even the Haddeus family.³⁸

After the marriage Killinger moved to Germany and again focused on connections with the banking sector and also absorbed knowledge useful to his occupation. As for the financial support, he gained none, for which he blamed his contacts in Surinam, whom he asked for some documentation about the economical situation and similar issues. However they sent none.³⁹ Before his return to Suriname, he met Bertha von Suttner, better known in the Czech Republic as Berta Kinská-Suttnerová or Berta of the Suttners. We know that Killinger had corresponded with Suttner before their meeting.⁴⁰ If the found sources comment on the contact with the Nobel Prize winner, it is only in the sense that Killinger did not confide in her about his coup plan. As previously stated, Killinger's vision of a free state was peaceful at its core, which coincided with Suttner's worldview.⁴¹ The press sometimes marked Killinger's vision of state as „á la Bertha von Suttner.“⁴² It is likely, therefore, that the conversation revolved around the situation in the colonies. We can also venture a guess that the topic that was bothering Suttner at the time, which concerned Killinger's homeland, came up - the inability of Czechs and Germans to find a common ground to peaceful coexistence within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (Hamman 2006: pp. 455-503). However, given what we know about our „hero“, we cannot assume that the issue of Czech-German coexistence bothered him greatly.

In December 1909, Killinger returned to Suriname with his wife (Clara Doppelt). His first wife, Killinger-Neumann, remained in Europe, and Killinger brought his second wife to his house as a relative. The household was a tight squeeze for the newlyweds, and with the funds he had acquired in Europe (about 70,000 marks), Killinger acquired a lavish mansion. He also let it be known that he intended to pur-

38 According to other sources, the marriage should be announced on the 6th November, but finally it did not happen; compare: Utopist of misdadiger? In *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 2. 5. 1911, ja. 16, no. 101, b. 9.

39 Utopist of Misdadiger. In *De Preanger bote*, 4. 5. 1911, ja. 16, no. 122, s. 4.

40 Archive of United Nations Office at Geneva, Ref. Code BvS/21/259-1/1, (no box or inventory number), Killinger, Franz – Paramaribo, Venezuela -1906.09.13.

41 For more about Killinger's thoughts on the function of state see: Killinger's model staat. In *De West: nieuwsblad uit en voor Suriname*, 13. 3. 1911, ja. 2, no. 152, b. 2.

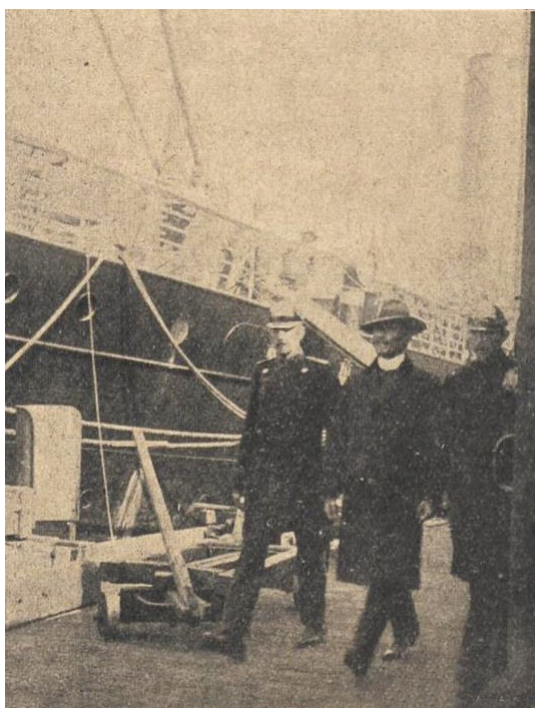
42 e. g. Een Geheimzinnige zaak. In *De Tijd : godsdienstig-staatkundig dagblad* ja. 1910, no. 19095, b. 2.

chase a suitable plantation and start a new life. This was to be a cover for the forthcoming coup. Killinger explained his new financial possibilities, which apparently could not go unnoticed, by selling his inventions.

On his return to Paramaribo, Killinger began to take an interest in public opinion and tried to find out what support a possible coup would have among ordinary citizens. He gained his popularity among the police and soldiers by borrowing money, which soon proved unsustainable in the long run. He soon ran out of financial resources and turned to his European „sponsors“. But his telegrams went unanswered. Killinger found himself in a predicament that, it soon became clear, could have been even worse. In April 1910, his wife (Killinger-Neumann) returned from Europe and soon understood the situation in her husband's new home and asked for a divorce. In this

situation, Killinger's motivation was undiminished, and that same month he began carefully recruiting men for his plan. His story of a free republic where prosperity would reign was well received. At the same time, Killinger assured all involved that the coup would be carried out without bloodshed, which added greatly to the appeal of the forthcoming revolution. The coup was planned in three meetings in a small circle of insiders.

All should have happened on the night Killinger's crew was on duty. Part of the plan was to arm it with firearms from the police station and heavy rods that were made specifically for the purpose. Patrols were to be posted outside the Governor's Mansion, Fort Zeelandia and the Bank of Suriname. Other men were to occupy the telegraph office and thus prevent any help from being summoned. The premise of the whole operation was that once the coup starts, more Paramaribo residents would join in. Central to the operation was the Zeelandia fortress, which housed the military garrison. The neutralization of the multiple outnumbered force was to be accomplished by a plot, with Killinger's men storming the fortress and creating the false appearance of a fire. This would drive the sleepy soldiers into the main courtyard, and the revolutionaries would quickly dump the armory equipment (which was upstairs) into the river, making armed resistance impossible. At the same time (as with the civilian population) it was expected that many soldiers would spontaneously join the coup. Those who resisted were to be thrown into prison, from which all current prisoners were to be released except the murderers. The governor



Killinger on his way to prison. Zdroj: Geïllustreerd zondagsblad voor katholieken 21. 5. 1911, ja. 1910-11, no. 47, b. 372.(3)

was to be arrested and sent to Holland as soon as possible. This plan was found to be unworkable by most experts in later court proceedings. On 19 May 1910, all hopes were dashed by the traitor Schoonhoven.⁴³ Killinger was immediately suspended and arrested along with several accomplices.⁴⁴ All were accused of conspiring to overthrow the government. The trial was awaited until March of the following year.

The trial of the „revolutionaries“ caused quite a stir in Paramaribo. On 13 March 1911, when it began, there was a crowd of several thousand outside the courthouse. As it turned out, a not inconsiderable portion of the public was actually on Killinger's side, and the sympathy they showed on his arrival for trial had to be suppressed by armed guards. The public hearings were more than once interrupted by cries of „Long live the Republic!“ and „Long live Killinger!“⁴⁵ Even Killinger's prison at Fort Zeelandia was regularly besieged by his supporters. While initial reports from the time of the Killinger Affair saw these crowds as „some natives and British Indians“, it became clear over time (again according to newspaper reports) that the overwhelming majority of supporters were the group of Paramaribo residents on whom the forthcoming revolution was to be based, the „British Indians“. It must be said that although this ethnic group constituted the second largest nationality in Suriname, accounting for 27.5 % of the total population, its representation in the capital was considerably weaker (7.7 %). Even so, Indian workers outnumbered by a factor of three the section of the Paramaribo population against which the revolt was primarily directed - that is, Europeans.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the Creole majority could not be excluded from the ranks of sympathizers. Indeed, we cannot be sure whether the gradual change from „natives and Indians“ to mere „Indians“ was due to a better knowledge of reality, or whether the tendency of many Surinamese (not excluding the authors of the newspaper articles) to see Indians as interlopers and to ostracize them from the ranks of „regular society“ played a role.⁴⁷

In any case, Killinger was found guilty and sentenced to death. This sentence was subsequently commuted by the Governor to 5 years in prison. In view of the sympathy of the Surinamese public, it was decided that he should serve his sentence in Holland so as not to unnecessarily inflame revolutionary sentiment. Thus, on Wednesday, 19 April 1911, Killinger embarked on his next voyage to Europe aboard the Prince Maurits.⁴⁸ Despite the commutation of sentences, public efforts led to a petition for remission of sentences. Killinger's supporters had the idea that a good

43 e. g. Process C. Killinger c. s. Getuige Schoonhoven. In *De West: nieuwsblad uit en voor Suriname*, 18. 3. 1911, ja. 2, no. 156, b. 2.

44 Utopist of misdadiger? In *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 3. 5. 1911, ja. 16, no. 102, b. 5.

45 HOEFTE, Rosemarijn. *Suriname in the Long Twentieth Century*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, p. 49.

46 HOEFTE, Rosemarijn. *Suriname in the Long Twentieth Century*. New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2014, p. 33.

47 HOETINK, Harmannus. Change in prejudice: Some notes on the minority problem, with references to West Indies and Latin America. In *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Lan den Volkenkunde* 119. Leiden : Brill, 1963, p. 56-75.

48 Het Proces-Killinger c. s., In *Het Vaderland*, 9. 5. 1911, ja. 43, no. 110, b. 1.

time to free the Surinamese revolutionary would be on Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands' birthday.⁴⁹ This pardon shown not only to the offenders but also to the Surinamese people was, according to the petitioners, intended to strengthen the bond between the House of Orange and its colony.⁵⁰ The rest of his sentence was indeed remitted, but not until December 1913, when Killinger was released from the Amsterdam prison.⁵¹ Another brief account of his fate appears in 1915, when a newspaper reported that „Killinger, well known from the treason trial at Paramaribo, is now a colonel in the Transcaucasian army.”⁵² Following further information about Killinger's fate, we must not leave unnoticed a report published in 1919. Again, it was only a short note stating that the former police inspector from Paramaribo had been offered a position with the police in Prague.⁵³

In the old homeland? – European episode

Killinger undoubtedly resided in the new Czechoslovak state. It proves also his letter to Alois Musil dated 18 April 1920, sent from Bohumín, in which he states, among other things, that he was in Prague during the Easter holidays. He also recounts some of his experiences to the renowned orientalist:

„In the Orient I dwellt some 20 years – in the Dutch East Indies, in Albania and Turkey, where I was as a soldier assigned to the turkish army [...] Also in the Dutch East Indies I was an officer of the dutch collonial army. In India I became a convinced muslim and in the turkish army I served as Mehmed Tewfik [...] for many years now I belong to the indian ‚Lanhat Islam‘, in which I used to have a prominent role!”

Among other things, Killinger stated that in Czechoslovakia he served as „chief” of state control of coal transport and as a representative of the Czechoslovak Sugar Commission. Another position he listed was that of informant to the Japanese delegation to the International Plebiscite Commission in Těšín. The reason why Killinger actually wrote to Musil was, in his words, a desire to get up-to-date information about the Orient, since he had been „[...] without information for several years.”⁵⁴ The information about the Orient was also to help Killinger in his other ambitious plans. At the end of the summer of 1919, Killinger had already applied to the Foreign Office for a post („clerical or similar”) at a consulate or embassy in the Far East. He did not target a specific country in his request: *„If there is nothing in Japan and Holland India [...] then perhaps in China, or Siam, or Singapore, or Manila [...] Is there nothing in Australia or British India? - I would also go to Turkey - Egypt - Persia - Arabia.”*⁵⁵

49 De zaak-Killinger. In *Leeuwarder courant*, 13. 9. 1912, ja. 161, no. 217, b. 2.

50 Koloniën. In *Deli courant*, 10. 10. 1912, ja. 28, no. 237, b. 1.

51 Killinger. In *Suriname: koloniaal nieuws- en advertentieblad*, 25. 12. 1913, ja. 65, no. 103, b. [3].

52 Kolonel Killinger. In *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad*, 5. 3. 1915, ja. 30, no. 79, b. 2.

53 Verscheidenheid. In *Het huisgezin*, 27. 2. 1919, ja. 50, no. 9634, b. 3; Tot zijn oude vak terug. In *Suriname : koloniaal nieuws- en advertentieblad*, 2. 5. 1919, ja. 71, no. 36, b. 2; Killinger. In *De West:nieuwsblad uit en voor Suriname*, 25. 4. 1919, ja. 11, no. 1004, b. 2.

54 Literary archive of the Památník národního písemnictví (LA PNP) Praha, fund Alois Musil, poř. č. 360, Letter of F. Killinger to A. Musil, 20. 4. 1920.

55 Archive of the Foreign Office of the Czech Republic (AMZ), fund I. section 1918–39, department I/1 a I/2-Czekoslovak consulates in foreign countries (no inventory number),

As we can see, Killinger adapted his story. In his correspondence with Musil, he did not mention his stay in Suriname and its „scandalous“ course. On the contrary, in his curriculum vitae he inserted his desired Dutch East Indies instead of the Paramaribo.⁵⁶ This modification of his biography later appeared in the *Islamic Review*, where it states for the period of his preparations for the Surinamese coup: „In 1909 he was appointed a General by President Castro and organized the entire Venezuelan Army. He returned to the Dutch East Indies and was head of the Dutch Military Police for some years.“⁵⁷ Similar as in the *World-Wide Religion Revolution*, Killinger obviously deliberately altered his story to make him an upstanding and respected member of society. Another „adjustment“ was in his background. Our „hero“ took advantage of the fact that his surname coincided with the name of the Swabian-French aristocratic family of Killinger and integrated himself into it.⁵⁸ Whether was his conversion to Islam, which apparently happened during the First World War, merely an attempt to partially change his identity and become a significant member of society again, we can not tell today. His clear interest in the Dutch East Indies can be found in his article in the magazine *Venkov*. In it, Killinger encourages the Czech people to set up their own businesses in these areas and thus achieve self-sufficiency in the trade of tropical goods. He suggests „[...] the establishment of purely Czech enterprises in the colonies“ and appeals:

„Men of Bohemia, patriots of an enterprising spirit, take the initiative, do not wait for the great nations to block our way to the colonies, get to work and remember the future of our young state, which without raw materials will become a slave to its neighbours, who will surely place the yoke of economic dependence on us, as they have previously placed a political yoke on us!“⁵⁹

In the text, he clearly proclaimed himself an expert on the Dutch East Indies and applied his knowledge of Dutch colonial politics. He chose Borneo as the ideal destination for the Czech pioneers. As far as one can tell from the text, Killinger would have been willing to go to Borneo himself if only he could have found financial patronage. However, he soon saw his position in the Orient (as noted earlier) more in the service of the state. It should be added that he did not receive a reply from the Foreign Office even two years after his first request in December 1919. However, there was a definite shift in his case when he approached the office again in October 1921. His own biography, deposited in the Foreign Office Archives, also dates from this time. In it, Killinger cleverly sidestepped his Surinamese adventure by stating that he had joined the Dutch colonial army, without giving the specific location of

Letter of František Killinger to Rudolf Cívárek 16. 12. 1919.

- 56 Tactically, he persistently referred only to the Dutch West Indies, which was misleading to say, at least given that Suriname was part of the Dutch West Indies until 1848.
- 57 Also in: M. Muhammad Tewfiq Killinger. In *Islamic review* (without exact date), 7. 1924, yr. 7, no. 12, p. 227.
- 58 M. Muhammad Tewfiq Killinger. In *Islamic review* (without exact date), 7. 1924, yr. 7, no. 12, p. 22; Anonym. *World-wide religious revolution achievements of the Lahore Section of Ahmadiyya-Movement*, Lahore : Ahmadiyya-Movement (without publication year), p. 14.
- 59 Killinger, František. Československá republika a příští její reservoir tropických surovin a potravin. In *Venkov*, roč. 14, 10. 4. 1919, č. 86, s. 2-3.

his several years of service. He presented his stay in Europe at the time as a study tour to develop his criminal justice skills. He directly stated:

„I studied first in Zurich at the Swiss Polytechnic; my teacher for two semesters was the then Colonel, later General Wille, commander of the Swiss Army in the World War. Then I took an artillery construction course with Krupp in Essen. After that I was assigned as a criminal commissioner for 8 months in Berlin and then stayed as a criminal commissioner for a time with the criminal police in Brussels, Paris and London. Professionally prepared in this way, I organised the military police and gendarmerie in the Dutch West Indies and Suriname after the aforementioned period of study.“

Here, finally, is Killinger's first reference to his time in Suriname. Understandably without any reference to the coup, or the subsequent years of imprisonment in Holland. It is quite beneficial to let Killinger himself to recount his subsequent fate:

„At the beginning of 1914 I became a member of the Dutch military mission in Albania during the reign of Prince William of Wied. I was then for some time sub-director of police in Durazzo. At the outbreak of the First World War I was also mobilized as an Austrian national and sent as an officer to the Turkish army in Constantinople at the disposal of our then military plenipotentiary there, Colonel, later Field Marshal Pommiankowski, by whom I was then assigned to the German military mission in Turkey under the command of the German General Liman v. Sanderspasi.“

Killinger, according to his own words, subsequently stayed in the Hauran area of Syria, where he was to take care of the organization of an irregular cavalry composed of Bedouins. Subsequently, he was transferred to the Caucasus, where he served as chief of the irregular Circassian cavalry. Subsequently, he was suspected of ententophilia and assigned back to Constantinople. Without further detail, the narrative continues with his arrival in Serbia, where he was to take part in the victory march to Belgrade and southern Hungary. After this anabasis, he reached Prague in December 1918, where he made contact with an acquaintance from Constantinople. This was Bedřich Štěpánek, at that time serving in Constantinople as vice-consul of Austria-Hungary, but also as a key member of the Maffia. Štěpánek recommended Killinger for the organization of the Czechoslovak police.⁶⁰ Due to his contacts on the police, Killinger was placed in the position of a trustee and director of the Czech Heart, which at the time was experiencing an internal split caused by the embezzlement of a large sum of money.⁶¹ When the incarnation of the Bohemian Heart into the Czechoslovakian Red Cross took place, Killinger was taken „under the wing“ by Gustav Heidler, the official of the Czech Heart and found him a place in the

60 AMZ, fund I. Section 1918-39, department I/1 a I/2-Czechoslovak consulates in foreign countries, (without evidential or inventory number), The course of life – Franz Killinger. (written 8. 10. 1921).

61 There is no information about this embezzlement in the official publications of the Czech Heart, which is understandable. Neither did the heuristics of the contemporary press, which apparently should not have been informed about the whole case. As Killinger himself writes: „[...] they threatened to become a huge Czech state political scandal“. Even taking into account his frequent fabrications, one cannot but admit that there was an effort to sweep everything under the carpet rather than to discredit the largest charitable organization of its kind.

Czechoslovak Sugar Commission. In his biography, Killinger again recalled his involvement in the plebiscite for the Těšín region and directly names Saburó Yamada as „an old friend from India“ (SIC!). His next involvement was in the founding of the International Marcantile Cy., which appointed him CEO after its founding.⁶² At the end of his curriculum, Killinger stated that he would be willing to offer his services to the state for free! Upon receipt of this curriculum vitae, the State Department, in conjunction with the Departments of Commerce and the Interior, determined that „[...] neither in Prague, nor in this home town Opočno occurred any defect of moral or political dignity“. Killinger's criminal record was also clean, which was also supplemented by essentially positive references from Musil and Heidler, with Heidler describing him as a very capable but adventurous person.⁶³ To Alois Musil we owe a rather extensive description of Killinger's personality, which largely corresponds with his previous fate. Among other things, the Orientalist stated:

„As a person coming from the nation suppressed for centuries, he joined the suppressed natives. He embraced their religion and became a muslim. It is understood, that he got into a dispute with the european colonists and that he succumbed in this dispute and was forced to leave those Dutch colonies [...] Killinger is a born organizer. He carries neither peril, nor his material loss, only to create something out of nothing, what is of use to the natives and his homeland, which never enslaves the natives [...] He is fluent in various world languages, he knows the ways and rules of the Far East and through his simplicity and modesty can easily win the heart of the Oriental. However it seems to me, he soaked up the oriental poison and sometimes acts rather according to his impulse, than according to the reason.“⁶⁴

However, some of his relatives (most often reported by a cousin) alerted the authorities to his long-ago court-martial for grievous bodily harm.⁶⁵ The stumbling block, however, was not seen in his dragoon years, but in the fact that he did not specify in his application which country would be his destination. In fact, the destination country had to agree to the establishment of an honorary consulate on its territory. So our adventurer took his time and chose the country that was to become his new home. It was Siam, where, through his acquaintances (he mentioned the Japanese Legation in Berlin), he was able to secure a good reception.⁶⁶ However, this country was not in the sights of the ministry, which preferred to build consulates in

62 The ministerial official added into the CV, that the company has offices in Warsaw, Gdansk and Katowice.

63 AMZ, fund I. Section 1918-39, department I/1 and I/2- Czechoslovak consulates in foreign countries, (without evidential or inventory number), Letter of Gustav Heidler to the Department of State of the Czechoslovak Republic from 22. 2. 1922.

64 AMZ, fund I. Section 1918-39, department I/1 a I/2-Czechoslovak consulates in foreign countries, (without evidential or inventory number), Letter of Alois Musil to the Foreign Office of the Czechoslovak Republic from 6. 3. 1922.

65 AMZ, fund I. Section 1918-39, department I/1 a I/2-Czechoslovak consulates in foreign countries, (without evidential or inventory number), Letter of Foreign Office of the Czechoslovak Republic to the Ministry of Commerce of the Czechoslovak Republic from 16. 12. 1921.

66 AMZ, fund I. section 1918-39, department I/1 and I/2- Czechoslovak consulates in foreign countries, (without evidential or inventory number), Letter of František Killinger to the Department of State of the Czechoslovak Republic from 10. 2. 1922.

the East and West Indies first. The enterprising spirit of Killinger, however, continued to work. In June 1922, he became joint managing director of a Bangkok-based export company for Siam with a stake of half a million German marks.⁶⁷ Another letter written by Killinger was sent from Vienna on 8 January 1923 and was addressed to Alois Musil. Killinger was at that time residing at Goldegggasse No. 1. At the beginning of his letter he writes: *„I have been constantly on the road and will now stay about a month in Vienna before I leave for good to the Orient, where I want to devote myself completely to the efforts of Islam, which I now want to study there thoroughly. I am now liquidating my European sorrows and engagements for good, and organizing here only business for the Orient.“* At the same time Killinger informed Prof. Musil that on 13 December 1922, he was judicially divorced from his wife. It is more than likely that in this case it was not Clara Doppelt, but neither was it a woman from a Czech background. Her name is not known. We also learn from the letter that Killinger had applied for the post of Czechoslovak consul in Smyrna (Izmir), which, according to his words, was promised to him. Killinger blamed the the government's „shimmering trot“ for the fact that this had not yet happened. He hinted to Musil that he would like his intercession in this matter. He named Dr. Girsas as a suitable person who could help to expedite the matter.⁶⁸ Killinger also stated his occupation in this letter. He became a representative of Vítkovice Works (Vítkovice Mining and Metallurgical Mining). He also stated that he had become ‚[...] also a representative of a large export company in Prague.‘ He further wrote: *„I also ask you very much, Professor, for permission to give you my reference, since you are a man of such renown in the Orient and also here in Vienna - that just saying your name somewhere is enough to give me free access!“* Killinger also stated his occupation in this letter. He became a representative of Vítkovice Works (Vítkovice Mining and Metallurgical Mining). He also stated that he had become ‚[...] also a representative of a large export company in Prague.‘ He further wrote: *„I also ask you very much, Professor, for permission to give you my reference, since you are a man of such renown in the Orient and also here in Vienna - that just saying your name somewhere is enough to give me free access!“* Why did Killinger ask for Musil's intercession? In this case it was not a job in the service of Czechoslovakia, but a job with the Swiss financier Max Weiser. Weiser was very active in Turkey, where Killinger was going.⁶⁹ He also knew Musil from Istanbul, where they met several times before the WW1.⁷⁰ However, it soon became clear that the situation was more com-

67 AMZ, fund I. section 1918-39, department I/1 and I/2- Czechoslovak consulates in foreign countries, (without evidential or inventory number), Letter of František Killinger to the Department of State of the Czechoslovak Republic from 24. 6. 1922.

68 Girsas Václav, Mudr., born 1875, since his return from the Russian legions until 1926 he from the return from the Russian legions to a year 1926 held the leading office of Czechoslovak foreign policy; SEKANINA, František. *Album reprezentantů všech oborů veřejného života československého*. Praha : Umělecké nakladatelství Josef Zeibrdlich, 1927, pp. 945.

69 LA PNP Praha, fund Alois Musil, poř. č. 360, Letter of F. Killinger to A. Musil from 8. 1. 1923.

70 LA PNP Praha, fund Alois Musil, poř. č. 360, Letter of M. Weiser to A. Musil from 6. 1. 1923.

plex. Killinger's former secretary, Anna Dočkalová, stepped in. Her activities were devastating to Killinger's efforts. As he himself stated in another letter to Musil:

„A year ago I was told that Miss Dočkalová was one of my enemies, but I refused to believe it because she had always been devoted to me, overflowing with friendship, and knew how to feign a gratitude which I perceived to be genuine, because at that time I had been asked by her uncle, Director K. Soldan in Prague, took me into his service. She was at that time unemployed and still in charge of her mother. The high earnings she received thanks to me made her what she is today: a well-off informer and slanderer! „⁷¹

Killinger, for obvious reasons, tried to convince Musil of his integrity.⁷² Dočkalová is believed to have written a letter to Musil pointing out that her former employer was not politically reliable and that he had incurred a large amount of debt both before and after the war. Unfortunately, this letter was found in the A. Musil's fund. (On the basis of clues, an effort was made to trace it in the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where Musil was supposed to have handed it in, but the search was unsuccessful). However, the wording of the letter is partially interpreted in a copy of another letter sent by Killinger's lawyer Eduard Feig to Anna Dočkalová. This copy was sent to A. Musil so that he would know that Killinger was defending these accusations through legal means.⁷³

It soon became apparent that the former secretary had found an ally in her efforts to disgrace Killinger in the person of his ex-wife. Here we come to the person of the unspecified woman. We know that Killinger divorced her on 13 December 1922. Could it have been Clara Doppelt? Probably not. First of all, it must be borne in mind that if it had been Doppelt, the dehumanisation of Killinger would not have been based on accusations of political unreliability and financial difficulties. One can hardly suppose that the disgraced wife would not have used the ultimate trump card - i.e. Killinger's imprisonment, treason and his stay in Suriname in general. Let us add that Killinger remarried on 17 March 1923, to a German national, Helena Mackovsky.⁷⁴

Apparently, however, these circumstances did not affect his eventual engagement in Siam. In its files, the State Department cited the absence of regulations for the establishment of honorary consulates as the only complication in Killinger's appointment.

Turkey and Orient

Sometime between February and April 1923, Killinger arrived in Istanbul. As he himself reported, he felt the impact of the campaign waged against him by „hysterical women“ even there. He counted among his new enemies Max Weis, who had

71 In original: Denunziantin und Verleumderin.

72 LA PNP Praha, fund Alois Musil, poř. č. 360, Letter of F. Killinger to A. Musil from 19. 1. 1923.

73 LA PNP Praha, fund Alois Musil, poř. č. 360, Copy of the letter sent by E. Feige to A. Musil from 3. 2. 1923.

74 AMZ, fund I. section 1918-39, department I/1 and I/2- Czechoslovak consulates in foreign countries, (without evidential or inventory number). Copy of the letter from the Czechoslovakian embassy in London to the Department of State of the Czechoslovak Republic from 12. 11. 1925.

promised him a job in Turkey but had not acted on it. Among the people who did not wish him success, he then included his cousin in Opočno, who was also supposed to have caused the Czech state authorities not to consider him a reliable patriot and thus prevented him from obtaining a consular post. This cousin, as Killinger states, was in written contact with his ex-wife and thus became another cog in the wheel of her revenge. He demanded two things from Musil. The first concerned his efforts to obtain the consular post in Smyrna. Killinger wanted to know if he should continue in trying for the post and how much had his reputation suffered with the Czechoslovak authorities from the smear campaign. The second matter was again binding for Musil:

„And then I respectfully ask you, Reverend Professor, can you not send me some Turkish letter written and signed by you, saying that you know me as an ardent follower and adherent of Islam - who has already done so much for Islam and whose ideal is greatness, the glory and rule of Islam under Turkish leadership, that I have come here to serve Turkey and the interests of Islam in the Far East, and that I wish to secure instructions and information in this regard in Turkey in order to work in the Far East for Islam and Turkey!“

Killinger went to Istanbul as a sales representative of the Vitkovice Works. However, he himself stated that he could only represent them effectively in peacetime. Killinger offered Musil a quid pro quo for his help. He wanted to become his informant and send him information about what was happening in the area. However, it can be assumed that this never happened. Other sources state that Killinger worked from 1922 to 1925 in Berlin and London as a representative of an unspecified international import-export company.⁷⁵ It seems, therefore, that his business interests coincided with his religious activities during this period.

Thanks to the sources we can continue in March 1924, when Killinger entered the Czechoslovak consulate in London. Thanks to his subsequent efforts to gain a position in the service of Czechoslovakia, we know that Killinger was in England working on German versions of publications published by the Basheer Muslim Library in Woking. He also became a representative of the periodical *The Islamic Review*. A thorough investigation carried out in London revealed at least part of his past to the Czechoslovak authorities. However, without clear contours: *„[...] early in his youth he joined the Dutch army as an officer, where he is said to have been sentenced to death and transferred to the Turkish service.“*⁷⁶ However, nothing concrete has been found by the institutions in charge, and we read several times in the report that Killinger's life is inherently mysterious.⁷⁷ His English sojourn became a thorn in the side of the English authorities, who viewed the Woking mosque (where Killinger was living at the

75 Killinger, Wolfgang. *Die böhmischen Killinger mit Franz Killinger, dem Revoluzzer in Suriname, sowie dem oberschlesischen Familienzweig*, s. 12 (Accessible in PDF online on www.familia-austria.at).

76 AMZ, fund I. section 1918-39, department I/1 and I/2- Czechoslovak consulates in foreign countries, (without evidential or inventory number). Copy of the letter from the Czechoslovakian embassy in London to the Department of State of the Czechoslovak Republic from 12. 11. 1925.

77 AMZ, fund I. section 1918-39, department I/1 and I/2- Czechoslovak consulates in foreign countries, (without evidential or inventory number). Copy of the letter from the Czechoslovakian embassy in London to the Department of State of the Czechoslovak Republic from 12. 11. 1925.

time) with displeasure as a place where anti-English sentiment was rampant. The situation escalated so much that Killinger's residence permission was not renewed and he was forced to leave England on 5 May 1925. It is generally questionable what influence, or rather what position, he had in Muslim circles in Europe. Given his indistinct „engagement“ in Woking, it is likely that he enjoyed some respect. Nor must we overlook the fact that when the first edition of the *Moslemische Revue* was published, the first photograph of this magazine for German Muslims was dedicated to a trio of men. The first was the first imam of the Wilmersdorf Mosque in Berlin, the second was a convert (like Killinger) and state representative, Dr. Khalid Banning, and the third was none other than Killinger (written as Mohammed Taufiq Killinger).⁷⁸ Therefore it is clear that he played a significant role in the European environment for at least some time. However, he still did not lose his entrepreneurial spirit in other spheres of life. When he left England, he was also a director of Lalla and. CO. Azeez Manzil, Lahore, which functioned as the representative of the British Spalding and Hodge, Ltd. for India.⁷⁹

Back in Prague

Given that Killinger had already „edited“ his life story, we must not take the contents of his letters at face value. However, it is appropriate to present their contents, and thus to portray Killinger's fate as he interpreted it. He himself stated that he was also in Thailand (Siam) and China between 1923 and 1927, and that he gradually returned to Europe via Siberia and Russia in the autumn of 1927. He also stated that he had news for Musil that would certainly interest him. He therefore asked for a personal meeting in Prague, where he himself was staying at that time at Perunova Street 17. Other sources say similarly that he went to Siam in 1926 as a representative of the Brno arms factory and in 1927 to Shanghai, from where he returned to Bohemia.⁸⁰ As can be seen, Killinger had the ambition to stay in Prague and make a living by brokering American capital for Czech businesses and landowners from smaller banks there. Having learned from previous complications, he also wrote to Musil with the names of men who could vouch for him. These were two fairly senior civil servants. One was Adolf Prokůpek, who held the posts of President of the Agricultural Department and Chairman of the Czechoslovak National Council. The other was Gustav Heidler, already mentioned several times, the managing director of the Central Association of the Czechoslovak Sugar Industry. He also received an address from the Czechoslovak National Council to Tomáš Čapek, President of

slovakian embassy in London to the Department of State of the Czechoslovak Republic from 12. 11. 1925.

- 78 Der Osten und der Westen im Islam vereinigt. In *Moslemische Revue* (without exact date) 4. 1924, jh. 1, nr.1, [0].
- 79 AMZ, fund I. section 1918-39, department I/1 and I/2- Czechoslovak consulates in foreign countries, (without evidential or inventory number). Copy of the letter from the Czechoslovakian embassy in London to the Department of State of the Czechoslovak Republic from 24. 3. 1926.
- 80 SSA, fund Testimonies of the Gestapo and SD employees, (no box or inventory number), sign. 52-75-2, Killinger František.

the Czech Bank of Europe in New York. Killinger again approached Musil with a request. This time he wanted Musil to call Čapek first and arrange the details of further negotiations with him. In satisfaction, Killinger offered him half of any profits. The letter went unanswered. Killinger, however, did not lose hope and kept writing. When Musil received the Charles P. Daly Gold Medal from the American Geographical Society, Killinger eagerly congratulated him. His note, however, ended on a different subject from the Orientalist's achievement: *„Did you receive my letter of recommendation? May I look forward to your reply soon? Would the sentiment at this or that institution be there for the proposed transaction? And on what terms?“* Again, in all likelihood, Musil did not respond. The final source on Killinger's fate at the fund of A. Musil is a card for Musil's 60th birthday. In it, our „hero“ was still trying to repair the damaged relations. Among other things, he stated: *„And take me as I am, a rebellious idealist with the best intentions“*.⁸¹

The question is where and under what circumstances he stayed later on. As mentioned in the introduction, virtually nothing is known about the period between 1919 and 1936, when, according to all available sources, he died. Subsequent research has succeeded in reconstructing at least part of Killinger's subsequent life up to 1928, when his trail vanishes for some 10 years. This is true with one exception, and that is an article from the magazine Jihočeské Listy, published on 18 July 1936. In this text, entitled *With a Letter to Suriname*, the son of a dragoon recounts the moment when he decided to search his father's inheritance.

„I broke the seal and cut the string. In the package was a letter and a photograph. It showed a man in a white uniform and tropical helmet, a burly fellow with a smile under a massive moustache, in the shade of beautiful palm trees. The letter was addressed to Charles (sic!) Killinger Esq. Captain in the Dutch service, Paramaribo, Suriname.

I processed my memories and fished out a story about a friend of my father's with whom he served in the Dragoon Regiment. The friend approved of the rank and service, and was accepted by the Queen of Holland into the Dutch colonial army.“

After recounting the journey to Suriname where the writer of the article went for adventure and to meet his father's friend, let us look with him at the police station in Paramaribo where the story continues, *„The police recall through records a friend of my father's who was transferred to the Dutch Indies twenty years ago (sic!). I run to the police, check the record and the overwhelming reality with my own eyes. I am left alone with my father's notebook. The world has spun around me. Shall I fly to Celebes Island to see Mr. Killinger?“* The writer did not fly to Mr. Killinger. But this article may mean many things. It was signed Al. Terego (read Alter Ego). The whole description of the situation is in a clear contradiction with how it would realistically happen. Killinger was a well-known figure in Suriname and the police would probably not have had to „reminisce over the records“. They would have known that Killinger had been convicted and had gone to Holland to serve his sentence. If we look for other texts by this author (Al. Terego) in the Jihočeské Listy, we come across an article of 17 June 1936 entitled *„Finger on the Map“*. It is a cynical text about travelling to distant lands.

81 LA PNP Praha, fund Alois Musil, poř. č. 360, Letter of F. Killinger to A. Musil from 1. 7. 1928

In it, the author praises the ‚wealthy, exploratory and adventurous world-traveller‘, as Killinger (perhaps rightly) thought of himself, and makes sarcastic remarks about the small-town idea of travel. He then recommends that those interested sign up for a tour at the Central Office for XX tourists Inc.‘s *„Finger on the Map“*.⁸² The article *„Finger on the map“* was clearly written by the same person as *„With a letter to Suriname“*. However, these are not the only two texts we can find in the Jihočeské Listy. Another story we have traced is about a fictional boat trip to Batavia - the capital of the Dutch East Indies. Al. Terego writes: *„...I can go to the land of my colourful dreams“*.⁸³ In general, it can be said that the texts from the pen of Al. Terego published in the Jihočeské Listy in the summer of 1936 are full of orientalism and travel. At the same time we find in them *„[...] the unfulfilled longing of people pushed by time and environment into the cages of small-town life“*.⁸⁴ For a moment, it would seem that Killinger himself could have written these articles. However, the author of these texts was apparently Karel Fleischmann - a doctor, writer and artist from České Budějovice. Fleischmann’s work under the pseudonym Al. Terego in the South Bohemian Lists was quite rich and reflected mainly the everyday life of the medical environment as well as everyday life in České Budějovice. His father, Adolf Fleischman, worked as a district secretary of the political administration in České Budějovice and died in 1934. In 1935, Adolf Fleischmann published the work *Images of my Father*. Finally, in 1936, we read the *„cursive“ With a Letter to Suriname*. Is it really possible that Fleischman found the package with the letter and the photograph? It is almost unbelievable that the beleticized story would resemble so closely the fiction that Killinger added to his curriculum vitae. Is it possible, then, that Fleischmann managed to contact Killinger? Given the marked change in the themes of the *„cursives“*, we can believe the possibility that Fleischmann found more letters, and that his father corresponded with Killinger during the First Republic. The tropical adventures then so enchanted the Czech-Budejovian doctor that they gave rise to not one, but several short stories. Was the correspondence between A. Fleischmann and Killinger the birthplace of the second *„story“* of Killinger’s life? In other words, did Killinger write an equally *„edited“* story of his life to his friend, which subsequently became the *„official“* story? The question also remains about the relationship between Adolf Fleischmann and Killinger. From another work by Karl Fleischmann, *The Return*, we learn that his father had a lively correspondence with more than one of his youthful companions. However, the motivation for the numerous contacts was rather prosaic. As his son Karel writes: *„Being an old philatelist, he kept in touch with people from all over the world, had stamp friends in Paramaribo, as well as in Melbourne and Bombay, and even somewhere in Alaska lived a man of whom it was hard to say whether he was more of an avid collector than a true, warm-hearted friend.“*⁸⁵ No further connection to the person of Karl Fleischmann could be traced. We know for certain that Adolf Fleischman was in the dragoons in his youth. In this respect, the fictionalized ac-

82 Al. Terego. Prstem po mapě. In *Jihočeské listy*, roč. 42, 27. 6. 1936, č. 50, s. 1-2.

83 Al. Terego. Na lodi do Batavie. In *Jihočeské listy*, roč. 42, 11. 7. 1936, č. 54, s. 1-2.

84 Al. Terego. Bolivijským pralesem. In *Jihočeské listy*, roč. 42, 25. 7. 1936, č. 58, s. 1-2.

85 FLEISCHMANN, Karel, *Návrat. Třiřet' roků a lidí*. České Budějovice : Linie, 1933, s. 18-19.

count of his son is based on a true foundation.⁸⁶ However, when Hana Housková comments on Fleischmann's literary work in the Jihočeské Listy in her biography of Fleischmann, she pays no attention to the „exotic“ change of topics.⁸⁷ Nor do we find any clues in Jarmila Škočová's study of Karel Fleischmann's Pre-War Literary Work.⁸⁸ It must therefore be concluded that Fleischmann's work does not help us to know Killinger's fate.

An unequivocal answer to confirm some of my hypotheses and the further fate of František Killinger was published on the genealogical server by Wolfgang Killinger in mid-2021. In the text *Die böhmischen Killinger mit Franz Killinger, dem Revoluzzer in Suriname, sowie dem oberschlesischen Familienzweig*⁸⁹ he confirms my suggestion, that Killinger did not die in 1936 in Turkey, but lived in that time in Czechoslovakia and died many years later. His trace is evident especially during the Second World War, when several publications mention him again as M. T. Killinger.⁹⁰ A report directly from his pen was published in 1938, a crisis year for Czechoslovakia *Moslemische Revue*: „Finally we are in Reich! We are all so excited. My eldest son resigned his lieutenant's post in the Czech army and applied for admission to the Wehrmacht. Now, thank God, I belong directly to the German Muslim community.“⁹¹ This „greeting“ was sent by a new resident of the Sudeten County from Františkovy Lázně, where he apparently lived at a lucrative address (Národní 4) with his second wife Clara Doppelt and their offspring. It is not clear when Killinger moved to Františkovy Lázně. His police application has not been preserved in the town archives. In Františkovy Lázně he was probably employed most of the time at the technical publishing house C. G. Vogel, based in Františkovy Lázně and Aš. It is certain that during the war he worked and lived in Dresden at the SS-Mullah-Schule,⁹² where he later aspired with no success to the post of director. The school was bombed in 1944 and he tried unsuccessfully to find a place for it in his home town of Františkovy Lázně. In 1942 he came to the Gestapo in Karlovy Vary to offer his greatest invention - a water cannon for dispersing demonstrators. During the war, Killinger also became an associate of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA), specifically Office VI, which included the

86 HOUSKOVÁ, Hana. *Česlící času. Život a dílo Karla Fleischmanna*. Olomouc : Votobia, 1998, s. 13.

87 HOUSKOVÁ, Hana. *Česlící času. Život a dílo Karla Fleischmanna*. Olomouc : Votobia, 1998, s. 55-60.

88 ŠKOČOVÁ, Jarmila. Karel Fleischmann's Pre-War Literary Work. In *Judaica Bohemiae* XXIII/2. Praha : Židovské muzeum v Praze, 1987, p. 65-68.

89 Killinger, Wolfgang. *Die böhmischen Killinger mit Franz Killinger, dem Revoluzzer in Suriname, sowie dem oberschlesischen Familienzweig*. (Accessible in PDF online on www.familia-austria.at).

90 DREES, Willem B. – KONINGSVELD Pieter Sjoerd (eds). *Study of religion ant training of Muslim clergy in Europe*. Leiden : Leiden University Press, 2008, p. 368; JONKER Gerdien. In *Search of Religious Modernity: Conversion to Islam in Interwar Berlin*. In BEKIM, Agai – UMAR, Ryad – MEHDI, Sajid (eds.) *Muslims in Interwar Europe. A Transcultural Historical Perspektiv*. Leiden : Brill 2016, p. 34.

91 Zuschriften. In *Moslemische Revue* (without exact date), 12. 1938, jh. 14, nr. 3, s. 94.

92 DREES, Willem B. – KONINGSVELD Pieter Sjoerd (eds). *Study of religion ant training of Muslim clergy in Europe*. Leiden : Leiden University Press, 2008, pp. 368.

SS foreign intelligence service. He was called to Berlin several times as an advisor on Oriental affairs. Files from the Security Service Archive also provide us with information that he was supposed to have a doctorate from an unspecified Arabian university. He was deployed by Office VI to Tripolis, where he was tasked with contacting the leaders of the Arab League and instigating an uprising against England. Other activities mentioned included an ambition to establish an Arab pro-German journal in Paris. Funding was to be provided by the VI Office, which in the end did not provide the money, and the whole venture ended before it began.⁹³ The ABS material shows that he was given several tasks but never successfully completed them. After the war, the family moved to Germany to the small town of Eyb bei Ansbach and Killinger converted to the Protestant faith in 1956 at family pressure. Six years later, in 1962, he died.

Conclusion

Despite the fact that the life of the „Surinamese putschist“ has been mapped quite comprehensively, there are still many question marks. Given his erratic, adventurous nature, one is not left cold even by the fact that the first (according to his own words) unofficial delegate of Czechoslovakia in Holland was one M. Paul Killinger,⁹⁴ who is in periodicals sometimes called F. Killinger⁹⁵ or Paul Killinger,⁹⁶ or simply as „Heer“ Killinger. This man supposedly led a very adventurous life and was known in India.⁹⁷ However, this unofficial delegate could not be identified with our adventurer. It is difficult to recapitulate the life of a man who was often forced to „sweep the path of his past“ and create new stories to form the view through which those around him viewed him. What can be said about Franz Killinger? He was certainly a charismatic man with a distinctive talent for languages. Sure he was ambitious and resourceful. He was also an idealist, and one cannot but admit to the ‚rebellious‘ character he attributed to himself. Despite the pacifism that accompanied him in the first chapter of his life, however, it is evident that in the course of time he moved away from this ideals and, with a vision of success and the fulfilment of his dream of a career as a world traveler, he also worked for an arms factory. His dream was to become successful and explore foreign lands. His ideological equipment often conformed to this dream. Was Killinger’s faith bent in the same way? When he embraced the religion that would follow him for the next four decades during World War I, he must have been aware of his uniqueness. He became one of the few Europeans known to the Islamic public. Indeed, his contacts in this world, unknown to most of the inhabitants of the old continent, gave him a certain prestige in the commercial and religious spheres. Although he spent much of the interwar period within the borders of Europe, his activities were closely linked to the Islamic movement. As well as his

93 SSA, fund Testimonies of the Gestapo and SD employees, (no box or inventory number), sign. 52-75-2, Killinger František.

94 La Tchéco-Slovaquie et la Hollande. In *Gazette de Hollande*, 3. 7. 1919, a. 8, no. 1830, p. 1.

95 Bohemen en Nederland. In *De Standaard*, 4. 7. 1919, ja. 48, no. 14483, (unpaged).

96 De Tsjecho-slowakische Republiek. In *The Telegraph*, 2. 7. 1919, ja. 27, no. 10521, b. 5.

97 Wat een Tsjecho-Slowaak vertexe. In *Het nieuws van den dag*, 3. 7. 1919, ja. 1919, no. 16866, b. 6.

attempted coup in Paramaribo, his Working activities marked him as a man whose efforts transcended national boundaries. Most of his deeds had roughly similar characteristics. In the beginning was an idea that lacked a solid base for implementation, but Killinger was impatient and built his plans on feet of clay. Thus he co-founded several business companies with a ephemerid life. This progression is then evident in his family life, where he managed to marry at least twice before divorcing his previous wife. Around the time of his abrahams, he coincidentally found himself back in Czechoslovakia, where he decided to live with his second wife and children. He found civilian employment and his life seemed to have finally found the ruts of a quiet and orderly life. However, the „stormtrooper“ was once again derailed by the great events of history and he decided to try his luck once more at the age of 63. The epilogue in the service of the Nazi Reich must have seemed to him to some extent a satisfaction. Warring Germany, unlike the Czechoslovak Republic, was able and willing to use him and give his life the hallmark of adventure. His last service ended with the war and he found a peaceful home in Bavaria at the age of 70.

Killinger's case points out, among other things, that at the time of the First Czechoslovak Republic there was no reliable way of verifying a particular person who had lived outside the territory of the state or the previous Danube monarchy for a long time. This allowed people of Killinger's ilk to start their story all over again, adding false details and deleting aggravating circumstances. This trend was probably not unique to our own territory, but based on Killinger's life we can cautiously express the opinion that a similar problem prevailed throughout Europe, but also beyond the continent. How many such persons entered the service of successor states or commercial companies we do not know, and the figure is probably undetectable, but given their nature we can judge that they may have been of short-term benefit to the state and community, but in the long run their service was more of a burden. While history and historical research is often burdened by unintentional anonymity, for which limits are set by the source base, historians rarely deal with the intentional (even if only partial) anonymity that was also integral part of history - as the story of František Killinger shows.

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