

## Anton Lipošćak: portrait of a general and military governor in Poland\*

*The article focuses on Anton Lipošćak (1863–1924), an Austro-Hungarian officer of Croatian descent. It presents Lipošćak's family background and connections, the stages of his career in the army and in the military administration on the Russian territories inhabited by Poles, occupied during WWI by Austria-Hungary, where he served as the military Governor General. It also relates the events which took place in Zagreb in late 1918 and the so-called Lipošćak Affair, as well as its impact on the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.*

**Key words:** Anton Lipošćak, Habsburg Monarchy, Croats, Austro-Hungarian army, Lublin, Poland

Anton Lipošćak was one of the Austro-Hungarian officers of Croatian descent who played a prominent role in the First World War, both on the front lines and administering the territories occupied by the Austro-Hungarian and German troops. He started the war as a division commander, then was in charge of a squad (*Gruppe Lipošćak, Skupina Lipošćak*) and a corps, and in the last year of the war he was the head of the administration on the Russian territories inhabited by Poles which were occupied by the Austro-Hungarian armed forces, serving as Governor General (*Generalgouverneur*) in Lublin. This was the peak of his brilliant career, which ended with the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>1</sup> His career path resembled the fortunes of many other high-

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\* This article is part of an OPUS 13 project entitled “Between two congresses in Prague. Relations among the Slavs in Central and South-Eastern Europe in 1848–1908”, funded by the National Science Centre in Kraków (2017/25/B/HS3/00240).

1 Anton Lipošćak's biographical notes are usually short; they have been published in Croatian, Hungarian, Austrian and Polish works, see e.g. S. Matković, *Lipošćak, Antun (Lipošćak, Lipovšćak, Lipovšćak; Ante, Anton), general (Székely-Udvarhely, danas Odorheiu Secuiesc, 9. IV. 1863 — Zagreb, 24. VII. 1924)*, [in:] *Hrvatski Biografski Leksikon*, <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=11820> (accessed: 2 July 2021); T. Balla, *Hrvatski generali najvišega ranga u austro-ugarskim oružanim snagama u prvim dvjema godinama Velikoga rata*, [in:] *1914. Prva godina rata u Trojedinj Kraljevini i Austro-Ugarskoj Monarhiji. Zbornik radova*, ed. V. Herman Kaurić, Zagreb 2018, pp. 241–242; T. Balla, *A Nagy*

ranking officers of Croatian descent who served in the Austro-Hungarian army, such as Svetozar Boroević, Stjepan Sarkotić and Ivan von Salis Seewis. As Anton Lipošćak is lesser-known, his biography is worth recalling.

What Anton Lipošćak also shared with the other mentioned officers was the fact that he came from a family with military traditions. The Lipošćak family hailed from the Military Frontier; both Anton Lipošćak and his brothers declared that they had the citizenship (*Heimatberechtigt*) of Dubrava near Ogulin. Dubrava was one of the company districts (*satnija*) of the Ogulin Regiment (*Ogulinska pukovnija*).<sup>2</sup> It was inhabited by a mixture of Catholic and Orthodox population; the Lipošćaks declared themselves to be Roman Catholics.<sup>3</sup>

The Lipošćak family came from Dubrava but Anton's father, who shared his first name, was born in Karlovac in 1817. In 1831, aged fourteen, he began military service as a cadet in the Varaždin-Križevci 5<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment (*Varaždinsko-križevačka graničarska pukovnija br. 5, Warasdin-Kreuzer Grenz-Infanterie Regiment Nr. 5*), where he was nominated second lieutenant (*Unterleutnant*) ten years later. He served in the Fifth Infantry Regiment for 28 years, climbing up the promotion ladder. In 1848, he fought in Italy and in 1849 in Hungary. He was promoted to major in 1859 and transferred to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Banal Border Regiment No. 11 (*Druga banska graničarska pukovnija br. 11, Zweiten Banal Grenz-Infanterie Regiment Nr. 11*). In summer 1859, he commanded the Croatian-Slavonic Volunteer Battalion (*Kroatisch-Slavonische Freiwillige Bataillon*), and it was probably as its leader that he protected the Croatian coast during the war in 1859. After the battalion was disbanded, he returned to his regiment, from which he was transferred to the 24<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment (*Infanterie Regiment Nr. 24*) in 1862.<sup>4</sup> As the commander of the third battalion of this regiment, in 1866 he set off to yet another war, which was his last campaign. He was killed in the Battle of Trutnov (German Trautenau) in northern Bohemia. Later, the 24<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment

*Háború osztrák–magyar tábornokai. Tábornagyok, vezérezredek, gyalogsági és lovassági tábornokok, tábornaszernagyok*, Budapest 2010, pp. 213–214; P. Broucek, M. Šeper, *Lipošćak, Anton*, [in:] *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815–1950*, Bd. 5. Wien 1972, p. 233; J. Lewandowski, *Lubelscy c. i k. generatowie-gubernatorzy (1915–1918)*, “Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska”, Sectio F, LXVIII, 2013, 1–2, pp. 15–19.

2 M. Valentić, *Hrvatsko-slavonska Vojna Krajina 1790-1881*, [in:] *Vojna Krajina. Povijesni pregled, historiografija, rasprave*, ed. D. Pavličević, Zagreb 1984, p. 77.

3 Personal files of Anton Lipošćak's (b. 1863); Personal files of Peter Lipošćak (b. 1864); Personal files of Karl Lipošćak (b. 1866), Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Personalunterlagen, Qualifikationslisten, Hauptreiche 1781 Lipner-Lipowsky (henceforth: AT-OeStA/KA Pers Quall HR 1781 Lipner-Lipowsky (Karton (Fascikell))). The Viennese Kriegsarchiv also keeps the personal files of other officers with the surname Lipošćak, all of whom declared Ogulin or towns near it (Otok, Dubrava, Popovo Selo) as their place of birth or origin; almost all of them also came from military families. We may surmise that they were related to Anton Lipošćak.

4 *Militä-Schematismus der österreichischen Kaiserthumes*, Wien 1842, p. 242; “Grazer Zeitung” no. 110 of 17 May 1859, p. 1; “Ost-Deutsche Post” no. 141 of 11 June 1859, p. 2; “Ost-Deutsche Post” no. 242 of 22 September 1859, p. 3; “Militär-Zeitung” no. 21 of 12 March 1862, p. 8 (168); “Die Presse” no. 174 of 27 June 1895, pp. 1–2.

celebrated the anniversary of this battle to honour the heroism of its soldiers, including Major Lipošćak. The battalion he led, which consisted of Polish and Ruthenian soldiers from Galicia and Bukovina, defended the hill of Janský vrh (German Johannesberge), towering over Trutnov, against the Prussian forces. Major Lipošćak was fatally wounded during an attempted counter-attack; according to a different version, he was killed in the chapel on top of the hill, which was fiercely defended by his soldiers.<sup>5</sup> He was buried next to the chapel. Twenty-nine years later, in 1895, a monument was erected on his grave and a ceremony was organised, in which the major's family participated. His wife and sons visited Anton Lipošćak's grave in the years to come as well, as did soldiers from the garrison in Zagreb. The grave has survived to this day, but Major Lipošćak's remains were exhumed in 1995 and moved to the chapel.<sup>6</sup>

Major Anton Lipošćak left behind his wife Fanny and three sons, all of whom were born in Transylvanian garrison towns, where their father served. The oldest, Anton, was born on 9 April 1863 in Székelyudvarhely (Romanian Odorheiu Secuiesc), Peter – on 22 July 1864 in Csíkszereda (Romanian Miercurea-Ciuc), and the youngest, Karl, was born only six months before his father's death, on 6 January 1866 in Kézdivásárhely (Romanian Târgu Secuiesc). After her husband's death, Fanny Lipošćak moved to Križ (Vojni Križ at the time). This was likely due to the fact that the future general's grandparents, and also his parents, had lived there. Many years later he wrote that he had spent his childhood in Križ.<sup>7</sup> Major Lipošćak's sons decided to continue the family tradition, although the fact that as an officer's children they could receive free education in military schools was probably also a factor. They all became officers, but the younger brothers did not have as successful careers as Anton.

Peter Lipošćak began his life in the army when he started his education in the lower-level secondary school (*Unterrealschule*) in Güns (Hungarian Kőszeg), but he graduated with a poor result, so instead of continuing his education in one of the military schools preparing for studies in the Military Academy, in 1882 he volunteered for the

5 "Die Presse" no. 174 of 27 June 1895, pp. 1–2; P. Tschiedel, *Prusko-rakouská válka v roce 1866 na Trutnovsku a Královédvorskú. Průvodce po památkách z bitev u Trutnova, Rokytníka a Dvora Králové nad Labem*, Dvůr Králové nad Labem 2001, pp. 33–34; G. Wawro, *The Austro-Prussian War. Austria's War with Prussia and Italy in 1866*, Cambridge 1996, pp. 145–146. Major A. Lipošćak's heroism inspired artists; in 1901 Fritz Neumann painted the picture *Major Liposcsak stürmt mit einem Bataillon des 24. Infanterie Regiment vom Kapellenberge bei Trautenau und findet hiebei den Heldentod 1866* (a reproduction is available in the collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna).

6 "Agramer Zeitung" no. 148 of 1 July 1895, pp. 5–6; "Wiener Zeitung" no. 152 of 3 July 1895, pp. 9–10; "Prager Tagblatt" no. 162 of 14 June 1912 (Morgen Ausgabe), pp. 2–3; "Neuigkeits Weltblatt" no. 138 of 20 June 1912, p. 24; "Wiener Bilder" no. 25 of 23 June 1912, p. 6; P. Tschiedel, *Prusko-rakouská válka v roce 1866 na Trutnovsku...*, p. 34.

7 "Die Drau" no. 71 of 27 March 1916, p. 4. It is difficult to say whether the parents of Major Anton Lipošćak or of his wife lived in Križ; the latter is more likely. Fanny Lipošćak was much younger than her husband, she was twenty-five at the time of his death ("Neue Freie Presse" no. 21516 of 4 August 1924 (Abandblatt), p. 4); she outlived not only her husband but two of her sons as well ("Reichspost" no. 210 of 31 July 1924, pp. 5–6).

26<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment. He was sent to an infantry cadet school in Vienna, from which he graduated three years later with a good grade. In 1888, he was made second lieutenant (*Leutnant*) and in the next year he was transferred to the 53<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment in Zagreb, where he served until 1899 when, ranked first lieutenant (*Oberleutnant*), he moved from the Common Army to the Home Guard (*Honvéd, Domobranstvo*). He was probably transferred at his own request; we can surmise that he did not want to leave Croatia, since he later served in the 28<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> regiments of the Home Guard (28. *domobranska pješačka pukovnija*, 25. *domobranska pješačka pukovnija*) in Osijek and Zagreb. During the First World War, the regiments were incorporated into the 42<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division (42. *domobranska pješačka divizija*). Peter Lipošćak fought in its ranks and was promoted to colonel in 1916. The end of the war brought him, like many other Austro-Hungarian officers, the end of a military career; he was not accepted to the army of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, but he was given a pension. He was the only one of the Lipošćak brothers to start a family; in 1917 he married Ella Prossi-Prošnitz, an opera singer.<sup>8</sup>

The youngest brother, Karl, joined the army in 1883. He was sent to a cadet school in Budapest, from which he graduated in 1886. Three years later he was promoted to second lieutenant. He also joined the 53<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment in Zagreb, where he served until 1893. Although in 1894 he was made first lieutenant (*Oberleutnant*), his military career ended due to poor health. In the mid-1890s he contracted a serious case of tuberculosis; from 1895 he was on medical leave or on vacation. He died in 1897, at the age of thirty-one.<sup>9</sup>

Anton Lipošćak stood out not only among his brothers but other officers as well. He began his military education early, when he joined the mentioned school in Güns at age eleven. He must have done well there, since after graduation in 1877 he began attending a three-year higher-level Military Secondary School in Mährisch Weißkirchen (Czech Hranice). Its distinguished alumni were sent to military academies. In 1880, Anton Lipošćak started the Theresian Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt (*Theresianische Militärakademie*). He graduated in 1883 with very good grades, which earned him a promotion to second lieutenant and opened a career path for him. The Academy's alumni formed an elite of military school graduates and the connections they made during their school years undoubtedly helped their careers. After graduating, like his brothers, he joined the 53<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment and spent three years in garrisons in Zagreb and in Trebinje, Herzegovina. In 1886, he began studies in the k. u. k. War College

8 Personal files of Peter Lipošćak (b. 1864), AT-OeStA/KA Pers Quall HR 1781 Lipner-Lipowsky (Karton (Fascikell)); "Neues Wiener Tagblatt" no. 118 of 30 April 1899, p. 16; "Neues Wiener Tagblatt" no. 75 of 18 March 1917, p. 10; "Die Drau" no. 112 of 18 May 1914, p. 5; "Die Drau" no. 181 of 12 August 1922, p. 2; J. C. Steiner, *Schematismus der Generale und Obersten der k. u. k. Armee. Stand: 31. Dezember 1918*, Wien, 1992, p. 210; T. Oršolić, *Hrvatsko domobranstvo kao "separatum korpus" ugarskog domobranstva (1868.–1914.)*, "Radovi (Sveučilište u Splitu. Filozofski fakultet Zadar. Razdio povijesnih znanosti)", Vol. 39 (26), 2000 (2001), p. 182.

9 Personal files of Karl Lipošćak (b. 1866), AT-OeStA/KA Pers Quall HR 1781 Lipner-Lipowsky (Karton (Fascikell)); "Agramer Zeitung" no. 289 of 18 December 1897, p. 7.

(*Kriegsschule*) in Vienna, which was very difficult to gain admittance to, and graduated after two years with very good results, as he had done at the academy. This was important, as it opened up the possibility of faster promotion and service as a staff officer. His excellent grades indicate that he was very gifted; he passed training courses and exams (e.g. for major in 1897) with very good results as well. His ability to read maps was especially noted and his knowledge of five languages was highly valued as well. His physical shape also predisposed him to military service – he was tall, strong and reportedly very athletic; there must have been good reason why years later he was described as “the handsomest general in the army” (“der stattlichste General der Armee”).<sup>10</sup>

After graduating from the War College, Anton Lipošćak was promoted to first lieutenant (*Oberleutnant*) and sent to the staff of the 58<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade in Theresienstadt (Czech Terezín); three years later, in 1891, he began service in the General Staff in Vienna, which was a prestigious assignment. He spent over a decade there, most of it in the *Evidenzbüro*, i.e. the military intelligence. His knowledge of foreign languages, especially Slavic ones, was helpful in his service, which was emphasised by his supervisors. In 1891–1893, he collected information on the armed forces of the Balkan states and travelled in the Balkans to this end. We can surmise that one of the results of his activity was the article *Die Balkanstaaten und ihr Heerwesen*, published in 1894, in which he discussed the state of the armed forces of Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia and Turkey.<sup>11</sup> Later, in 1893–1895, he oversaw intelligence activities. After a three-year intermission, he returned to the intelligence service in 1898 for another four years. During his work in the *Evidenzbüro*, his interests were not limited to the Balkan states, which is evidenced by his later publications on the Chinese-Japanese War and its impact on the policy of European powers in eastern Asia, as well as the English and Egyptian activity in Sudan.<sup>12</sup> As Maximilian Ronge, the last director of the *Evidenzbüro*, recalls, during Anton Lipošćak’s service the

10 Personal files of Anton Lipošćak (b. 1863), AT-OeStA/KA Pers Quall HR 1781 Lipner-Lipowsky (Karton (Fascikell)); “Neues Wiener Journal” no. 8840 of 14 June 1918, p. 3; “Ziemia Lubelska” no. 312 of 5 July 1918, p. 2 (afternoon edition); T. Balla, *A Nagy Háború osztrák–magyar tábornokai...*, pp. 213–214.

11 A. Lipošćak, *Die Balkanstaaten und ihr Heerwesen*, “Steffleurs Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift”, 1894, XXV Jahrgang (Der Ganzen Folge 71), Bd. II, pp. 3–31. The article was based on a lecture given by A. Lipošćak in the Military Scientific Society (*Militärwissenschaftlicher Verein*). In 1892, A. Lipošćak published a comprehensive overview of the methods of training the Russian cavalry; it can be assumed that this was also a result of his activity in the *Evidenzbüro*, see A. Lipošćak, *Neue Ausbildungsmethoden bei der russischen Cavallerie. Auf Befehl des verstorbenen Generalinspektors Großfürsten Nikolai des Älteren erprobt und erläutert durch GM. Ssuchotin*, “Steffleurs Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift”, 1892, XXIII Jahrgang (Der Ganzen Folge 69), Bd. IV, pp. 78–87.

12 A. Lipošćak, *Der chinesisch-japanische Krieg und die Machtstellung der europäischen Gross-Staaten in Ost-Asien*, “Organ der Militär-wissenschaftlichen Vereine”, 1895, Bd. L, pp. 349–420; A. Lipošćak, *Die Operationen der englisch-ägyptischen Truppen im Sudan*, “Organ der Militär-wissenschaftlichen Vereine”, 1899, Bd. LIX, pp. 1–36. In these cases, the articles were also based on lectures given by A. Lipošćak in the Military Scientific Society (*Militärwissenschaftlicher Verein*). The first of these articles was also published in Serbian.

bureau developed intensively and was very active in the Balkans. However, we should remember that it employed only about a dozen officers, so it was a very elite group.<sup>13</sup>

During his service in the General Staff, Anton Lipošćak participated in training trips, application exercises and courses (also as their supervisor) and in manoeuvres, where he was repeatedly the officer responsible for press relations.<sup>14</sup> There was an effort to give officers of the General Staff opportunities to gain practical skills necessary for commanders, so as a rule they were sent to line duty for prolonged periods of time and delegated to unit commands and the Ministry of War. This was also the case of Anton Lipošćak. In 1895–1897, he served in the command of the 18<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division in Mostar, followed by a year in the 82<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment in Transylvania, some of which he spent as company commander; in 1901–1903 he returned to the 53<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment, where he commanded a battalion, among other tasks. He worked for the Ministry of War in 1903–1905, i.e. during the crisis which broke out between Vienna and Budapest, concerning the organisation and functioning of the army. During this time, he held the important position of the deputy head of the Presidential Bureau (*Presidialbureau*), a unit which was in charge of army organisation, personnel matters and classified cases. He was reportedly very accomplished in this position. During this period, he received many prizes, such as the Military Merit Order (*Militärverdienstmedaille*) (1895), the Military Merit Cross (*Militärverdienstkreuz*) (1901), and in 1905 the Imperial Order of the Iron Crown, Third Class (*Orden der Eisernen Krone 3. Klasse*).<sup>15</sup>

Anton Lipošćak's service in the General Staff ended in 1905, when he was promoted to colonel and transferred to Bosnia. This seems to have been a natural development, considering his nationality, interests and the nature of his service in the General Staff. Lipošćak spent over five years in Sarajevo, initially as the head of staff of the 15<sup>th</sup> Corps. Later, after Bosnia and Herzegovina were annexed, when the command of the new 16<sup>th</sup> Corps (covering the area of Dalmatia and Herzegovina) was created in 1909, he took the position of the Chief of the General Staff of the General Troops Inspector (*Generaltruppeninspektor, Armeeinspektor*) for the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Corps. We should also remember that until 1909, the commander of the 15<sup>th</sup> Corps and later the general inspector in Sarajevo was in charge of the state administration as the Head of the Provincial Government for Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Chef des Landesregierung für Bosnien*

13 M. Ronge, *Kriegs- und Industrie-Spionage. Zwölf Jahre Kundschaftsdienst*, Wien 1930, p. 19; S Szabó, *Az Evidenzbureau. Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia felderítő szervezete 1850–1919*, "Rendvédelem-történeti Füzetek", 25, 2015, 43–46, pp. 138, 168.

14 This is confirmed by another publication by A. Lipošćak, *Aplikatorische Übungen*, "Steffleurs Österreichische Militärische Zeitschrift", 1904, XLV Jahrgang (Der Ganzen Folge 81), Bd. II, pp. 829–850.

15 For information about A. Lipošćak's service in the General Staff, including the *Evidenzbüro*, see Personal files of A. Lipošćak (b. 1863), AT-OeStA/KA Pers Quall HR 1781 Lipner-Lipowsky (Karton (Fascikell)); "Reise des Hauptmann des Generalstabes Anton Liposcák ins Balkangebiet 1893", Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Allerhöchster Oberbefehl, Chef des Generalstabes, Evidenzbüro, Akten, 992 (henceforth: AT-OeStA/KA AhOB GSt EvB Akten 992); Szabó, *Az Evidenzbureau...*, p. 150.

*und die Hercegowina, Landes-Chef, Zemaljski Poglavar*). This meant that the military authorities in this area were involved in administrative and political affairs, which was particularly conspicuous after 1908 in connection with the growing tension in and surrounding Bosnia. During the annexation crisis, Lipošćak – due to his function – was one of the officers responsible for the mobilisation of the armed forces against Serbia. The Chief of General Staff, General Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf, valued him as an expert on the Balkans and listened to his opinions. We may surmise that Lipošćak shared Conrad's view regarding the Serbian threat and the necessity to take radical actions against the Serbs.<sup>16</sup> Both the Chief of General Staff and Colonel Lipošćak's superiors in Sarajevo gave him excellent references and emphasised his outstanding ability, energy, calm, versatility and his skills as commander and administrator. It was also noted that he did well during special missions, which probably resulted from his service in the military intelligence. During his service in Bosnia, Lipošćak received the Knight's Cross of the Order of Leopold (*Ritterkreuz des Leopold-Ordens*). He also further improved his qualifications and in 1907 completed a course for commanders in the Army School of Marksmanship (*die Armeeschießschule*).<sup>17</sup>

The excellent opinions and the honours he was awarded paved the way for Anton Lipošćak's successive promotions. In late 1910, at the age of forty-seven, he was made brigadier general (*Generalmajor, general-bojnik*). A few months later, in January 1911, he took command of the 72<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Brigade (*72 pješaćka brigada*) in Zagreb, which included the 53<sup>rd</sup> Regiment; this meant that he circled back to the unit in which he started his military career and in which his brothers had served. Anton Lipošćak's two years in this position ended in strange circumstances. In May 1913, his dismissal was announced, with a serious illness given as the official explanation. The press also wrote about the general's illness.<sup>18</sup> However, not everybody believed this version. Newspapers also printed the opinion that the real reason for General Lipošćak's dismissal was a disagreement between him and the army command and the General Staff regarding the assessment of the Serbian threat to the Monarchy. The general's opinions were allegedly driven not by political calculations but by honesty and a soldier's duty, and he submitted them directly to the imperial chancery.<sup>19</sup> During the international crisis

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16 F. Conrad von Hötzendorf, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit: 1906–1918*, Bd. 1: *Die Zeit der Annexionskrise 1906-1909*, Wien-Leipzig-München 1921, pp. 77, 163–164.

17 See opinions in: Personal files of Anton Lipošćak (b. 1863), AT-OeStA/KA Pers Quall HR 1781 Lipner-Lipowsky (Karton (Fascikell)). A. Lipošćak also received foreign orders: the Montenegrin Order of Danilo I – Order of the Independence of Montenegro, Fourth Class (*Орден Данила I – Орден за независност Црногоре*) (1895), the Persian Order of the Lion and the Sun, Second Class (1906) and the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle, Second Class (*Roter Adler-Orden*) (1910).

18 "Neue Freie Presse" no. 17511 of 25 May 1913 (Morgenblatt), p. 42; "Neue Freie Presse" no. 17536 of 19 June 1913 (Morgenblatt), p. 11.

19 This was the reason for A. Lipošćak's dismissal given by the "Südslavischen Rundschau" (no. 4 of 13 June 1913), which printed the article "Redl – Lipovščak" [sic!]. It presented the figures of the Russian spy, Colonel A. Redl, compromised in May 1913, who indeed remained unpunished, and General A. Lipošćak, unfairly punished for his candour and honesty. The "Südslavischen Rundschau" article was

which broke out in the last months of 1912 regarding Serbia's attempts to obtain access to the Adriatic Sea, Austria-Hungary decidedly opposed this state, which created the threat of a conflict breaking out. Later, there was a disagreement about the Albanian borders, which in the spring of 1913 exacerbated relations between Austria-Hungary and Montenegro. However, Austro-Hungarian politicians were divided as to what actions to take against Serbia and Montenegro. Press reports indicate that this time Lipošćak did not support an escalation of the conflict with Serbia.

The matter of general Lipošćak's dismissal also became the subject of an interpellation in the Viennese parliament, prepared by a group of Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian and Czech MPs led by Otokar Rybář. They demanded an explanation for the general's dismissal. They suggested its nature could have been political and it might have been an element of activities aimed against Southern Slavs living in the Dual Monarchy and against the Balkan states; it was stressed that Lipošćak was a Croat.<sup>20</sup> The MPs were never given an answer to their questions, but the problem was quickly solved. In August 1913, it was announced that the general was in good health, had been reinstated and would soon be nominated commander of an infantry division. General Anton Lipošćak was indeed made commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division in Jarosław in 1913, and in May 1914 he was promoted to the rank of major general (*Feldmarschal-leutnant, podmaršal*).<sup>21</sup>

Taking command of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division involved a move to Galicia. Anton Lipošćak had not served in this province of the Dual Monarchy and he only knew it as a participant in manoeuvres and military training trips held in Galicia. This could have been consequential for him, since a few months later, after the outbreak of war, he had to command forces on a territory which was new to him, rather than in Bosnia and the Balkans, for which he was definitely better prepared. He commanded the 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division until January 1915 and later from April to June of that year. The division consisted of regiments recruited in Galicia, in which mainly Polish and Ukrainian soldiers served, and of soldiers from Bosnia and Herzegovina, since the battalions of the 4<sup>th</sup> Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment (*Bosnisch-hercegovinisches Infanterie Regiment Nr. 4, 4. Bosanskohercegovacki Pješadijski Puk, Četvrti bosanskohercegovacki pješadijski regiment*) were also incorporated into this division.<sup>22</sup> From August to De-

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reprinted by other newspapers, e.g. "Die Drau" no. 136 of 16 June 1913, p. 3. The press printed information about the rumours linking A. Lipošćak's dismissal with the A. Redl affair, which was denied, see "Die Zeit" no. 2849 of 14 June 1913.

20 The interpellation was submitted during the 160<sup>th</sup> session of the parliament on 19 June 1913. It quoted the entire article printed in the "Südslavischen Rundschau", *Stenographische Protokolle über die Sitzungen des Hauses der Abgeordneten des österreichischen Reichsrates im Jahre 1913. XXI Session*, Bd. VI. (133. bis 161. Sitzung), Wien 1913, p. 7893, (Antrag III, 3859/1), pp. 16236–16237.

21 "Die Zeit" no. 3904 of 8 August 1913 (Morgenblatt), p. 5; "Fremden-Blatt" no. 286 of 18 October 1913, p. 6 (30); "Die Drau" no. 183 of 9 August 1913, p. 5; "Die Drau" no. 241 of 20 October 1913, p. 7; "Die Zeit" no. 4159 of 27 April 1914 (Abendblatt), p. 6.

22 *Österreich-Ungarns letzter Krieg 1914–1918*, Bd. I, Wien 1931, p. 70.



ember 1914, the division was part of the X Corps of the 1<sup>st</sup> Army. It participated in battles on the territory of the Kingdom of Poland and Galicia, in the offensive against Lublin, in the fighting during the retreat of the Austro-Hungarian forces and in the defence of Kraków. The division suffered large losses, which Lipošćak reported to Franz Conrad, Chief of the General Staff, in December 1914; he also complained about the soldiers' exhaustion and lowered discipline.<sup>23</sup> Despite this, the division, together with the X Corps, was sent to Hungary to reinforce the 3<sup>rd</sup> Army commanded by Svetozar Borojević, whose task was to attack the Russian forces in Galicia through the Carpathian Mountains. Meanwhile, soldiers of the 2<sup>nd</sup> division defended Carpathian passes against the attacks of the Russian forces trying to reach the Hungarian Plain. During the battles in the Carpathians, fought in very difficult winter conditions, in the first four months of 1915 the 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division suffered enormous losses, estimated at as high as 85% of its men. Particularly bloody fighting took place in the valley of the Laborec River (Hungarian Laborcza).<sup>24</sup> Anton Lipošćak commanded the division only at the beginning of this period; he was removed from the position in the first days of January. Borojević, whose assessment of the situation was different from Lipošćak's, had a hand in his dismissal.<sup>25</sup> Lipošćak returned to the position of commander for three months in April 1915. At that time, the division was moved to Galicia and participated in the Battle of Gorlice and in the fighting for Przemyśl, and later in other battles in the Kingdom of Poland.

In mid-1915, Lipošćak was entrusted with the command of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division of the Home Guard (*42. domobranska pješačka divizija, 42. Honved-Infanterietruppendivision*), which included Croatian regiments from Zagreb (*25. domobranska pješačka pukovnija*), Karlovac (*26. domobranska pješačka pukovnija*), Osijek (*28. domobranska pješačka pukovnija*), Sisak (*27. domobranska pješačka pukovnija*) and Varaždin (*10. domobranska varaždinska husarska pukovnija*). The unit, which was nicknamed "Devil's" Division (*Vražja divizija, Teufelsdivision*), had been moved with

23 F. Conrad von Hötzendorf, *Aus meiner Dienstzeit: 1906–1918*, Bd. 5: *Oktober - November - Dezember 1914. Die Kriegsergebnisse und die politischen Vorgänge in dieser Zeit*, Wien-Leipzig-München 1925, p. 715.

24 J. Bator, *Wojna galicyjska. Działania armii austriacko-węgierskiej na froncie północnym (galicyjskim) w latach 1914–1915*, Kraków 2005, p. 176.

25 M. Rauchensteiner, *The First World War and the End of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1914–1918*, Wien 2014, p. 930–931. At the same time, General Hugo Meixner von Zweienstamm, who apparently sided with A. Lipošćak, was removed from the position of commander of the X Corps. A few months later, they were both reinstated, although Meixner only briefly. After taking command of the division for the second time, A. Lipošćak informed the officers that he "had received complete gratification, reappointed to his old position by the Emperor himself", see [K. Filar], *Šmieszne to życie! Ale go žal... Dzieniki Kazimierza Filara*, Część 1, Warszawa 2018, pp. 203, 209–210, 228, 299, 316; *Carnage and Care on the Eastern Front: The War Diaries of Bernhard Bardach, 1914–1918*. Translated and edited by Peter C. Appelbau, New York 2018, p. 52, 54. For the reasons of the dismissal of the commander of the X Corps and for the personnel policy pursued by the General Staff at the time see *Österreich-Ungarns letzter Krieg 1914–1918*, Bd. II, Wien 1931, pp. 253–254.

other units of the Zagreb XIII Corps from Serbia to the Carpathian front in January 1915. Incorporated into the Army Group commanded by general Karl von Pflanzer-Baltin (*Armeegruppe Pflanzer-Baltin*, *Armijska grupa Pflanzer-Baltin*), which was later transformed into the 7<sup>th</sup> Army, the division engaged in heavy fighting against the Russians in south-eastern Galicia and Bukovina. Anton Lipošćak commanded it from June 1915 to February 1916, when the Croatian regiments took part in battles on the rivers Dniester and Prut. Particularly tough battles were fought by the 42<sup>nd</sup> Division in late December 1915 and January 1916 north of the capital of Bukovina, Czerniowiec (Ukrainian Černivci), at Rarańcza (Ukrainian Ridkivci) and Toporowce (Ukrainian Toporivci), where the Croats repelled the Russian attacks despite many losses. The 42<sup>nd</sup> Division suffered even greater losses during Brusilov's summer offensive in 1916, but at that time it was commanded by General Luka Šnjarić.<sup>26</sup> Anton Lipošćak, removed from the position of commander of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division of the Home Guard in February 1916, did not receive another appointment, even though the press reported that he would. It was not until over a year later, in March 1917, that he was once more nominated commander of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Division, but only for three months.<sup>27</sup>

The reasons for General Lipošćak's removal from the command of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division of the Home Guard are unclear. Anton Lipošćak himself, who was very upset by his dismissal from the position of commander of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division of the Home Guard, cited the conflict with his superiors, in particular General Siegmund von Benigni, as the reason.<sup>28</sup> In November 1918, one Croatian newspaper wrote that during the war he had been sent on forced leave and put on ready alert several times because "he was not a yielding Swabian-Hungarian broom" ("jer nije bio pokorna švapsko-magjarska metla").<sup>29</sup> The general was capable of standing up for his convictions, so removing him from command due to a conflict with his superiors seems likely.

In June 1917, Anton Lipošćak was given a new function: he became the head of a group operating on the Romanian front, named after him – the Lipošćak Group (*Gruppe*

26 For the participation of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division of the Home Guard and other units in which Croats served in the fighting on the Eastern Front see B. Graljuk, *Bojišnice i grobišta hrvatskih vojnika na karpatskom ratištu u Prvom svjetskom ratu*, "Riječi. Časopis za književnost, kulturu i znanost Matice hrvatske Sisak", 2013, nos. 1–3, pp. 4–26; N. Tominac, *Hrvati u Zimskim bitkama za Karpatie i proborju kod Gorlica i Tarnówa 1915. godine*, "Časopis za suvremenu povijest", 50, 2018, 2, pp. 267–302; N. Tominac, *Hrvati u Brusilovljevoj ofenzivi u ljeto 1916. godine (I. dio)*, *Proboj kraj grada Lucka u Volinju*, "Časopis za suvremenu povijest", 49, 2017, 2, 261–295; N. Tominac, *Hrvati u Brusilovljevoj ofenzivi u ljeto 1916. godine (II. dio): Proboj kraj sela Okne u Bukovini*, "Časopis za suvremenu povijest", 49, 2017, 3, 419–453.

27 "Die Drau" no. 60 of 14 March 1916, p. 1. Prior to his reinstatement as commander of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division of the Home Guard, A. Lipošćak was twice received by the emperor, on 3 and 19 March 1917. ("Neue Freie Presse" no. 18869 of 4 March 1917 (Morgenblatt), p. 11; "Neue Freie Presse" no. 18885 of 20 March 1917 (Morgenblatt), p. 7; "Die Drau" no. 66 of 21 March 1917, p. 3; "Die Drau" no. 68 of 23 March 1917, p. 6)

28 D. Čutura, *Stjepan Sarkotić – posljednji zemaljski poglavar Bosne i Hercegovine*, Zagreb 2019, pp. 302-303.

29 Cited from T. Zorko, *Afera Lipošćak*, "Časopis za suvremenu povijest", 35, 2003, 3, p. 895.

*Lipošćak, skupina Lipošćak*). It included, among others, the 7<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division (7. *pješaka divizija*) from Osijek, consisting mainly of Croats, which had been moved from the Italian Front. The Lipošćak Group, transformed into the IX Corps in October 1917, took part in battles against the Russian and Romanian armed forces on the territory of Transylvania and Moldavia, fought in the second part of 1917, which ended in a truce in December. During this time, Anton Lipošćak was promoted again – in August 1917 he was made lieutenant general (*General der Infanterie, general pješastva*).<sup>30</sup> Lipošćak commanded the IX Corps until February 1918 and this was the last unit he led on the front.

During his service on the front, General Lipošćak was certainly highly regarded by his superiors. This is evidenced e.g. by the orders he received: Order of the Iron Crown, Second Class with war honours (*Orden der Eisernen Krone 2. Klasse*) (1914), German Iron Cross, Second Class (*Eisernes Kreuz II Klasse*) (1914), bronze Military Merit Medal (*Militärverdienstmedaille*) (1916), Order of the Iron Crown, First Class with war honours and swords (*Orden der Eisernen Krone 1. Klasse*) (1918).<sup>31</sup> He was also appreciated by his subordinates, especially for his skills and his leadership of the division.<sup>32</sup> Although he was strict and enforced iron discipline, and did not hesitate to sentence soldiers to death for cowardice and desertion, he was liked by the Poles he commanded. His directness and care for his soldiers were highly valued. When he left the command of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Division, he was regretfully bid goodbye and a moving farewell ceremony was organised, which seems surprising considering the front conditions.<sup>33</sup> Notably, Anton Lipošćak usually commanded units in which soldiers from Croatia and Bosnia served.

30 "Feldblatt" no. 1021 of 17 August 1917, p. 5; "Die Drau" no. 189 of 21 August 1917.

31 "Neue Freie Presse" no. 18012 of 16 October 1914 (Morgenndblatt), p. 13; "Neue Freie Presse" no. 18039 of 12 November 1914 (Morgenndblatt), p. 18; "Wiener Zeitung" no. 130 of 7 June 1916, p. 1; "Wiener Zeitung" no. 64 of 19 March 1918, p. 1. In 1918, A. Lipošćak also received a Decoration for Services to the Red Cross, First Class (*Ehrenzeichen für Verdienste um das Rote Kreuz*) and a Long Service Cross for Officers, Second Class (*Militärdienstzeichen für Offiziere*). His candidature was also considered for the Military Order of Maria Theresa (*Militär-Maria-Theresien-Orden*), see Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Belohnungsakten, Archiv des Militär-Maria Theresien-Ordens, IV L 184 Liposcak (hereinafter: AT-OeStA/KA BA MMThO IV L 184 Liposcak (Akt (Sammelakt, Grundz., Konvolut, dossier, file)).

32 [K. Filar], *Śmieszne to życie! Ale go żal...*, pp. 234, 423; *Carnage and Care on the Eastern Front...*, p. 79.

33 One participant in this celebration wrote: "The 16<sup>th</sup> [of January 1915]. We go ahead with the plan we made yesterday to accompany our departing division commander [A. Lipošćak] to the next village. An unforgettable day. First of all, the freezing weather with relentless snow gives the whole affair an added charm. It is curious how attached the soldiers were to this man; everyone alive and free from service came out to the road to bid the old man [A. Lipošćak] goodbye at least from afar; and he treated everybody like a brother. When we trotted after his wagon, it seemed as if we could not believe that he was leaving, as if we were involuntarily running after him, not wanting to let him go. In Boró [Slovakian Borov] we formed a line [...] and, what can I say, we cried our eyes out; and nobody thought that this was unbecoming of soldiers, that it was unmanly, because none of us could help himself. It was the first time in the army when I experienced a truly solemn moment, where there was no ceremony, but hearts were on fire; he bid everyone farewell one by one, like a father, and we could not believe that we were losing this man. He left and we returned to this uncertainty without him, without this soldier, this man." [K. Filar], *Śmieszne to życie! Ale go żal...*, p. 212. See also *Carnage and Care on the Eastern Front...*, p. 54.

This was certainly not a coincidence; the General knew these units well and seems to have made an effort to be popular with his soldiers. This was certainly true of the Bosnian regiment which fought under his command in Galicia and the Carpathian Mountains. The Bosnians “loved” him, not only because he spoke “their native language”.<sup>34</sup> We may surmise that he also knew how to reach the Croatian soldiers, even though for many of them the fighting in the Carpathians and Galicia was a traumatic experience. The press reported that he was “quite popular” (“dosta obljubljen”) among them.<sup>35</sup>

In February 1918, General Anton Lipošćak was appointed Governor General of the Polish lands occupied from 1915 by the Austro-Hungarian armed forces. He became head of the General Military Governorate in Poland (*Militärgeneralgouvernement in Polen*) based in Lublin. This was a function which required military as well as administrative and political skills.

The General Military Governorate in Poland was created on the lands of the Kingdom of Poland occupied by the German and Austro-Hungarian armed forces in 1914–1915. The area was divided into two parts; the north-western one, including Warsaw, was under German occupation, while the south-eastern one was occupied by Austria-Hungary. The Austro-Hungarian forces controlled an area of 45,000 km<sup>2</sup>, inhabited by approximately 3.5 million people. It was governed by Governor General – a military man with the powers of a corps commander, subordinate to the Field Army Command (*Armeeoberkommando*). The Governor General was in charge of the administration and the judiciary, in addition to commanding the forces stationed in the General Governorate. The administration of the General Governorate was dominated by military personnel, and from 1917 onwards a growing number of Poles served there as well. Gradually, the number and importance of the civil servants started to increase and Poles began to dominate in this group as well. The task of the Governor General was not only to administer the occupied territory, to enforce order, safety and security at the back of the front, but also to provide for the soldiers stationed there and to obtain the largest possible amount of raw materials for the Austro-Hungarian industry and of food supplies for the army and civilian population of Austria-Hungary. The authorities of the General Governorate also pursued political goals. They especially strove to win the Poles’ favour, which was to facilitate binding the conquered lands to the Habsburg Monarchy in the future. To this end, the Austrian policy consisted in the economic exploitation of the

34 [K. Filar], *Śmieszne to życie! Ale go żal...*, pp. 324, 408.

35 Cited from T. Zorko, *Afera Lipošćak...*, p. 895. A. Lipošćak’s farewell with the soldiers of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Division was reported by the press; the General stressed that he was a Croat and that the division’s soldiers were also fighting for the glory of “our beautiful Croatian homeland”, see “Die Drau” no. 60 of 14 March 1916, p. 1; “Die Drau” no. 71 of 27 March 1916, p. 4. Accounts of battles in the Carpathians were published, among others, by M. Krleža (M. Krleža, *Davni dani. Zapisi 1914–1921*, Zagreb 1956, p. 105). He was a soldier of the 25<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Division, he fought in the Carpathians in summer 1916, i.e. after A. Lipošćak’s removal from the position of the division’s commander. His experiences during this period were depicted in his work (N. Tominac, *Hrvati u Brusilovljevoj ofenzivi u ljeto 1916. godine (II. dio)* ..., p. 423).

occupied territories and simultaneous improvement of civic liberties and opportunities for political, social and cultural activity of the Polish people. Despite the existing restrictions, the Poles living in the General Governate were in a better position to be active in the fields of culture and politics than under the Russian rule. The Polish language became dominant in the local administration and education. In 1915–1918, numerous Polish primary and secondary schools were established, and in the second half of 1918 a Polish university started to be organised in Lublin. The number of Polish socio-cultural institutions and magazines published in Polish increased. From 1916, self-governments started to be introduced in the towns and counties of the General Governorate.

On 5 November 1916, a manifesto was published to announce the decision of the emperors Franz Joseph I and Wilhelm II to establish an “independent” Polish state. It was supposed to be a constitutional monarchy controlled by Germany and Austria-Hungary. After the manifesto was issued, Polish institutions started to crop up on the occupied territory and the German and Austro-Hungarian authorities gradually gave them increased powers. The Polish Regency Council was appointed, which was to function until the Polish king was elected and a Polish government and State Council (replacing the parliament) were created. The first government subordinate to the Regency Council resigned after mere three months, protesting against the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed on 9 February 1918 by Germany, Austria-Hungary and the government of the Ukrainian People’s Republic (established in November 1917), as a result of which Ukraine was to be given the eastern part of the Kingdom of Poland, including the so-called Chełm Land (Kholmshchyna), administered by the General Governor in Lublin. Poles widely protested against the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The protests broke out in the General Governate in Lublin as well. There were manifestations and strikes, Austro-Hungarian soldiers and military police were attacked; several dozen people were killed and hundreds were injured during clashes. Polish institutions and offices refused to cooperate with the occupational authorities and some Polish forces fighting on the side of the Central Powers went over to the Russian side of the front. Polish General Stanisław Szeptycki, who served as General Governor, asked to be relieved from the position, while officials and officers of Polish descent started to

hand in their resignations.<sup>36</sup> In this difficult situation, Anton Lipošćak was appointed Governor General in Lublin; he took over the office already on 21 February 1918.<sup>37</sup>

Anton Lipošćak was not the only candidate for this position; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ottokar Czernin, suggested General Karl Tersztyánszky von Nádas; “a general not involved in national or political affairs, who was energetic and had a strong arm” was sought after.<sup>38</sup> Lipošćak had the opinion of an energetic and strict man, as well as other valuable qualities. During his service in Bosnia in 1905–1911, he had gained experience in administration, which was particularly relevant since solutions used during the long occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina were planned to be utilised on territories occupied by the Austro-Hungarian army during the First World War. He also had a certain aptitude for politics, which quickly became noticeable. His “faithfulness to the dynasty” was emphasised, as was the fact that he was a Croat – a Slav, and therefore close to the Poles.<sup>39</sup> It probably also helped that in 1913–1914 he had served in Galicia, and during the war he had commanded forces comprising Polish soldiers, who became fond of him.

The new Governor General was given specific tasks; he was supposed to restore law and order and ensure food supplies to the Dual Monarchy. At the same time, he was cautioned to be careful and to take Polish interests into consideration; this was a preview of efforts to improve relations with the Poles.<sup>40</sup> General Lipošćak took decisive steps. The organisers and most active participants in the protests were arrested and placed in a special camp. Some Polish organisations were delegatised and certain municipal councils were dissolved, including the one in Lublin. Austrian garrisons were

36 On the General Governate in Poland see J. Lewandowski, *Królestwo Polskie pod okupacją austriacką 1914–1918*, Warszawa 1980; D. Szymczak, *Sojusznicy i rywale, polityka i okupacja. Austro-Węgry i Rzecz Niemiecka w Królestwie Polskim w okresie I wojny światowej*, [in:] *Pierwsza niemiecka okupacja. Królestwo Polskie i kresy wschodnie pod okupacją mocarstw centralnych 1914–1918*, ed. G. Kucharczyk, Warszawa 2019, pp. 135–291; T. Scheer, *Österreich-Ungarns Besatzungsmacht in Russisch-Polen während des Ersten Weltkriegs (1915–1918)*, “Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung”, 58, 2009, 4, pp. 538–571; S. Lehnstaedt, *Das Militärgeneralgouvernement Lublin. Die “Nutzbarmachung” Polens durch Österreich-Ungarn im Ersten Weltkrieg*, “Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung”, 61, 2012, 1, pp. 1–26.

37 In June 1918, General A. Lipošćak was also given the title of Privy Councillor (*Geheimer Rat*), “Reichspost” no. 73 of 17 June 1918, p. 4.

38 S. Łoś, *Świat się w mych oczach dwukrotnie zawalił... Wspomnienia dyplomaty*, Kraków 2017, p. 172.

39 Such opinions about A. Lipošćak can be found both in his official file and in the memoirs of his subordinate officers and officials: Personal files of Anton Lipošćak (b. 1863), AT-OeStA/KA Pers Quall HR 1781 Lipner-Lipowsky (Karton (Fascikell)); A. Hausner, *Die Polenpolitik der Mittelmächte und die österreichisch-ungarische Militärverwaltung in Polen während des Weltkrieges*, Wien 1935, pp. 234–235; S. Łoś, “Świat się w mych oczach dwukrotnie zawalił...”, p. 177; K.W. Kumaniecki, *Czasy lubelskie. Wspomnienia i dokumenty (18.IV.1916–2.XI.1918)*, Kraków 1927, p. 12. The possibility of General A. Lipošćak holding an administrative function was written about already in 1917; he was named as one of the men who could replace General A. Sarkotić in the position of head of the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina: “Der Tilorer” no. 198 of 31 August 1917, p. 3.

40 A. Hausner, *Die Polenpolitik der Mittelmächte...*, pp. 241–242.

reinforced, for instance by transferring an infantry division from the Italian front. Soldiers were stationed in places where riots were breaking out, and the inhabitants were ordered to pay the cost of their accommodation. This calmed the situation. At the same time, the administration was reorganised in order to make it more efficient and to facilitate obtaining food supplies<sup>41</sup>. Lipošćak also took steps towards improving the standing of the civil and military authorities of the General Governate, which was not easy and only partly successful. The authorities had to cope with strikes and protests of the population caused by economic problems, while the armed forces had to deal with lowered discipline and a growing number of desertions. Between May and July 1918, riots broke out in the garrisons stationed in the General Governate. They were caused, apart from the poor supply chain and maltreatment of soldiers, by the increasing revolutionary agitation, stirred up by Austro-Hungarian POWs returning from Russia, incorporated into the units stationed in the General Governorate. This was attributed to Bolshevik influence. Lipošćak suppressed these riots using troops which had come from the front and the guilty parties were severely punished.

At the same time, Lipošćak endeavoured to improve relations with the Poles – both sides were interested in normalising them. At the beginning of his term, the General made an announcement to the Polish population, but it was given in a reconciliatory tone and called for cooperation.<sup>42</sup> During a meeting with officials, he stressed the importance of military and economic issues, but noted that he was aware of the state of the country destroyed during war operations. He assured everyone of his honesty, openness and tolerance, and finished by expressing a hope that everyone would cooperate “for the good of the service, the Dual Monarchy and this flourishing Polish state”.<sup>43</sup> On the matter of Kholmshchyna, which was to be incorporated into Ukraine following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, he acted in accordance with the Polish interests. He did not consent to a Ukrainian commissar taking up an office there. He also opposed the activity of the Greek Catholic priests and bishop (who arrived from Lviv) on this territory. At the same time, he integrated Kholmshchyna more strongly with the rest of the General Governorate. The restrictions imposed by the General at the beginning of his government were gradually lifted and the authorities undertook actions beneficial for the population, such as facilitating the return of POWs. Lipošćak also decided to make some gestures which improved his popularity among the Poles, for instance gave some buildings occupied by the army and the administration to the university established in Lublin, which enabled it to start operating. Such a policy contributed to improved relations between the occupiers and the Polish authorities. The new Prime Minister of the government subordinate to the Regency Council visited the governor in Lublin on 8 April 1918 and received General Lipošćak in Warsaw a few days later. He was also

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41 A. Lipošćak made sure that food transports from the General Governorate also went to Bosnia and Hercegovina, D. Čutura, *Stjepan Sarkotić ...*, pp. 215-216.

42 “Ziemia Lubelska” no. 86 of 28 February 1918 (morning edition), p. 1.

43 “Ziemia Lubelska” no. 105 of 10 March 1918 (morning edition).

received “very warmly” by the Regency Council.<sup>44</sup> One result of the *détente* was the appointment of a commissar of the Polish government in the General Governorate in Lublin and reopening negotiations about transferring the administration to the Poles. However, their progress was slow. Lipošćak’s approach was criticised by the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but the governor defended his position in the High Command of the Army and then in the Emperor’s Military Chancery (*Militärkanzlei Seiner Majestät*).<sup>45</sup>

Anton Lipošćak carried out Viennese policies but good relations with the Poles undoubtedly mattered to him as well. They viewed him as a person sympathetic to them. Maria Lubomirska, the wife of one of the regents, wrote about it plainly, adding that the general looked for contacts with the Poles in order to be well-informed about the situation in the country. She even stated that he was a better Governor General than his predecessor, the Polish General Szeptycki.<sup>46</sup> Lipošćak’s subordinates, the General Governorate officials, had a similar opinion of him. One of them described him in these words: “The Croat, the noblest soul under the sun [...]. He combines in his soul a soldier’s loyalty to the dynasty with Croatian national patriotism and *sui generis* Polish patriotism”.<sup>47</sup> Pope Benedict XV’s nuncio to the Kingdom of Poland, Bishop Achille Ratti, even referred to him as a Pole.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps the character of General Lipošćak’s government is best revealed in the opinion of another Polish official: “the general, strict on the front, turned out to be an understanding and rather shrewd governor of the country”.<sup>49</sup>

The process of liquidating the General Governorate in Lublin began in October 1918. On 7 October, the Regency Council announced that a fully independent Polish state would be created; a few days later it declared that all Polish armed forces were

44 M. Lubomirska, *Pamiętnik księżnej Marii Zdzisławowej Lubomirskiej 1914–1918*. Prepared for print by Janusz Pajewski, annotations by Aleksandra Kosicka-Pajewska, Poznań 1997, p. 626.

45 More on A. Lipošćak’s activity as Governor General in: J. Lewandowski, *Królestwo Polskie...*, pp. 123–142; J. Lewandowski, *Lubelscy c. i k. generalowie-gubernatorzy...*, pp. 15–19.

46 M. Lubomirska, *Pamiętnik księżnej Marii Zdzisławowej Lubomirskiej...*, p. 626. M. Lubomirska criticised S. Szeptycki for his too-soft attitude towards the Left and the Ukrainians. Interestingly, the General Governor’s Chief of Staff, Colonel A. Hausner also claimed that on some matters A. Lipošćak was closer to the Poles than S. Szeptycki had been, see A. Hausner, *Die Polenpolitik der Mittelmächte...*, pp. 234–235.

47 S. Łoś, *Świat się w mych oczach dwukrotnie zawalił...*, p. 177.

48 *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae, Tomus LVII: Achilles Ratti (1918–1921), Volumen 1 (25 IV–31 VII 1918)*, ed. S. Wilk, Romae 1995, p. 248. Bishop Achille Ratti was sent to the Kingdom of Poland on a mission to learn about the situation of the Catholic Church on the occupied territory. The future Pope Pius XI must have remembered his meeting with A. Lipošćak, since after the general’s death he celebrated a mass for his soul and sent his condolences to the family, see “Reichspost” no. 16 of 16 January 1925, p. 5.

49 K.W. Kumaniecki, *Czasy lubelskie...*, p. 12. In the personal files, A. Lipošćak’s service as Governor General is described as follows: “Entspricht als Militärgeneralgouverneur in Lublin sehr gut. Vereinigt Energie mit polit. Klugheit. Versteht es die heterogenen Offiziere und Beamten in Ordnung zu halten.” Personal files of Anton Lipošćak (b. 1863), AT-OeStA/KA Pers Quall HR 1781 Lipner-Lipowsky (Karton (Fascikell)).



subordinate to the Polish authorities. At that time, General Lipošćak was consulting with the High Command of the Army regarding the terms of liquidating the occupational administration and he met the Polish demands to change the economic policy of the occupational authorities and to release those repressed for protesting against the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. This did not prevent demonstrations and strikes on a mass scale. He was lenient when the Polish bureaucrats and officers subordinate to him demonstrated Polish patriotism, stating in a conversation with them that “he himself would also like to be in his homeland – Croatia”.<sup>50</sup> Talks began about transferring the whole administration on the territory of the General Governorate to representatives of the government subordinate to the Regency Council. The general knew that this was inevitable, but he wanted to delay the process. He was only temporarily successful.<sup>51</sup> He tried to organise the evacuation of Austrian officials and their families, and continue to send transports with food supplies to Austria. In this way, he was implementing the directives of the Viennese government; he was probably also convinced that his actions were correct. Seeing the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian army and state, he feared that anarchy would ensue. On 30 October, during negotiations with the new Polish authorities already operating in Kraków and the Czech ones in Prague for letting food transports for the soldiers on the Italian front to pass through, he stated that “it is very important to him that food shortages would not lead to the outbreak of wild demobilisation, one current of which would, in the first place, flood his Croatian homeland.”<sup>52</sup>

The plans of the Governor General fell apart at the turn of October and November. On 28 October, the Polish Liquidation Committee was established in Kraków – a Polish local government which took over power in the western part of Galicia; in the eastern part, Polish-Ukrainian fighting soon broke out. At the same time, the establishment of Czechoslovakia was declared and the General Governorate became separated from Vienna. The military units subordinate to Anton Lipošćak were disintegrating. The Poles were the first to leave. On 31 October, the General agreed to dismiss them; they

50 K.W. Kumaniecki, *Czasy lubelskie...*, p. 90.

51 The administration of the General Governorate continued to function well even as the Dual Monarchy was already collapsing; one official wrote: “Therefore, there was no emperor in Vienna, and his administrator was to disappear from Lviv as well. In Kraków, the Polish Liquidation Committee was taking over offices, but in Lublin the Governor General was still holding office, not supervised by anyone anymore. The administrative machine continued to function, its wheels kept turning..., milling water. I remember how astonished I was by the observation that something like this was possible.” S. Łoś, *Świat się w mych oczach dwukrotnie zawałił...*, pp. 217–218.

52 K.W. Kumaniecki, *Czasy lubelskie...*, p. 93–95. In a letter dated 31 October 1918, concerning this matter, sent to the Polish Liquidation Committee in Kraków, General A. Lipošćak wrote: “[food] transports are meant for the army in the field, whose ranks include regiments of various nationalities, also Polish, Czech and South Slavic ones; [...] in the event of further [food] supplies being cut off, these and other army units would be bound to starve, which would inevitably cause loosened discipline and, further down the line, unapproved searching for food, equal to looting and rampaging by out-of-control soldiers, [...] in this case the first to suffer would be the states inhabited by South Slavs, as located closest to the present fronts.” *Narodziny niepodległości w Galicji. Wybór dokumentów archiwów lwowskich*. Editing, introduction and notes by Marek Przeniosło, Kielce 2007, pp. 131–132.

were to join the Polish army organised by the government subordinate to the Regency Council. Soldiers of other nationalities followed in their footsteps, leaving their units or organising themselves into soldiers' councils. On 1 November, Lipošćak was still trying to oppose this, he also refused the demands of a representative of the government subordinate to the Regency Council to immediately relinquish his power and liquidate the Governate.<sup>53</sup> It turned out, however, that he could only count on soldiers from Bosnia at that point, as his Chief of Staff stated, "probably because he is a Croat."<sup>54</sup> Realising that he had in fact lost power, he decided to transfer it officially to the Poles. On 2 November, he released the subordinate officers of the Austro-Hungarian army from their oath and wished them "that from this moment each of them would serve his nation faithfully". He came to the meeting with the officers wearing a cap with a pinned ribbon in Croatia's national colours.<sup>55</sup> He sent the official letter concerning the transfer of power in the General Governorate to the Regency Council on 3 November; on the same day he met its representative in Lublin, Juliusz Zdanowski, and bid the Polish officials goodbye. As Zdanowski wrote, his goodbyes were "affectionate".<sup>56</sup> The last Governor General spent a few more days in Lublin; reportedly, during this time the rebelling German and Hungarian soldiers, blaming him for the situation they found themselves in, were planning to assassinate him. He left Lublin on 8 November with a group of officials and two companies (*satnija*) of loyal Bosnian soldiers.<sup>57</sup> The representative of the Regency Council governed Lublin for just four more days; even before General Lipošćak left the city, a new Polish government was created, which was supported by left-wing parties. It functioned very briefly and was dissolved a few days later, as was the Regency Council. A universally accepted Polish government was not created until 18 November 1918 in Warsaw.

General Anton Lipošćak wanted to return to Croatia; as mentioned above, he had said as much to some Polish officials in Lublin already in mid-October. Upon hearing about the establishment of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, he sent to Antun Mihalović, the ban of Croatia, a telegram in which, on behalf of the South Slavs in the General Governorate, he expressed support and joy at the creation of "great Yugoslavia". This can be treated as a declaration of loyalty towards the National Council of

53 [J. Zdanowski], *Dziennik Juliusza Zdanowskiego*, Vol. 2: 15 X 1918–13 VI 1919. Foreword and editing by Janusz Faryś, Tomasz Sikorski, Adam Walczak and Adam Wątor, Szczecin 2013, p. 18; A. Hausner, *Die Polenpolitik der Mittelmächte...*, pp. 303–304.

54 A. Hausner, *Die Polenpolitik der Mittelmächte...*, p. 304.

55 J.M. Jampolski, *Wspomnienia z czasów okupacji austriackiej w Królestwie Polskim*, Kraków 1924, p. 42.

56 [J. Zdanowski], *Dziennik Juliusza Zdanowskiego...*, p. 21. Another attendee to this meeting described it in these words: "The transfer of power itself was outright idyllic. The kind General Lipošćak sincerely wished Poland the best future and said that he hoped Croats and Poles would again be joined in friendship under the sceptre of a common monarch. He teared up while giving his speech. I noticed a white and red ribbon on his cap (whether these were the Croatian colours I do not know; Yugoslavia did not exist yet). He was bid a very friendly goodbye by the Polish side, with wishes of good fortune for both him and Croatia." S. Łoś, *Świat się w mych oczach dwukrotnie zawałił...*, pp. 219–220.

57 A. Hausner, *Die Polenpolitik der Mittelmächte...*, pp. 312, 313–314, 316.

Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in Zagreb.<sup>58</sup> After his return to Zagreb, he tried to contact the National Council and its members. However, he was deemed to be an enemy of the new government and on 22 November, he and a group of officers were arrested and detained. He was accused of planning a coup; these events were dubbed the “Lipošćak Affair.”<sup>59</sup> The General was accused of organising a plot of former Austro-Hungarian officers whose goal was to introduce a military dictatorship. As for the details, there was a lot of speculation. Supposedly, the conspiracy involved supporters of the republic, but the conspirators were also suspected of pro-Habsburg sympathies and connections with Italy and Hungary. The organisers of the plot supposedly planned to abolish the National Council and to imprison its members, helped by councils consisting of officers, soldiers and peasants, which they intended to form. The “Lipošćak Affair” is viewed as an intrigue through which strong supporters of uniting the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs with the Kingdom of Serbia and the Kingdom of Montenegro who sat on the National Council wanted to sway their undecided colleagues. The conspiracy was announced on the eve of a meeting of the Council’s Central Committee (*Središnjeg odbora NV SHS*), during which unification was to be discussed; without doubt, this information impacted both the Central Committee members and the public mood. It made the task easier for the supporters of quick unification.

The charges made against Anton Lipošćak are questionable. He had been in Zagreb for too short a time, less than two weeks, which throws into doubt his ability to organise a conspiracy during this time window. He can hardly be suspected of contacts with the Hungarian and Italian governments. There is nothing to indicate his republican, let alone radical, tendencies. He was not trusted by these milieus; on the contrary, he was one of the Croatian officers who were harshly attacked by Miroslav Krleža, who was linked to the communists, during a meeting with Serbian officers organised in mid-November in Zagreb.<sup>60</sup> Although during a demonstration of supporters of the republic, which took place in Zagreb on 5 December, the protesters demanded his release, we must remember that most of them were soldiers of the 53<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment and the 25<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment of the Home Guard, and Anton Lipošćak had served in and commanded both of these units. His brothers had served there as well. As such, the General was well-known and popular with the demonstrating soldiers.<sup>61</sup> Accusing him of the intention to cre-

58 *Narodno vijeće Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba u Zagrebu 1918–1919. Izabrani dokumenti*, Eds.: Marina Štambuk-Škalić, Zlatko Matijević, Zagreb 2008, p. 401. The quoted telegram could not have been sent from Lublin on 12 November 1918; A. Lipošćak left Lublin in the morning of 8 November, passing through Vienna on 9 November (“Fremden-Blatt” no. 309 of 12 November 1918, p. 6 (Morgen Ausgabe), p. 6), on 12 November he was probably already in Zagreb.

59 More on this topic in T. Zorko, *Afera Lipošćak...*, pp. 887–902; B. Krizman, *Hrvatska u prvom svjetskom ratu. Hrvatsko-srpski politički odnosi*, Zagreb 1989, pp. 344–345.

60 M. Krleža, *Davni dani...*, pp. 489–490, 513, 516.

61 B. Krizman, *Hrvatska u prvom svjetskom ratu...*, pp. 368, 373. A. Lipošćak’s popularity with Croatian soldiers was reported by the press, see T. Zorko, *Afera Lipošćak...*, p. 895. A. Lipošćak served in the 53<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment in 1883–1886 and 1901–1903. The regiment was part of the 72<sup>nd</sup> Brigade, which he commanded in 1911–1913. The 25<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment of the Home Guard was part of the

ate councils of officers, soldiers and peasants was probably an incorrect interpretation of his conversation with the social democrat Vitomir Korač, during which he discussed the events which had taken place in Lublin in early November. The soldiers' councils which were being created there were headed by officers, for instance the chairman of the council created by German soldiers from Austria was the General Governorate's Chief of Staff and Lipošćak's closest aide, colonel Arthur Hausner. The General approved of this, supported Hausner and met with the council.<sup>62</sup> As General Governor, Lipošćak faced problems similar to those confronting the government of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. As mentioned above, while he was still in Poland, he repeatedly mentioned his fears about the future of Croatia, endangered by the consequences of the uncontrolled collapse of the Austro-Hungarian army.<sup>63</sup> We can guess that he wanted to give Korač advice and offered his cooperation, which Korač presented as an invitation to participate in a plot. There is no doubt that Anton Lipošćak was pro-Habsburg, which was the rule among Austro-Hungarian officers of Croatian descent, who combined a loyalist attitude with Croatian patriotism. His high rank and the respect he commanded meant that he could have seemed dangerous, which was used for propaganda purposes.

The events related to the "Lipošćak Affair" reveal the atmosphere among the members of the National Council and their attitude to the soldiers, in particular officers, of the former Austro-Hungarian army. The Croats serving in the Austro-Hungarian armed forces were loyal to and fought for the emperor almost until the end of the war.<sup>64</sup> This was especially true in the case of officers, many of whom held important positions, also in the occupational administration, mainly in the Balkans. This meant that the National Council, which was struggling with many internal and external problems, did not trust them, even those of them who declared their loyalty and took up the fight against Hungary for Croatia's borders. Their return to Zagreb was feared, as evidenced for instance by the treatment of the governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, General Stjepan Sarkotić, who was forced to leave the country. Anton Lipošćak's arrival in Zagreb may have strengthened these fears; the general, popular among the military men, was deemed dangerous and promptly isolated. Another consequence of the lack of trust in former Austro-Hungarian soldiers was the dissolution of the existing Croatian armed units. An excellent pretext for this was the soldiers' participation in the demonstration on 5 December 1918. This distrust also had an impact on the process of integration of former Austro-Hungarian officers into the army of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs.<sup>65</sup>

42<sup>nd</sup> Brigade, which he commanded in 1915–1916 and 1917. P. Lipošćak served in the 53<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment in 1889–1899, and in the 25<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment of the Home Guard in 1914–1918. K. Lipošćak served in the 53<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment in 1893–1897.

62 A. Hausner, *Die Polenpolitik der Mittelmächte...*, pp. 305–306, 313–314.

63 K.W. Kumaniecki, *Czasy lubelskie...*, pp. 93–94.

64 *Österreich-Ungarns letzter Krieg 1914–1918*, Bd. I, Wien 1931, p. 45.

65 More on this topic in H. Čapo, *Identifiability in Warfare: Croatian soldiers' multinational ambiance of service (1914–1918)*, "Review of Croatian History", 10, 2014, 1, pp. 23–46; H. Čapo, *Former*

Anton Lipošćak did not have a court trial, even though he demanded one, wishing to clear his name. No evidence of his guilt was presented. He was released in February 1919, but he remained under the surveillance of authorities in Mitrovica and Sisak for the next few months. He was not allowed to return to Zagreb until the second half of 1919. He was given a pension, which he also used to support his mother. Since the pension was modest, he took a job in the First Croatian Savings Bank (*Prva hrvatska štedionica*), where he was responsible for press relations.<sup>66</sup> He did not play any political role, although we can surmise that he had considerable standing among Croatian groups critical towards the policies of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. He was involved in social work, especially for the benefit of former soldiers and officers of the Austro-Hungarian army. He was the organiser and first chairman of the Association of Retired Officers and Military Officials in Croatia and Slavonia (*Udruga umirovljenih oficira i vojnih činovnika u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*). The organisation gathered not only former Austro-Hungarian soldiers; its creators stressed the apolitical character of the association (which was to provide assistance to former military men and their families) as well as its loyalty to the state authorities, but the latter were distrustful of it. In the end, the association was dissolved in summer 1923.<sup>67</sup> The general was also involved in the activity of the “Brothers of the Croatian Dragon” Association (*Družba “Braća Hrvatskoga Zmaja”*).<sup>68</sup>

Anton Lipošćak died on 24 July 1924, following a cancer surgery. His funeral on the Mirogoj Cemetery in Zagreb turned into a political demonstration attended not only by former Austro-Hungarian soldiers but by opposition politicians and civilians. He was buried in his Austro-Hungarian general’s uniform. He left behind his mother and brother Peter. His grave became a meeting point for Croatian politicians critical of the activities of the government in Belgrade.<sup>69</sup>

Anton Lipošćak’s chosen life path was typical of the milieu from which he came. For many young people from the Croatian Military Frontier, especially those from families with military traditions, service in the Austro-Hungarian army was the natural career path. They were able – like Anton Lipošćak – to marry loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty with Croatian patriotism. However, Lipošćak’s career was not typical. His abilities and hard work led him to achieve more than an average officer. He was not an exception; the careers of his slightly older compatriots Svetozar Borojević and

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*Austro-Hungarian officers in the army of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia*, “Review of Croatian History”, 5, 2009, 1, pp. 113–136; V. Huzjan, *Raspuštanje Hrvatskog domobranstva nakon završetka Prvog svjetskog rata*, “Časopis za suvremenu povijest”, 37, 2005, 2, pp. 445–465; J.P. Newman, *Yugoslavia in the Shadow of War. Veterans and the Limits of State Building, 1903–1945*, Cambridge 2015, pp. 116–129.

66 “Neues Wiener Tagblatt” no. 208 of 29 July 1924, p. 6; T. Zorko, *Afera Lipošćak...*, pp. 898–899.

67 “Die Draut” no. 71 of 27 March 1920, p. 3; J. P. Newman, *Yugoslavia in the Shadow of War...*, pp. 162–165.

68 “Villacher Zeitung” no. 52 of 29 June 1927, p. 6.

69 “Neues Wiener Tagblatt” no. 208 of 29 July 1924, p. 6; “Reichspost” no. 210 of 31 July 1924, pp. 5–6; “Neue Freie Presse” no. 21516 of 4 August 1924 (Abendblatt), p. 4; T. Zorko, *Afera Lipošćak...*, p. 900 J.P. Newman, *Yugoslavia in the Shadow of War...*, p. 172.

Stjepan Sarkotić were similar. As was the case of other high-ranking Croatian officers serving in the Austro-Hungarian army, Anton Lipošćak's career ended with the collapse of the Dual Monarchy. There was no place for them in the army of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. It admitted only three Austro-Hungarian generals, and they retired just a few years later.<sup>70</sup> Former Austro-Hungarian officers were distrusted and the "Lipošćak Affair" strengthened this feeling. The army of the Kingdom of Serbia, dominated by Serb officers, was the basis for creating the new state's armed forces and became the tool of Belgrade's centralistic policies.

Translated by Anna Sosenko.

#### SAŽETAK

#### **Anton Lipošćak – portret generala, vojnog guvernera u Poljskoj**

Obitelj Antona Lipošćaka potječe iz Vojne krajine. Njegov je otac, također Anton, bio časnik; poginuo je za vrijeme austro-pruskog rata 1866. godine. Obiteljske tradicije utjecale su na odluke sinova Antona starijega. Sva trojica braće, Anton, Petar i Karlo, otišli su u vojsku. Najuspješniju karijeru imao je najstariji među njima, Anton, koji je postigao čin generala pješništva. Promaknuća je nedvojbeno mogao zahvaliti vlastitim sposobnostima – niz škola i vojnih akademija završio je s odličnim uspjehom. Kao izvanredan časnik, raspoređen je na službu u Glavni stožer i Ministarstvo rata, a nekoliko je godina služio u austrougarskoj vojnoj obavještajnoj službi. Potom je otišao u Bosnu, gdje je također obnašao značajne dužnosti, prvo kao načelnik stožera 15. korpusa, a potom i načelnik štaba Generalnog inspektorata u Sarajevu. Tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata zapovijedao je postrojbama koje su se borile na Karpatima, prvo u Galiciji i Bukovini, a kasnije u Transilvaniji. Među njima je bila i 42. pješačka divizija Narodne obrane, sastavljena od Hrvata. Vojnici su ga smatrali dobrim zapovjednikom, ali njegovi nadređeni nisu uvijek dijelili to mišljenje. Posljednje godine rata Anton Lipošćak obnašao je dužnost vojnog generalnog guvernera – upravljao je područjem Kraljevine Poljske koje je okupirala austrougarska vojska. Pokazalo se da je dobar administrator. Uspio je pridobiti i simpatije Poljaka, kojima je predao vlast u Lublinu prvih dana studenoga 1918. Nakon povratka u Hrvatsku general Anton Lipošćak uhićen je i optužen za pokušaj organiziranja vojnog udara, koji mu nikada nije bio dokazan. Sve ukazuje na to da je ta "afera Lipošćak" bila jedna politička intriga. Posljednje godine života general Lipošćak je proveo u Zagrebu, radeći kao službenik Prve hrvatske štedionice.

**Glavne riječi:** Anton Lipošćak, Habsburška Monarhija, Hrvati, austro-ugarska vojska, Lublin, Poljska

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70 H. Čapo, *Former Austro-Hungarian officers...*, p. 133.