

On the occasion of anti-Serb demonstrations in Dubrovnik *Il Dalmata* gave a comment full of sting against the Croats. Newspaper asked the Croats where their determination to protect the Serbs which they showed against the Italians was. The Serbian flag was removed by “imperative order” of the district governor addressed to the mayor of Dubrovnik, whom the newspaper asked where the freedom, the municipal autonomy and “other nice things” were. The mayor went to Zadar to seek help from the Regency and to ask: “What is left of Slavic reciprocity?”³⁴ The newspaper accused the Croats of sectarianism even in expressing sadness because they played the Croatian anthem “Lijepa naša” at the memorial in Kotor even in these situations in order to “provoke”. As the Belgrade *Pijemont* wrote and *Il Dalmata* reported, the Austrian clericals and spies were the demonstrators and not the Croats.

As a remedy for the revolutionary mood of high school students’ and youth the newspaper sought tougher discipline in schools, and by the way viciously mentioned cases of anarchy in Croatian schools throughout Dalmatia, to which *Narodni list* responded by calling the writing of *Il Dalmata* “police-like and shameful”.³⁵

Risorgimento followed the anti-Serb demonstrations with considerable attention. In the first issue after the assassination a great editorial about the “Yugoslavian lie” was written. The article presented a number of ideas of which the most important one was that the idea of Yugoslav nationalism was very young, resulting in the Balkan wars, and that the Croats joined the triumph of the Serbian army as “parasites”, but it should be recognized that a certain portion of Croats did not recognize the Serbian supremacy, and these were the clerical Catholics who “hated” the Serbs. However, anti-Serb demonstrations showed n all the make-believe of Yugoslav nationalism, which was based only on sentiment and disappeared in blood. Of course, *Risorgimento* mocked the so-called brotherhood of Serbs and Croats, and claimed that the promoters of the Yugoslav idea had forgotten how different the people who should form the new nation were.³⁶ The newspaper noted that the idea of austroslavism, which *Risorgimento* connected with the trialism should be a counterweight to the irredentist Serbian policy, which the Austrian ruling circles wanted. The newspaper asked weather Austria could rely on the loyalty of Croats who shouted “Long live King Peter of Croatia” two years before, and now they were attacking the Serbs and insulting King Peter.³⁷

³⁴ “Ancora delle dimostrazioni anti-serbe”, *DAL*, No. 44, 11 July 1914.

³⁵ “Anarchia scolastica”, *DAL*, No. 45, 15 July 1914; and “Preturski duh” [“The spirit of policeman”], *NL*, No. 57, 18 July 1914. *Narodni list* goes on to accuse and claims that the “*Il Dalmata*” goal of writing is: “They always criticize the government: those are the fruits of the Croatianization of schools in Dalmatia! As if Dalmatia had to stay a monster in the world, out of the governments love for the Lapenns askeri: Italian schools for the Croatian population!”

³⁶ “La menzogna jugoslava”, *RIS*, No. 253, 4 July 1914.

³⁷ “Facce dello slavismo”, *RIS*, No. 254, 11 July 1914.

The descriptions of demonstrations bear the clear anti-Croat tone of *Risorgimento*. It mocked the Frankist obstruction in the Croatian Parliament and used harsh words in the article “The tenderness of the Croats”³⁸, in which it accused the clerical leadership of the Rightists for organizing demonstrations and the helplessness of Smodlaka to resist it in Split because his “empire” ended with the end of the city.³⁹ The newspaper expressed surprise in the violence of the demonstrations in Dubrovnik, in that “Republican” city and “the center of the Dalmatian Serbianism”.⁴⁰ *Risorgimento* was particularly sharp on the writing of *Sloboda* from Split on the fictional Zadar demonstrations. The answer was that Zadar was an Italian city with ancient tradition of civility and such an event could not happen in it.⁴¹

The largest part of the Dalmatian newspapers condemned the anti-Serb demonstrations, except for the ones of the right orientation such as *Hrvatska kruna*.⁴² Every newspaper had condemned these events out of their particular interests. *Narodni list* was a strong advocate of the Croatian-Serbian national unity in the period immediately before the First World War. It believed that the Croats could solve their nation’s problems only in close collaboration with the Serbs. Breaking the Croatian-Serbian Unity, which was one of the goals of anti-Serbian demonstrations, for that newspaper meant the return to previous periods of fruitless friction between Croats and Serbs. Semi-official *Smotra* could not tolerate anarchy and legal uncertainty even though it used the anti-Serb statements as a response to the Serbian policy of most South Slavic politicians. *Il Dalmata* condemned the riots in the name of principles of justice, and in that way wanted to show that the Italians were the only allies of the Serbs in Croatia. *Risorgimento* condemned the demonstration as an anticivilized act which was not possible in Zadar, which was governed by the “Italian” civilization and culture, rejoicing the collapse of the Yugoslav idea to which the Croats fled as “parasites”.

Hrvatska kruna positively described the anti-Serb demonstrations although the main bulletin of Starčević’s Rightist party *Hrvat* convicted them. With this writing *Hrvatska kruna* had neared politically to Frankists and their attitude towards the Serbs. The reasons are numerous. Firstly, *Hrvatska kruna* never adopted the policy of national unity with the Serbs, not even a policy of active cooperation with them. The idea of the Yugoslav state union was never positively

³⁸ “Gentilezza Croata”, *RIS*, No. 254.

³⁹ “Cronaca della provincia – Da Spalato”, *RIS*, No. 254.

⁴⁰ “Anche a Ragusa”: “Sono avvenute assai gravi dimostrazioni antiserbe se credeva generalmente che Ragusa fosse la Mecca del serbismo dalmati, che in lei, nutriato di tradizioni repubblicane, si fosse accumulata la fiera della stirpe anelante alla indipendenza. Invece le dimostrazioni furono a Ragusa molto più gravi che a Spalato (...)”, *RIS*, No. 254.

⁴¹ “La ‘Sloboda’”, *RIS*, No. 254.

⁴² Anti-Serb demonstrations were supported by *Dan* from Split (newspaper close to Frankist views) and Rightist newspaper from Dubrovnik *Prava Crvena Hrvatska*.

treated in *Hrvatska kruna*. Secondly, Franz Ferdinand was portrayed as an advocate of the idea of trialism, and a shot at him meant a shot in the Croatian interests, an idea going through the writing of *Hrvatska kruna*. The third reason is of local nature. Namely, Rightists in the Zadar area were the main fighters in Croatinizing Zadar and were the only to have the native Croatian population alongside them (Arbanasi, Croatian villages around Zadar, the island's municipalities and municipality Nin), and the cooperation of the Serbian population in Zadar would fail despite the Zadar resolution, which contributed to further mistrust of most of Zadar Croats in local Serbs. The fourth reason lies in parties. *Hrvatska kruna* wrote against the respective municipal authorities in its letters, beside the anti-Serbian tone of the demonstration, who were ruled by the Croatian Party in cooperation with the Croatian People's Progressive Party.

It should be noted that the Dalmatian public was not expecting a declaration of war. According to the Serbian newsletter *Dubrovnik* dated July 13th, 1914, "The punishment of Serbia for the Greater Serbian propaganda is requested. This sudden ultimatums over the kike [[derogatory term for Jews] -Viennese press are a little strange, and sound almost ridiculous. So ... you will get no note or ultimatum."⁴³

Declaration of War, July 28th, 1914

Psychosis of uncertainty gripped Dalmatia even before a formal declaration of war. Four days before the declaration of war, on July 24, 1914, *Hrvatska kruna* announced that a news on the attempted bombing of the Regency was spreading through Zadar. Apparently an Albanian with a bomb was arrested in Arbanasi. One of the consequences of the alleged bombing was that from that point on one could only enter the Regency after a check up. There is no confirmation of such news in the available archives, but the news had been screened, so the question is whether the government placed that rumor so that it would be easier to introduce security measures at the governor's office. Later it was determined that a certain Lukšić, a returnee from America, was falsely accused of the bomb threat, and was "beaten to death" by the crowd.⁴⁴ On the eve of the declaration of war, the Ministry of Finance issued the instruction on July 27th, 1914 to the Financial Guard with a coded telegram under the "strictly confidential" mark, instructing them "not to be considerate as they were while securing the border and to prevent the emigration of individuals."⁴⁵

⁴³ "Poslije izvršenog atentata – Beč, 13. Jula" ["After the assassination - Vienna, 13 July"], *Dubrovnik*, No. 21, 16 July 1914. The press of pro-Yugoslav and Serbian orientation in Dalmatia often had anti-Semitic writings.

⁴⁴ "Glasovi o bombam u Zadru" ["Voices of bombs in Zadar"], *HK*, No. 59-60, 25 July 1914. "Apšjenja" ["Arrests"], *HK*, No. 61, 29 July 1914.

⁴⁵ Državni arhiv u Zadru (State Archives in Zadar, hereinafter DAZD), Spisi Pokrajinskog finan-

The declaration of the Austro-Hungarian war to Serbia July 28, 1914 prompted anti-Serb demonstrations even in Zadar. Demonstrations took place in front of the the “Srpska čitaonica” and the Episcopal residence, when the glass in the windows started to break, and the Orthodox priest was physically attacked.⁴⁶ At the beginning of the war, the Serbian community in the city felt unsafe and even Serbian leaders in the city, like the deputy of the Imperial Council Dušan Baljak, feared for their safety. Therefore Baljak was afraid to walk alone along the waterfront fearing that the police might push him into the sea to drown. Otherwise, Baljak later enthusiastically came to the Italian consul in mid-August of 1914 following the Serbian victories in the battle of Cerska.⁴⁷ Anti-Serb statements emerged after the formal session of the Zadar Municipal Council, July 29th, when the citizens of Zadar expressed loyalty to the ruler. During the ending of the session someone shouted “Down with Serbia!”. Thereafter, Mayor Ziliotto asked all those present “to look that their patriotism statements exemplify the cultured world and let no one mix the state of Serbia, against which we heard a shout the previous moment, with a part of our fellow citizens who are also loyal subjects of the state and the emperor, and who are ready as we are to seize weapons against a country with which we are now at war”.⁴⁸

While the leadership of the Zadar Italians tried to avoid clashes with Serbs in the town and acted on their membership in that direction, conflicts with Zadar Croats continued. Bengal shows were organized in Zadar on September 2nd, even during the temporary Austrian victories in early September of 1914 against the Russians in Galicia. During the celebration there was singing in Croatian, which the Italian majority in the city did not want to endure. There was an anti-Croatian protest in which even women participated.⁴⁹ However, due to fears of anti-Serb actions the Serbian flag was removed from the building of the National Committee. By the end of the war, the Dalmatian, Croatian and Habsburg black and yellow state flag would be flying for which there was no room at the front of the building before the war.⁵⁰

The decision of the authorities to ban the ringing from of the Zadar churches for three days contributed to the general feeling of insecurity. After the dec-

cijskog ravnateljstva [Files of the Provincial Financial Directorate, (hereinafter Fin)], vo. 82, No. 4135/14.

⁴⁶ “Pred srpskom čitaonicom i episkopskom residencijom” [“In front of the Serbian reading room and the Episcopal residence”], *HK*, No. 61, 29 July 1914.

⁴⁷ Antonino D’Alia, *Aneddoti ed episodi dell’ irredentismo italiano in Dalmazia* (Rome, 1930), p. 20.

⁴⁸ “Svečana sjednica občinskog vieća u Zadru” [“Ceremonial Meeting of the Municipal Council in Zadar”], *HK*, No. 62, 1 August 1914.

⁴⁹ “Bakljada radi pobjede našeg oružja” [“Bengals because of the victory of our arms”] and “Nizki instinkti(!)” [“Low instincts(!)”], *HK*, No. 72, 5 September 1914.

⁵⁰ “Ne više srpska” [“No more Serbian”], *HK*, No. 86, 24 October 1914.

laration of war, the people sought solace in God, so the churches in Zadar filled with people.⁵¹ Masses were held for the victory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A prayer for the ruler and a prayer “in time of war” was introduced at quiet masses.⁵² A sense of insecurity had inspired people to replace paper money with silver equivalent in the branch of the Austro-Hungarian Bank in Zadar. To prevent the outflow of precious metals from the State Treasury:

“The Regency has issued the necessary measures to explain that there is no any imminent financial crisis and to reassure the population. It is unfortunate that among them there is a good part of the population of civil servants that instil the people with more fear that necessary to reassure the population”.⁵³

Tragicomic situations occurred such as a peasant being arrested who was suspicious because he hung around the monastery. Later it was established that the peasant sought monks for a confession.⁵⁴

“Six hours before the declaration of war”, on July 28th, 1914 the Austrian authorities arrested the progressive oriented youth: Antonio Filipić, Ivo Svetec, Đivo Višić, Marko Valčić, Špiro Čakić, Vinko Vladović and Ivo Marković. After the arrest they were taken to internment in Maribor and subsequently transferred to Göllersdorf near Vienna. 48 men and 42 women were incarcerated in the Zadar prison for political reasons up to August 14th, and then they were transferred to Rijeka with the steamer “Višegrad”. Among the prisoners there were known Dalmatian political workers of Serbian and Yugoslav orientation: Melko Čingrija, archpriest Sava Barbić, Anthony Pugliesi, Maja Nižetić-Čulić, Jerko Čulić, Niko Bartulović, Oskar Tartaglia i Dimitri Kačić.⁵⁵ Among those arrested was a longtime opponent of the Rightists and Yugoslav-oriented politician Dr. Jerko Machiedo, Member of the Dalmatian Parliament and assessor of the National Committee. Machiedo was arrested on charges that he urged the soldier from Poličnik not to perform his duties. Although he was acquitted three months later, Machiedo did end up in internment. The Regency requested, under the “strictly confidential” label, that the National Committee replace Jerko Machiedo as the member of the Provincial school

⁵¹ “Zavezana i razvezana zvana” [“Tied up and untied bells”], *HK*, br. 61, 29 July 1914; and “Narod se Bogu utiče” [“The people are influenced by God”], *HK*, No. 62, 1 August 1914.

⁵² “Crkvena vlast je naredila” [“The church authorities have ordered”], *HK*, br. 62, 1 August 1914; and “Svečana misa za pobjedu austrougarskog oružja” [“Solemn Mass for the victory of the Austro-Hungarian arms”], *HK*, No. 63, 4 August 1914.

⁵³ DAZD, Fin, vo. 82, No. 4626/14.

⁵⁴ “Fantazija” [“Fantasy”], *HK*, No. 63, 4 August 1914.

⁵⁵ Ljubo Jurković –Kosta Milutinović, “Jugoslavenski nacionalno-revolucionarni omladinski pokret u Zadru (1910.-1914.)”, [Yugoslav national-revolutionary youth movement in Zadar (1910-1914)] *Zadarska revija*, XV, br. 1, (Zadar, 1965), 25. Regency forwarded a command of the KÚA prohibiting the publication of news about the arrest of political suspects. DAZD, Presidijalni spisi namjesništva [Presidial documents of the Regency (hereinafter PSN)], vo. 699, No. 57/geh (classified), 27 August 1914.

Council because, remarking sarcastically, “although they hope he will prove his innocence they still expect his reputation will suffer and therefore seek another member in the Council”.⁵⁶ Prodan had no understanding for political detainees, but described them as “rot” that the “unfortunate Serbs threw in our nation”.⁵⁷ By the end of July 1914 the total number of arrested in Dalmatia was: 4 representatives on the Imperial Council, 5 representatives of the Dalmatian Parliament, 16 Catholic and Orthodox priests, 17 lawyers and notaries, 5 doctors and pharmacists, 33 merchant bankers and traders, 13 professors and teachers, 14 private clerks, seven journalists, 16 state, land and municipal clerks, 32 landowners, 12 students and more girls and ladies, among which two were lactating and over 200 villagers. All were taken to Maribor.⁵⁸

At the beginning of the war the temporary victories of the Austrian army were celebrated by the general decoration of the city, by playing marches of the municipal music, special illuminations, numerous telegrams-congratulations. As the war continued the manifest celebration would gradually be held less and less. Indeed, decoration of the city would be organized only by orders.⁵⁹

During 1914 Dalmatia was not so open to attacks, except for minor assaults of the French Navy on the islands of Šipan and Vis. The situation was much different in the Bay of Kotor, that directly bordered with the hostile Montenegro. Commander of the Lovćen Detachment Adjutant General Mitar Martinović surrendered the note at the turn Trojica on August 8th at 8.49 a.m. to the military commander of Kotor, thus starting the warfare within six hours of the surrender of the note: “The dispute of the Austro-Hungarian Empire with the Serbian nation moves into open hostility within six hours after the receipt of the newspaper. We are awoken with the feelings of humanity to give you this knowledge so that you promptly get out from the town of Kotor in a safe place or shelter all noncombatants, i.e. women, weak (!), children, the elderly and the sick, and so that the humanitarian and religious buildings are not damaged, please mark them with visible signs as directions to our artillery”. The military commander of Kotor Bata registered that the population left the city on August 8th but that it is slowly returning. Writing about the military-political situation in Kotor, district governor Budisavljević noble Prijedor writes about

⁵⁶ DAZD, PSN, vo. 681, No. 6397/1914.

⁵⁷ “Dr. Mahciedo uapšen” [“Dr. Machiedo arrested”], *HK*, No. 64, 8 August 1914; and [“Dr. Jerko Machiedo”], *HK*, No. 93, 18 November 1914.

⁵⁸ “Politička progostva u Dalmaciji” [“Political persecutions in Dalmatia”], *NL*, No. 62, 4 August 1917.

⁵⁹ “Radi pobjede” [“In order to win”], and “Čestitali sun a pobjedam zapovjedniku Potioreku” [Commander Potiorek was congratulated on his winnings], *HK*, No. 91, 21 November 1914. Regency ordered the principalities to “in occasion of great success of our brave army against Italy we command general decoration tomorrow on 23 of May on the anniversary day of the announced war”. PSN, vo. 687, no number.

Montenegro's warning: "But as experience has shown that the Montenegrin grenades and shrapnel have not been spared, but quite the contrary aimed primarily at buildings having white flags (referring to the Montenegrin attack on Skadar 1912/1913, AN) etc. so there is a general suspicion that Montenegro, if it comes to the bombing of Kotor and the surrounding area, will try to target and destroy just the Catholic churches and cultural and other buildings in this episode, especially where Croats (Catholics) reside." After the declaration of war, the district government of Kotor moved to Herceg Novi.⁶⁰

Montenegrin attack on the Bay of Kotor acted indirectly on Zadar. The city took hundreds of refugees from the Bay, and the director of Kotor gymnasium Vilim Gross replaced the retired Marcel Kušar on the position of the director of the Croatian gymnasium in Zadar.⁶¹

Mobilisation

In historiography, as well as in the conversation, the efficiency of the Austrian government is often highlighted.⁶²

In principle, we can agree with this statement, but there are cases when disbelief follows disorganization and inefficiency of public administration. It is more surprising when it happens during recruitment. Specifically, the archival material shows that the military authorities who have dealt with recruitment did not have data on dead recruits or those who have emigrated abroad. Police Department of the district government is overwhelmed with reports of military organs failing to respond to the mobilization precisely in these cases. We can also mention the incredible cases. The army reported Ernest Bauer (1869) for his non-response to mobilization. Bauer was a clerk in the governor's office (the highest civilian authority in Dalmatia) and went to Drniš during the evacuation of the Regency offices and half a year after the evacuation (January 1916) the military authorities did not know anything. Or a complaint against Venceslav Stermich for whom the army did not know that he was the Zadar Municipal assessor and thus exempted from conscription.⁶³ Of course, there are anonymous tips by locals of conscripts that failed to respond because of

⁶⁰ DAZD, PSN, vo. 681, No. 4290, 1914.

⁶¹ "Promjena na upravi Hrvatske gimnazije u Zadru" ["The change in administration of the Croatian gymnasium in Zadar"], *HK*, No. 85, 21 October 1914.

⁶² By December 1914, 1 117 military conscripts of the peoples uprising were mobilized from Zadar. It looked like this according to municipalities: Nin - 136, Rovinj - 82, Zadar - 490, Pag - 93, Silba - 49, Rab - 86 and municipality Sali - 62 soldiers. "How many soldiers were taken from the peoples uprising", *HK*, No. 98, 5 December 1914.

⁶³ DAZD, Kotarsko poglavarstvo u Zadru [A district government in Zadar (hereinafter KPZ)], vo. 291, No. 32406/16, 32577/16.

personal or political hatred as reporting of Pag people being an “Italian nation” because of their avoidance of military service.⁶⁴

In addition to all principle positions on the general susceptibility to military service, the tenure in the governor’s office allowed many officials to be exempt from military service. Among those freed from military service was Peter Kasandrić, editor of the semiofficial *Smotra dalmatinska*, who for his entire editorial mandate was officially listed and received a salary as a computational clerk.⁶⁵ Essential professionals or wealthy owners of agricultural enterprises were freed from military service, such as the director of the Veresien National Institute Franjo Žižka, or a master for plows Antun Stipter as well as mill owners Doimo Busolich and Michele Bakmazs. Some tried to show their economic activity as necessary requisite, for example Nino Detoni, manufacturer of ice. The Regency refused his request by pointing out that during the 1915 and 1916 his factory worked very little and that he imported ice from Šibenik.⁶⁶ Right at the beginning of the war, in August 1914 the authorities, by order of the Military Command of Mostar, took action of evidencing cars in order of possible mobilization of vehicles. In Zadar out of 21 vehicles, 12 vehicles that were privately owned and 5 vehicles that were owned by the transport company “Autobus” were mobilised. Estimated value of each vehicle ranged from 10,400 to 15,000 krana.⁶⁷ The vehicles were requisitioned and added to the company “Autobus” that was responsible for a variety of services for the army (the transportation of mail and soldiers). The increased scope of action soon led to shortages of gasoline, and the management of the company contacted the governor’s office to assist them in the procurement of gasoline as it would otherwise had to stop its postal service in Northern Dalmatia. Also, due to mobilization, the company was left without a mechanic. The problem was not only in the purchase of gasoline but in tires as well and during the 1915 and 1916 their requisition was exercised.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ DAZD, KPZ, vo. 291, No. 59628/15.

⁶⁵ DAZD, KPZ, vo. 316, No. 42343, 5 October 1917. and No. 42613, 9 October 1917.

⁶⁶ DAZD, KPZ, vo. 318, No. 46565, 10 December 1917; No. 46894, 13 December 1917; No. 46192, 4 December 1917; No. 47490, 26 December 1917. Also, the governor of the Zadar Municipality Škarić directly addressed the military command in Mostar to release Lovro Babić, pasta producer, from military service. The Regency warned Kotar government to prevent future direct communication of municipalities with military commands because it exceeds their competence. DAZD, KPZ, vo. 318, No. 46760 and 45725/1917.

⁶⁷ Zadar wealthy persons, owners of the mobilized vehicles: Giuseppe Mazzoni, conte Begna, Giuseppe Perlini, Dr. Carlo Hoerberth Antonio Perlini, Konrad Röpper, Mestrovich Antonio, Antonio Marušić, Manfred Borelli, Vladović, Dante Benevenia and owner of an illegible name. Governor of Obrovac Milan Urukalo brought his vehicle. DAZD, KPZ, vol. 276, No. 19637/1914. Dante Benevenia has a “Puch” motorcycle with strength of two horsepower. Most of these owners have drivers, while Counts Begna and Borelli were themselves drivers.

⁶⁸ DAZD, KPZ, vo. 276, No. 1117/1914. No. 1256/1914. and vo. 276, No. 27449/1916.

The requisition of horses and mules had significant social and economic effects on the Dalmatian village. Municipalities were required to keep records of horse owners and supervise them. The requisition of horses was done in Zemunik since the beginning of the war until February 1915, so over 1,000 horses were seized. The price of each horse is evident from the requisition archives. The average price was between 550 and 600 crowns, while the army paid the owners over 623,000 crowns. Requisition continued throughout the war. Saddle manufacturers Fabulich and Piccolo were paid almost 10,000 crowns for confiscated products.⁶⁹

Political control

The day before the declaration of war a new central office for monitoring in time of war was formed in Vienna (*Kriegüberwachungsamt*, abbreviated KÜA). The office had accommodation in the building of the Ministry of War, while the board members were representatives of several ministries (Foreign Affairs, Interior, Finance, Trade, Land defense, Justice). Activity of the Office was to monitor all anti-state activities, and "service was performed day and night continuously".⁷⁰ Among the first steps of the Office was warning all state security organs that the Monarchy had a lot of subversive elements, and that special attention should be paid to protecting telegram and telephone lines, railways and water supply. However, during 1914, the sources did not encounter any subversive acts in Dalmatia. The governor hired Zadar and Arbanas Italianissimies⁷¹ to protect the Zadar pipeline.⁷² To strengthen the security forces in the field, authorities engaged additional manpower in the service of the gendarmerie from the ranks of officers and members of the people uprising. A particularly difficult situation was in Split where, as assessed by the authorities, 5 marshals from Zadar came to assist the local police department during 1914.⁷³

The declaration of war led to changes in the supervision of the printing of newspapers because it represented an important segment of state propaganda. For example, military headquarters in Mostar, asked of the Regency to publish a notice in *Smotra* that women could participate in the police service.⁷⁴ The proof

⁶⁹ DAZD, KPZ, vo. 290, No. 11618/14, 556-res/15.

⁷⁰ DAZD, Fin, vo. 82, No. 4437, 2 August 1914.

⁷¹ Italianissimi - members of the society Società dei bersaglieri, sports and propaganda association of Italian orientation.

⁷² DAZD, Fin, vo. 82, No. 4573/14.

⁷³ Zadar gendarmes arrived in Split on 21 March 1914 and certainly did not come back until the end of October of the same year. DAZD, Presidial documents of the Regency, vo. 680, No. 3850, 14 July 1914. Regarding additional gendarmes, the state could not provide a sufficient number of uniforms so they wore a black band with yellow border which said „Gendarme“, DAZD, Presidial documents of the Regency, vo. 681, No. 5418, 14 September 1914.

⁷⁴ DAZD, PSN, vo. 683, No. 7305/14.

of the official character of *Smotra* is in the fact that in the Regency orders there was always a note “to publish in *Smotra*”.⁷⁵ Before the war, newspapers were censored after leaving the press, while the repressive organs performed quite unsuccessfully, subsequent seizure of editions, and now introduced preventive censorship. This meant that the printed copy of the newspaper was carried to the censorship office at the State Attorney’s Office that gave permission for printing. White patches were left on the site of seized articles or parts of articles. Newspapers did not go into distribution in the morning but in the afternoon when the censor process was finished. Number of seized articles varied from 1 to 6, as in *Hrvatska kruna*.⁷⁶ Precisely the censorship prevented the press to truthfully report on the defeat of the Austrian army in Serbia (“Cer battle” - August 1914) but the news of the defeat was announced indirectly through the news of the arrival of wounded to Zadar and the heroism of the Austrian army on Cer.⁷⁷ In August 1914 the Austrian authorities introduced the censorship of newspapers from Italy. Regency determined that “all newspapers in Italy should be given to the main post office in Zadar, and from there to the police department in Zadar for censorship”. Same procedure was intended for “Slavic-American” newspapers, or newspapers of South Slav immigrants.⁷⁸ However, authorities were familiar with the fact that the distribution of Italian newspapers was still unfolding throughout Dalmatia. They suspected postal clerks, for example, a postal controller in Split, Albert Knight de Beden while the newspaper were smuggled across the Italian steamships that came to Zadar.⁷⁹ The main office for defensive spying in Zadar received Italian newspaper *Corriere della sera* and *Avanti* through the Austro-Hungarian consulate in Switzerland for the purpose of monitoring activities of Austrian citizens abroad. However, even such specimens were not safe from abuse. The Office complained to the Directorate of mail and telegraphs that some numbers were missing, and the resulting numbers were in such a condition that it could be concluded they were previously read. In addition to the prohibition of receiving newspapers from hostile countries, receiving newspapers from neutral countries was also strictly overseen. The postal censorship went so far as to stop the Vatican official gazette *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* received by Giovanni de Borzatti, auxiliary bishop of Zadar.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ DAZd, PSN, vo. 681, No. 7181/1914, 6150/1914, 6074/1914, 6033/1914, 5134/1914.

⁷⁶ “Naš list” [“Our newspaper”], *HK*, No. 67, 19 August 1914.

⁷⁷ “Ranjenici u Zadru” [“Wounded in Zadar”] and “Ratnik o bitci na 15. kolovoza” [“Soldier talking about the battle of August 15th”], *HK*, No. 77, 23 September 1914.

⁷⁸ DAZD, PSN, vo. 683, No. 5099/14.

⁷⁹ DAZd, PSN, vo. 683, No. 5874/14. and No. 6810/14. Themistocles Rongier was arrested and sentenced to five days in prison in Zadar on the 23rd December 1914 for smuggling *Corrie della sera*. Simonelli points out “it is an open secret that foreign, Monarchy opposing newspapers are being smuggled into the city”. DAZd, PSN, vo. 685, No. 232/14.

⁸⁰ DAZd, Misc., vo. 18, pos. 28, No. K89-105/15.

At the beginning of the war a special measure of state control of citizens' activities was introduced through military courts. Their activity expanded on December 16th, 1914 and included 11 areas:⁸¹

1. a) Wrongdoing of treason, b) crime of accomplice in treason, c) crime of accomplice in treason by deliberate omission to report
2. Crime against the military power of the state
3. Crime of disturbing the public peace
4. Crime of uprising
5. Crime of revolt
6. Crime of violence against public officials or on railways, telegraphs and telephones
7. Crime of murder
8. Serious bodily injury
9. Crime of Robbery
10. Crime of arson at military facilities
11. Providing assistance for the above offenses.

From this it is evident that the military authorities had taken practically most of the civilian judicial authority, and thus expanded its jurisdiction over the civilians.

Austrian authorities considered Serbian political organizations and pro-Yugoslav oriented individuals and society as their greatest political opponents. Austrian authorities did not meddle in organizations impacted by a dominant Rightist ideology. It is clear from the letter of the Dubrovnik district governor Renkin to the Regency in which he justified the disbarment "of Italian and Serbian societies" (the letter was written in September 1915 after the outbreak of war with Italy). According to Renkin, societies should be disbanded to "preserve the emotion present in the loyal Croatian layers (Rightists, AN), that all these societies were aimed against state interests". Or, according to the report of the Split governor Lane, "Hrvatski sokol" in Kaštel Sućurac was disbanded because of its Rightist orientation although its society president Ivan Alfirević was sentenced to a month because of anti-state statements. The clearest stance of Austrian authorities toward the falcon societies was by the military command in Sarajevo in a telegram to the governor's office. According to it, "Serbian falcon societies should be disbanded forever, compromised Croatian falcon societies too, their property managed and curators appointed. Leave the remaining (Dalmatian, author's comment) five Rightist falcon societies but keep constant surveillance

⁸¹ DAZd, Misc., vo. 19, pos. 22, No. 7131/14.

on them”⁸² Immediately after the declaration of war with Serbia, the authorities disbanded the “Srpski sokol”, “Hrvatski sokol” and “Hrvatsko akademsko društvo” (Society of Zadar Croatian and Serbian students).

During the disbandment of “Hrvatski akademski klub” in Zadar, the Regency opened a special file on the club. The file shows that the Austrian authorities followed the actions of the society even before the war. A particularly incriminating move of the club was the organization of marking the anniversary of the death of Petar Zrinski and Fran Krsto Frankopan. At the memorial service in 1914 it was allegedly said that for 243 years people who speak Croatian have been enveloped in grief (the anniversary was attended by Zadar Serbs, and therefore the formulation of the Croatian people was omitted). The speech ended with the statement that “our blood is overcome by the Italian and German lordship”. “Hrvatski akademski klub” was extremely active during the death of Serbian scientist and publicist Jovan Skerlić, the progressive icon of the South Slavic unity. The club participated in the commemoration for Skerlić, sent a telegram of condolence to the family and authorized the Belgrade university youth to represent them at the funeral, which in its own way speaks about previous contacts of the “Klub” with the Belgrade university students.⁸³

Austrian security services monitored the anarchists, opponents of war and military obligations. According to Austrian sources, only two anarchists operated in Zadar, Vjekoslav Collodrovich, a shoemaker by trade, and Fortunato Stanicich, server. Both were indicated to be non-believers. They were allegedly dangerous because they could come into contact with a known anarchist from Trieste Marcel Bol who was monitored by safety authorities.⁸⁴

Newspapers were forbidden to disclose the information that might give information about the military strength of the country. The privacy of correspondence was abolished. All letters had to be submitted and opened and were subject to censorship. They must not be written in non-European languages, and incomprehensible acronyms must not be used. Letters were subject to censorship of the Military - censor post-office in Zadar (*KuK Militär-Brief-Zensur in Zara*). In the case of letters coming from overseas to sender, the Military censors asked for a report to the Kotar government, more accurately its Police department of political opportunism for delivering letters to the addressee.⁸⁵ The population was instructed not to be afraid of enemy aircrafts, explaining that the aircrafts could not fly at night, and the scope of their flight was limited by the

⁸² DAZD, PSN, vo. 683, No. 183/15., vo. 687, No. 649/16. and Misc. vo. 18, pos. 32, No. R-649-31, 25 April 1916.

⁸³ DAZD, PSN, vo. 683, No. 6281/14.

⁸⁴ DAZD, PSN, vo. 683, No. 647/12.

⁸⁵ DAZD, Misc., vo. 18, pos. 28.

amount of gasoline. Citizens were supposed to report any information about the “flying machines” to military commanders.⁸⁶

A more far-reaching decision was of the Marine Government of Trieste of August 4th 1914 that prohibited fishing, except in the area one mile of the coast. The decision destabilized the supply of population with fish, and especially hit the island population that largely lived off fishing.⁸⁷ Dalmatia was hit even harder by a decision to ban the steamship navigation from August 16th, 1914. Steamship navigation would be permitted only with the consent of the Navy (Command in Šibenik).⁸⁸ Maritime government in Trieste amended the command with a decision from September 26th 1914 that entering the harbor is only permitted by day.⁸⁹ Communication control was extensive. In addition to the newspapers being placed under censorship, free telephone traffic was interrupted⁹⁰, mail was monitored, while the state administration conducted a census of the owners of pigeons, to avoid possibly sending of messages via pigeons.⁹¹ An Italian memoir writing from the First World War established that the military authorities were promoters of stronger repression than the civilian government. Confirmation for this hypothesis was the appointment of a censorship committee for telegrams. Regency endorsed the appointment of Martin conte Viskovich, high official of the Regency for the member of the censorship committee. However, command in Sarajevo vetoed the decision, stating that Viskovich spent some time with Ghiglianovich before the war. Formal investigation was launched and Viskovich was acquitted. However, he was given a shadow of doubt, and therefore was not appointed as a member of the censorship committee.⁹² Also, military command in Mostar warned the police in Zadar that there were two groups of politically suspicious citizens. The first group consisted of Zadar Serbs and Serbian minded individuals, and the other group was of the Italian orientation. The first group included Orthodox priest Parent, father in law of the organizers of the “Yugoslav student union” Filipović, a lawyer Desnica, Marko Car, an official at the National Committee (writer and a Serb-Catholic, author’s comment), an Orthodox priest Raketić and Božičković, employer of the company “Autobus”. The second group included Krekich (financial advisor), professor Domiacussich and a port official Perić. Both groups walked the Kalelarga and military command asked if there was any contact between them. The district government responded that the police was aware of these groups, but denied contact between the two groups.⁹³

⁸⁶ DAZD, PSN, vo. 681, No. 4598/1914.

⁸⁷ DAZD, PSN, vo. 681, No. 4372/1914. Municipality Sali already protested against the ban on August 19th. DAZD, PSN, vo. 681, No. 4372/1914.

⁸⁸ DAZD, PSN, vo. 681, No. 4967/1914.

⁸⁹ DAZD, Fin, vo. 82, No. 3400/14.

⁹⁰ Interrupted by the command of military authorities. DAZd, Fin, vo. 82, No. 5800/14.

⁹¹ DAZD, PSN, vo. 681, No. C20f/1914. and DAZd, PSN, vo. 699, R-72/3, 29 September 1915.

⁹² DAZD, PSN, vo. 694, No. 633/16.

⁹³ DAZD, PSN, vo. 699, No. 6/31

Authorities had significantly limited the freedom of travel. For travel within the district, the municipality issued a pass that was valid only for 14 days. The pass had to be confirmed by the police station in the place. Passes may have been issued by the village governor. For travels outside the district, a pass was issued by the Police Department of the district. For travels outside of Dalmatia a photo was required.⁹⁴ In doing so the pass could be stamped only by the district governor or his deputy. When arriving by boat outside of Dalmatia the passengers, after landing, had to report to the police in the cities of Rab, Pag, Novalja, Novigrad, Ražanac and Zadar. All other places were closed for disembarkation of passengers arriving outside of Dalmatia. Captains of ships were required to keep lists of passengers.⁹⁵

Austrian bureaucracy was particularly widespread in the field of security. However, excessive red tape does not indicate an increased efficiency of state bodies. During the war, not a single spy organization was discovered in Zadar, nor was the spread of anti-state news prevented. After the war, it was discovered that there were systems of spreading Italian newspapers while the Zadar mayor Ziliotto was informed of all the major plans of the Austrian authorities.

From the very beginning of the war of the Austrian government made plans on the activities of state bodies and institutions in the event of an imminent threat. In late July 1914 the first war actions on the Dalmatian coast started. In the first line, the French ships attacked in southern Dalmatia. Attacks occurred on the islands of Šipán and Vis. To avoid possible chaotic situation at such times, the government issued general guidance on the action. First of all they pointed out that the national authorities, in the event of temporary occupation of the territory, should in any case preserve peace in the occupied territories. Armed resistance should not be an option. In the event that they could not leave the occupied territory, officials did not need to carry out their duties. In each case they must not do anything that would directly harm the Monarchy. If the occupier started performing requisitions, payment for goods or at least confirmation of the requisitioned funds should be demanded. In the case of armed actions without occupation, such as bombing, treasury funds should be protected and moved. District leaders and police stations should find suitable shelter for more valuable resources in advance.⁹⁶

In addition to these general guidelines on the conduct in the case of war actions, the Regency initiated planning the evacuation of the coastal state institutions to the interior of Dalmatia. Zadar would present a particular problem for evacuation. The other centers such as Šibenik and Split were connected

⁹⁴ DAZD, PSN, vo. 701, No. 24 c-45/15.

⁹⁵ DAZD, PSN, vo. 701, No. 24 c-26/15, 9954/15, 1307/16.

⁹⁶ On November 11th, 1914 the Austrian authorities issued detailed instructions in the event of temporary occupation and the behaviour of the population, which were complemented on March 5th, 1916. DAZD, KPZ, vo. 330, no number, 5 March 1916.

by rail with the interior - Knin, that was again connected with the Steinbas narrow-gauge railway with Bosnia and Herzegovina. Zadar had no rail link, and it severely limited the possibility of rapid and comprehensive evacuation. The problem was even greater given that the largest number of national and provincial institutions was precisely in Zadar. Firstly, the Regency planned withdrawal of its departments. Knin, Drniš and Siverić (construction department of the Regency) were named as places of evacuation. The presidency of the Regency and the governor himself would be housed in Knin, while the governor deputy Thun would be housed in Drniš with the other offices. Relocation of staff would be performed either by boat to Šibenik, then by rail to Knin or by the regular bus line Zadar - Knin. Special train compositions were provided for the evacuation. In addition, each coastal district should foresee evacuation of government and offices. Zadar district governor Simonelli, emphasized the patriotism of Zadar bureaucracy and predicted the possibility of moving to Zemunik. For this purpose, evidence on available horse-drawn carts in the city and Arbanasi was kept which would be used to conduct the transfer.⁹⁷ Simonelli considers that the officialdom should evacuate exactly for safety reasons since the Allied robberies of Austrian ships led to a feeling of insecurity among the population, especially among officials. In doing so he emphasized the objective difficulties of evacuation such as a lack of transport and sought help from other parts of the province. He also proposed the beginning of construction of at least the narrow gauge railway Zadar - Benkovac with the help of the army due to traffic, military and rationing reasons.⁹⁸ According to the districts' plan, 11 officials were determined that should be moved to Zemunik and 10 other officials would get leave from the day of the retreat, including itinerant teacher of agriculture and the district school superintendent, while a certain 35 officials would stop work on the day of evacuation.⁹⁹ However, already in 1915 Simonelli abandons the idea of moving to Zemunik considering that there was not enough adequate space to accommodate offices and clerks. According to him, 100 clerks that practically needed to go on foot to Zemunik should be accommodated. Also, a problem with feeding the additional clerks appeared. Simonelli proposed that the district government remained in Zadar, which would have a moral impact on citizenship.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ DAZD, KPZ, vo. 330, "Spisi o evakuacijam" [The files on the evacuations"], no number. 16 institutions that have to move out of the city except the Regency were stated: Financial Office, Court of Appeals, Financial Attorney, Oil consortium, Post office, District office for public good, Telegram, Port Authority, the Financial Guard, the Gendarmerie Provincial Office, District Administration gendarmerie, Industrial School, the Office of censorship, Provincial treasury, District government and the Logistic ward of the Zadar coast security battalion. A total of 67 specific private carts were named.

⁹⁸ DAZD, PSN, vo. 699, No. 5821, 10 October 1914.

⁹⁹ DAZD, KPZ, vo. 330, No. 822/res, 1915.

¹⁰⁰ DAZD, PSN, vo. 699, No. 1106, 9 March 1915. It is noted that there are only 10 rooms available in Zemunik. DAZD, KPZ, vo. 330, No. 447/res, 12 February 1915.

Problems around the supply of the population

Traffic isolation and difficult naval communications underlined the importance of rail connections within the Empire for the supply of Dalmatia. Rail transport in wartime was particularly difficult due to the transport of military and a lack of fuel. Authorities warned the population that the rail traffic was, due to military operations, subjected to enormous pressure and sought understanding. The start of War, on July 28th, 1914 inevitably led to disruptions in daily life of the city as well as in rationing. The Austrian government was faced with the large task of mobilizing the needed troops which caused disruptions in rail traffic.¹⁰¹ Right at the beginning of the war municipalities were required to ensure a two-month supply of flour. However, even with the greatest effort a part of the municipalities could not provide such demands. The island's municipalities were particularly affected¹⁰² and municipalities directly exposed to war actions such as the case of the Bay of Kotor. For example, the municipality of Kotor urgently notified the National Committee, and the Committee forwarded the request to the Regency that they generally had a two-month supply of flour, but some rural sections did not have any stock, and could not even be helped financially since banks or savings bank did not work in the city since the beginning of the war. Regency urgently responded on August 19th, approving 5000 crowns out of the Tax Office in Herceg Novi "as soon as a steamship connection is possible".¹⁰³ The Central Committee for supply in Dubrovnik of the Chamber of Commerce and Trades in Dubrovnik took over the supply of the Bay of Kotor and Dubrovnik. On August 5th they reported that the situation with regards to food was the toughest in the municipalities of Budva, Paštrovići and Spič who already had no bread, and that Budva would remain without that grocery in 4 to 5 days. The municipality Tivat sent a similar request and states that due to the huge presence of the military, there was not enough food. They sought financial assistance.¹⁰⁴ Dalmatia was particularly hit by the decision of the Marine Government of Trieste, from July 31st 1914 prohibiting free movement on the sea which caused shortages of food in the city and raised prices accordingly. To counteract raising prices, the Regency reacted with a proposal to commercial and trade chambers to come out with maximum prices for basic grocery products.¹⁰⁵ The first maximum price was released on August 5th for coal. Price ranged from 0.04 up to 0.06

¹⁰¹ "Objavitelj dalmatinski" (hereinafter OD), No. 120/1914.

¹⁰² Municipalities Hvar and Bol seek cash or food assistance, and as a special relief require exemption from import duties on flour from Italy. As Italy immediately banned grain exports making that part of their claims was pointless. DAZD, PSN, vo. 681, 4776, 29 August 1914, No. 4592, 12 August 1914.

¹⁰³ DAZD, PSN, vo. 681, No. 4743, 19 August 1914.

¹⁰⁴ DAZD, PSN, vo. 681, No. 9918, 9 September 1914, DAZD, PSN, vo. 681, No. 4500, 10 August 1914, No. 4495, 10 August 1914.

¹⁰⁵ OD, No. 62 and 63/1914.

pound per heller.¹⁰⁶ The range of measures was expanding. On August 8th, the Regency ordered all traders to compile a list of goods needed in everyday life within 24 hours and to give it to the District governments. Data were subject to government verification. On August 15th the government announced to the population that in case of shortage of labor in agriculture private parties could be ordered to participate.¹⁰⁷

On December 11th the Regency prescribed maximum prices for bread. The price of bread was 48 heller for rye bread, and 68 heller for bread from a mixture of white flour (70%) and barley (30%).¹⁰⁸

Early in the war, the National Committee, conscious of food and traffic limitations of Dalmatia, invited municipalities to take care about the procurement of food for its inhabitants. In addition, they should determine the maximum prices for basic groceries.¹⁰⁹ On behalf of the National Economic Council Hubert Count Borelli Vrana called the Dalmatian farmers to further engagement: "With the departure of reservists, farming lost its labor force, so it is up to you, brother farmers, who are staying home, to recover the loss of this work force if possible with your diligence and hard work, and to help one another fraternally".¹¹⁰ In order to improve the general condition of the supply of Dalmatia and prevent price increase, governor Attems organized the purchase of 65 wagons of Canadian wheat and 45 wagons of rice from Trieste in early August 1914. Transportation costs of 320 thousand crowns had to be paid in advance which was secured with the help of banks. Also, nine wagons of Hungarian flour were acquired for the purposes of the Zadar region.¹¹¹

In December 1914 the Austrian authorities began to take first major administrative measures of market control in order to control the supply and price of flour. The district commissioner Josip Deutschmann was assigned to the district government of Zadar, to compile an inventory of the most needed groceries, especially flour based on the survey of Zadar retailers business books "in the afternoon hours".¹¹²

During the second half of 1914 the grocery supply system, despite all the problems related to transport in major cities, functioned relatively well. Proof of this is the fact that the press paid relatively little attention to the problem of supply while with time, as the war went on, the number of articles dealing with the supply of the population grew exponentially.

¹⁰⁶ Austria-Hungary carried out a monetary reform in 1900. Two crowns replaced one fiorin (forint), and the crown was divided into 100 heller.

¹⁰⁷ *OD*, No. 66 and 72/1914.

¹⁰⁸ *OD*, No. 172/14.

¹⁰⁹ "Okružnica Zemaljskog odbora" ["Circulars of the National Committee"], *SD*, No. 63, 5 August 1914.

¹¹⁰ "Poljodjelci" ["Farmers"], *GV*, No. 14-16, 31 August 1914.

¹¹¹ "Za opskrbu Dalmacije" ["For the supply of Dalmatia"], *SD*, No. 65, 12 August 1914.

¹¹² *DAZD*, *PSN*, vo. 680, 12 December 1914.

Conclusion

The assassination of Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie redirected the political developments in the province. Until then, most notably political issues such as electoral reform for the Dalmatian Parliament or the anticipated unification Croatian People's Progressive Party and Croatian parties had fallen into the background, and soon disappeared from the political horizon. Anti-Serb demonstrations became the primary political issue of the Dalmatian newspapers during turbulent July in 1914. Declaration of war dramatically increased the degree of political control over Dalmatia. Numerous arrests were made, numerous politically dubious societies were disbanded and many constitutional freedoms were suspended such as the secrecy of correspondence, freedom of assembly and of the press. Serbian organizations and those Croatian organizations and individuals of Serbian orientation were particularly targeted. The Italian community was spared of political persecution during 1914 because the policy was to appease the Kingdom of Italy. The first year of the war showed deficiencies in the supply of the population which would significantly worsen during the war years. Traffic isolation, economic underdevelopment and peripherality of the position would be the cause of high prices that the Dalmatian population would pay during World War One.

Anfang des Ersten Weltkrieges in Dalmatien

Zusammenfassung

Mit der Ermordung des Erzherzogs Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo 1914 begannen auch neue politische Prozesse in Dalmatien. Die bisherigen politischen Bewegungen wurden unterbrochen und neue Themen auferlegt. Die antiserbischen Demonstrationen im Juli 1914 erregten heftige Auseinandersetzungen im Rahmen des dalmatinischen politischen Raumes. Die Kriegserklärung erzeugte auch neue politische, gesellschaftliche und wirtschaftliche Umstände. Politische Kontrolle wurde auf politischer Ebene verstärkt und viele von Verfassungsfreiheiten wurden aufgehoben. Die „alten“ politischen Parteien legten ihre Tätigkeit auf Eis und die Presse wurde ziemlich strenger Zensur unterworfen. Das dalmatinische Volk konfrontierte sich mit dem Problem der Bevölkerungsversorgung. Während im Jahre 1914 der Krieg nur in einigen Randgebieten Dalmatiens zu merken war, verschlimmerte sich das Problem der Bevölkerungsversorgung mit der Dauer des Krieges immer mehr.

Schlagwörter: Dalmatien, Erster Weltkrieg, politische Kontrolle, Bevölkerungsversorgung, Mobilisierung