UDK: 94(497.5-3Dalmacija)"1916/1918"
Izvorni znanstveni članak
32(436-89)-05 Habsburg, K. I.
Received: May 29, 2014
Accepted: December 12, 2014

CIRCUMSTANCES IN DALMATIA DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR CHARLES

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This work presents the situation in the Austrian province of Dalmatia from the end of 1916 to the end of the First World War. In the lives of its inhabitants, this period was characterized by hardships, with starvation the most severe among them. Many problems confronted by the civilian population were connected to the consequences of the First World War on life in the hinterland. The particularities of political life are shown in their main contours.

Key words: Dalmatia, First World War, Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, food rationing, starvation

Circumstances in Dalmatia at the end of Francis Joseph's reign

At the onset of the twentieth century, the Kingdom of Dalmatia was in the economic sense the least developed province in the Austrian portion of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The economy was based on extensive agriculture. According to the 1910 census, Dalmatia's population was 645,604, of whom 82.6% made a living from agriculture or fishing. Its main links to the remaining lands of the Monarchy were the steamship lines which connected the Dalmatian cities to Rijeka. A rail tie through the Lika region had been planned, but it was not constructed. Within the province, there were considerable differences in developmental levels of individual municipalities. The most highly developed municipalities were in the territory of the larger coastal cities, while the least developed were in the hinterland zone known as Dalmatinska Zagora and on the more remote islands. The largest city in the province was Split, which had a population of 21,252 in 1910. The province's administrative seat

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was Zadar, which had a population of 13,191. Šibenik and Dubrovnik also had populations exceeding 10,000.¹

The provincial government was headed by the regent, together with the Regency, which was the local arm of the central government in Vienna. From 1912 until the end of the war, the regent was Count Mario Attems. The autonomous bodies of the Kingdom of Dalmatia were the Dalmatian Diet, as a representative body, and the Territorial Committee, as the executive body of the Dalmatian Diet. Dalmatia elected its deputies to the Imperial Council in Vienna. The leading party in Dalmatia on the eve of the First World War was the Croatian Party (Hrvatska stranka - HS), which was formed in 1905 by the merger of the first Dalmatian branch of the Party of the Right (Stranka prava - SP) and the People's Croatian Party (Narodna hrvatska stranka - NHS). In terms of electoral success, it was followed by the Party of the Right (SP) which emerged in 1906 with the union of the Pure Party of the Right (*Čista stranka* prava) and a greater number of Rightist factions. Neither the HS nor the SP were monolithic parties during this period, and both had been rocked by internal rifts on several occasions. Besides these two parties, also active in Dalmatia were the Autonomist Party, established in 1861, which gradually turned into the Italian Party, the Serbian Party (Srpska stranka – SS), established in 1879, and the Croatian Popular Progressive Party (Hrvatska pučka napredna stranka - HPNS), established in 1905 (initially as the Croatian Democratic Party; as of 1906 it was unified with the Progressive Party in Civic Croatia to form the HPNS). Universal suffrage was introduced for elections to the Imperial Council, but the older, curial electoral system, which favoured the wealthier classes of the population, remained in effect for elections to the provincial diet and municipalities. Thus the wealthier urban population, generally in the coastal belt, played a dominant role in the political life of the province.²

¹ Ante Bralić, Karlo Kraljev, "Proračuni dalmatinskih općina na početku XX. stoljeća (1900.-1908.)", Časopis za suvremenu povijest 43 (2011), no. 1: 265-291; Marjan Diklić, "Prilog strukturi pučanstva Dalmacije krajem XIX. i početkom XX. Stoljeća", Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru 36 (1994): 181-190; Šime Peričić, Gospodarska povijest Dalmacije od 18. do 20. stoljeća, (Zadar, 1998), pp. 155-226; Matej Škarica, Topografski priručnik Dalmacije i popis stanovništva (Split, 1922).

² For more on political life in Dalmatia on the eve of the First World War: Ante Bralić, "Zadarski fin-de siècle – Političke i društvene prilike u Zadru i Dalmaciji uoči Prvoga svjetskoga rata", Časopis za suvremenu povijest 39 (2007), no. 3: 731-775; Tihomir Cipek – Stjepan Matković, Programski dokumenti hrvatskih političkih stranaka i skupina 1842. – 1914. (Zagreb, 2006); Marjan Diklić, Pravaštvo u Dalmaciji do kraja Prvoga svjetskog rata (Zadar, 1998); IBID., Don Ivo Prodan: političko djelovanje i parlamentarni rad (Zadar, 2003); Tereza Ganza-Aras, Politika "novog kursa" dalmatinskih pravaša oko Supila i Trumbića (Split, 1992); Mirjana Gross, "Uloga šibenskog pravaštva u dalmatinskoj i općehrvatskoj pravaškoj politici uoči prvog svjetskog rata", Radovi Zavoda (Instituta) za hrvatsku povijest 1 (1971): 259-285; Luciano Monzali, Italiani di Dalmazia Dal Risorgimento alla Grande Guerra (Firenze, 2004), pp. 189-313; Ivo Perić, Ante Trumbić na dalmatinskom političkom poprištu (Split, 1984); IBID., Dalmatinski sabor 1861.-1912. (1918.) (Zadar, 1978); IBID., "Politički portret Pera Čingrije", Radovi Zavoda (Instituta) za hrvatsku povijest 12 (1979): 127-264; Ivo Petrinović, Ante Trumbić (Split, 1991); IBID., Politički

The anti-Austrian mood was noticeably gaining ground among Dalmatian politicians and among the general public already since 1912,3 while during the First World War this only increased. The Dalmatian Diet did not convene even before the war, nor for its duration. Its session was discontinued on 24 February 1912 by decision of the regent, Attems. The Dalmatian Diet was not formally dissolved, rather its session was simply postponed. However, it was never reconvened.⁴ Not one political option supported a dual monarchy with divided Croatian lands. There were, however, differences between those who believed that it was possible to achieve a solution to the Croatian question within the Monarchy's framework and those who rejected the Monarchy. Among the political forces which most easily rejected the framework of the Monarchy and which would play a prominent role in the watershed events in Dalmatia during the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were the Šibenik-based Rightists (Drinković/Krstelj), expelled from the core party in 1913 as a result of internal party conflicts, the politicians from the HPNS and several HS politicians. The nationalist youth, a political group that broke off from the progressive youth, became notable for its radical stances, and it advocated the integral Yugoslav idea.⁵

With the commencement of the First World War, the Austrian authorities took a very sharp stance in Dalmatia. A series of politicians and public activists were arrested, a smaller number of whom were sent abroad, while the remaining had their movements restricted or they were placed under surveillance. A considerable number of municipal councils were dissolved. Not all political parties, groups and individuals were targeted by the authorities to the same measure. Those who expressed a Yugoslav orientation, advocated for Croatian-Serbian cooperation and/or expressed delight over Serbia's successes in the First Balkan War, and particularly those who had visited Serbia one or more times prior to the war for any reason whatsoever were under suspicion. Among those arrested at the beginning of the war were four deputies in the Imperial Council, Josip Smodlaka (HPNS), Ante Tresić Pavičić (HS), Melko Čingrija (HS) and Božo Vukotić (SS).⁶ Five delegates in the Dalma-

život i nazori Ante Tresića Pavičića (Split, 1997); Josip Vrandečić, Dalmatinski autonomistički pokret u XIX. stoljeću (Zagreb, 2002).

³ Igor Despot, *Balkanski ratovi 1912. – 1913. i njihov odjek u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb, 2013), pp. 192-195, 198, 202, 206-209, 212-215, 221-229, 232-234, 236-239, 248-249; M. Diklić, *Pravaštvo u Dalmaciji*, pp. 422-423, 429-431; M. Diklić, *Don Ivo Prodan*, pp. 82-83; I Perić, *Dalmatinski sabor*, pp. 160-161, 171-172; I. Perić, *Ante Trumbić*, pp. 136-141; Vrandečić, *Dalmatinski autonomistički pokret*, pp. 293-294; Milan Živanović, "Dvije demonstracije u Splitu i Šibeniku 1912. god.", *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* III (1957): 327-352.

⁴ I. Perić, Dalmatinski sabor, pp. 160-161

⁵ T. Cipek – S. Matković, *Programski dokumenti*, pp. 656-658; Oskar Tartaglia, *Veleizdajnik* (Zagreb – Split, 1928), pp. 61-64.

⁶ In the reports on the election of deputies to the Imperial Council in 1911, Đuro (Gjuro) Vukotić is cited as a deputy, so he was mentioned as such in the works by M. Diklić and I.

tian Diet were arrested, among them the Šibenik Rightist Mate Drinković. The mayor of Šibenik, Ivo Krsteli, and a series of other persons were also arrested. Many of those whose education and social status played a significant role in the communities in which they lived (attorneys, priests, journalists, teachers, land-owners, merchants and skilled tradesmen) were also arrested. However, not even peasants and labourers were spared from arrest. Among the political parties, the HPNS, and among political groups, the nationalist youth fared the worst, with all of their most distinguished members arrested. Very few avoided arrest. The best known among the latter were Ante Trumbić, a high-profile member of the HS, who, while in exile, became the lead figure in the Yugoslav Committee. Those who were arrested did not receive uniform treatment. Some were used as hostages as a form of security during transportation, some were held in investigative custody for extended periods without having any charges filed against them, some were confined in other lands in the Monarchy, and some were tried for high treason. Those who underwent various trials for high treason included the deputies Drinković, Smodlaka and Tresić Pavičić. Drinković was sentenced to two years in prison. Tresić Pavičić was acquitted, but he remained in prison when the prosecutor appealed the verdict. After an investigation that lasted for months, Smodlaka was released from jail, but confined in a town in Upper Austria and then drafted into military service. Most of the arrested were never tried, and in many cases investigations were not even conducted. Out of those who were tried, some were acquitted. According to a statement by Juraj Biankini, which he delivered to the Imperial Council in mid-July 1917, less than 0.5% of the arrested were in fact tried.8

Croats and Serbs were arrested at the beginning of the war. The members of the Italian minority found themselves at odds with the Austrian authorities

Perić (M. Diklić, *Pravaštvo u Dalmaciji*, p. 415; M. Diklić, *Don Ivo Prodan*, p. 73; I. Perić, *Ante Trumbić*, p. 135). However, in the sources and historiography pertaining to events at the close of the First World War, the name of the SS deputy from Dalmatia in the Imperial Council is specified as Božo (*Narodno vijeće Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba 1918-1919*.: *Izabrani dokumenti*, Marina Štambuk-Škalić and Zlatko Matijević (eds.), (Zagreb, 2008), p. 85; Srđan Budisavljević, *Stvaranje Države Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Povodom četrdesetogodišnjice jugoslavenskog ujedinjenja*, (Zagreb, 1958), p. 14). These were probably two different individuals with the same surname. This view is backed by the fact that Đuro was listed as a teacher by occupation, and he was not specified as having a doctorate, while Božo was regularly listed with the doctoral title.

Niko Bartulović, Od Revolucionarne omladine do Orjune (Split, 1925), pp. 51-53; Josip Beroš, "Dalmacija pod terorom posljednje austrijske Attemsove administracije", Zadarska revija XII (1964), no. 6: 568-577; IBID., "Dubrovčani – taoci i veleizdajnici za vrijeme prvog svjetskog rata", Dubrovnik IX (1966), no. 4: 73-98; Juraj Biankini, Dalmacija u vrieme rata: Tri govora zastupnika Jurja Biankinia izrečena u Zastupničkoj kući Carevinskog vieća u Beču (Zadar, 1917), pp. 25-32; S. Budisavljević, Stvaranje Države Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, p. 14; Diklić, Pravaštvo u Dalmaciji, pp. 91-92; I. Petrinović, Politički život i nazori Ante Tresića Pavičića, pp. 53-58; Josip Smodlaka, Zapisi Dra Josipa Smodlake (Zagreb, 1972), pp. 49-50; Oskar Tartaglia, Veleizdajnik, pp. 61-64, 82-83, 114-116.

⁸ Biankini, *Dalmacija u vrieme rata*, 28.

after Italy joined the war in 1915. Among them as well, some were held as hostages, some were interned, and some were held in confinement outside of the province. However, some of them foresaw Italy's entry into the war and moved abroad on time. Investigations were launched against a small number of persons. Their primary political stronghold was Zadar, the only municipality in which the Italian Party was in power. According to the 1910 census, they accounted for 32.1% of the population in the Zadar municipality, but these were wealthier residents, to whom the curial electoral system catered.

For the population of Dalmatia, the period of the First World War was fraught with hardship. The declaration of war was followed by military conscription. Families lost their necessary labour force, and many were left without a single provider. News from or about them were awaited with trepidation. In order to take care of the families of the conscripted, commissions were established to see to the allocation of assistance to the needy. The requisitioning of transport vehicles and draft animals for military purposes began to cause transportation problems. Dalmatia was additionally quite adversely impacted by the ban on unrestricted maritime transit at the end of July 1914, which contributed to supply problems, higher prices for basic foodstuffs and the prevention of fishing. Shortages of food, sanitary needs, coal and kerosene were already felt in the first wartime winter of 1914/15, but time would show that during that winter conditions were still rather good. For Dalmatia, Italy's entrance into the war on the side of the Entente in May 1915 meant not only a new wave of conscription but also fears of possible occupation among most of the population, greater isolation due to increased security measures, the installation of mines and the further requisitioning of means of transport. In November 1915 the shortages worsened, and prices grew. Ration cards were therefore introduced which guaranteed, but also limited, the purchase of specific quantities of the most important supplies. The government alleviated the omnipresent shortages somewhat by organizing the procurement of foodstuffs (food rationing) and sanitary needs, and their distribution to the population at prices lower than market. Food rationing was organized at the state-wide level. Price ceilings were also instituted for the most important products. Imports of food from other parts of the state only slightly lessened the gravity of the situation, because food for Dalmatia could be procured only in the most distant regions of the Austrian part of the Monarchy. Lengthy transport times coupled

⁹ Državni arhiv u Zadru (State Archives in Zadar; hereinafter: DAZd), Namjesništvo (Vlada) za Dalmaciju – Prezidijalni spisi [Regency (Government) for Dalmatia – Presidial Files; hereinafter: PSN], vol. 708, R-2224 (1918), Dopis Kotarskog poglavarstva u Splitu od 2. 8. 1918. (Communication of District Government in Split dated 2 August 1918); Dopis Kotarskog poglavarstva u Zadru 18. 8. 1918. (Communication of District Government in Zadar dated 18 August 1918); Dopis Kotarskog poglavarstva u Šibeniku od 25. 8. 1918. (Communication of District Government in Šibenik of 25 August 1918); Oddone Talpo, *Per l'Italia: centocinquanta anni di storia Dalmata* (Ancona, 1987),pp. 75-78.

¹⁰ A. Bralić, "Zadarski fin-de siècle", pp. 733-736, 742-743, 752-774.

with the already poor transit links often led to spoilage, and along the way certain quantities of supplies often tended to disappear. Additionally, the quantities of food that it was even possible to procure continually declined. Despite the fact that Croatia and Slavonia were much closer, Dalmatia could not obtain significant quantities of food from them, because these territories belonged to the Hungarian part of the Monarchy. Imports from the Hungarian half of the Monarchy required requests for special licenses which neither the Austrian nor Hungarian authorities were apt to approve. Poor harvests of grains, potatoes, legumes and other farm produce throughout Dalmatia and in other lands in the Austrian part of the Monarchy in 1916 pushed the population to the edge of starvation. Additionally, shortages of sugar also ensued, and the impossibility of procuring bluestone (copper sulphate) led to lower vineyard yields. Even with these lower harvests, the government still requisitioned a portion of the produce. A lack of fodder meant that people could not feed their hogs, so their numbers also declined, resulting in shortages of meat and lard. 11

Starvation, demonstrations and visions of a different political future

Charles of Habsburg was crowned on 30 November 1916, nine days after the death of the preceding emperor and king, Francis Joseph. His reign was characterized by a reduction of state repression and the possibility of more freely expressing opinions. As a part of this liberalization of political life and his search for broader support to maintain the Monarchy, Emperor Charles decided to convene the Imperial Council. In order for this parliament to properly function, deputies who had been jailed or placed in confinement were released, while those on the battlefields were granted long-term leave. The four Dalmatian deputies were thus granted this possibility to become active, but they could not return to Dalmatia. In mid-January 1917, the representatives of Croatian political parties in Dalmatia met in Zadar. They agreed to support the joint stance of Dalmatian, Istrian and Slovenian deputies in the Imperial Council. In the Imperial Council.

After the general indications of a revival of political life in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1917, the status of political freedoms in Dalmatia only improved slightly. Not all of those previously imprisoned were released, and among those who where, many could not return to the province. Those who

¹¹ J. Biankini, *Dalmacija u vrieme rata*, pp. 7-19; Ante Bralić, "Kako preživjeti u Zadru?" *Prvi svjetski rat: Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 37 (1998), 24: 158-165; A. Bralić, "Kretanje cijena u Zadru tijekom Prvog svjetskog rata", *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 42 (2000): 413-417; Josip Vrandečić, "Brač u Prvome svjetskom ratu: prema agrarnom raspletu", *Godina 1918: Prethodnice, zbivanja, posljedice, Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa održanog u Zagrebu* 4. *i* 5. *prosinca* 2008. (Zagreb, 2010), pp. 89-95.

¹² I. Petrinović, *Politički život i nazori Ante Tresića Pavičića*, p. 56; Smodlaka, *Zapisi*, p. 50.

¹³ M. Diklić, *Pravaštvo u Dalmaciji*, pp. 442-443.

could choose where they wanted to live gathered in Zagreb. ¹⁴ The Dalmatian Diet was not reconvened, the municipalities continued to be administered by commissioners appointed by the military authorities, and security measures in the province remained rather strict. The ban on organizing public meetings remained in effect. ¹⁵

The Dalmatian deputies in the Imperial Council joined the Yugoslav Club and participated in the drafting of the May Declaration, which demanded – based on natural law and the Croatian statehood right – the unification of all lands in the Monarchy in which the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs live into a single unit, free of the dominance of other nations, under the sceptre of the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty. In the autumn of 1917 and during 1918, individual municipalities, organizations and individuals publicly voiced support for the May Declaration, but the declaration movement in Dalmatia never gained the traction that it had in Slovenia. In the sum of the Yugoslav Club and Participation of the Yugoslav Club and Participation of the Yugoslav Club and Participation of the May Declaration of the May Declaration of the Yugoslav Club and Participation of the Yugoslav Club a

N. Bartulović, Od Revolucionarne omladine do Orjune, pp. 72-73; O. Tartaglia, Veleizdajnik, pp. 132-133, 136.

¹⁵ A. Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu propasti Habsburške Monarhije (1917.-1918.), Časopis za suvremenu povijest 38 (2006.), no. 1: 247-248.

¹⁶ The Declaration of the Yugoslav Club in the Imperial Council on 30 May 1917, better known as the May Declaration (although contemporaries called it the Vienna Declaration), was signed by 31 deputies from the Yugoslav Club (28 immediately, 3 subsequently). The signatories included all four deputies from the Dalmatian SP, all four HS deputies, and the only HPNS deputy. There were no members of the Serbian Party (SS) among the signatories. They later made statements of support for the policies of the Yugoslav Club. The historiography of post-World War II Yugoslavia claimed that the Dalmatian Serbs participated in the issuing of the May Declaration. Already in 1958, Srđan Budisavljević pointed out that the Dalmatian Serb deputies in the Imperial Council did not sign the May Declaration, adding that he and Valerijan Pribićević were the first Serbs to endorse it. However, even after this, historiography and popular history sources continued to carry the claim that all deputies from the South Slav lands in the Monarchy signed the May Declaration. For the text of the Declaration with a list of signatories, see: Ferdo Šišić, Dokumenti o postanku Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca 1914 - 1919. (Zagreb, 1920), p. 94. On the May Declaration, with different interpretations and assessments, and statements and its repercussions, see: Ante Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu ...", pp. 248-251; Budisavljević, Stvaranje Države SHS, 27-33; M. Diklić, Don Ivo Prodan, pp. 92-95, 258-260; Dragoslav Janković, Jugoslavensko pitanje i Krfska deklaracija 1917. godine (Beograd, 1967), pp. 121-130; Bogdan Krizman, Hrvatska u prvom svjetskom ratu: Hrvatsko-srpski politički odnosi (Zagreb, 1989), pp. 140-142; Zlatko Matijević, "Odjeci Svibanjske deklaracije Jugoslavenskog kluba u Hrvatskoj, te Bosni i Hercegovini (1917.-1918. godine)", Spomenica Ljube Bobana (Zagreb, 1996), pp. 245-256; IBID., Slom politike katoličkog Jugoslavenstva: Hrvatska pučka stranka u političkom životu Kraljevine SHS (1919.-1929.) (Zagreb, 1998), pp. 57-58; Janko Pleterski, Prvo opredjeljenje Slovenaca za Jugoslaviju (Beograd, 1976), pp. 150-220; Andrej Rahten, Savezništva i diobe: Razvoj slovenskohrvatskih političkih odnosa u Habsburškoj Monarhiji 1848.-1918. (Zagreb, 2008), pp. 211-221; Dragovan Šepić, "Oktobarska revolucija i jugoslavensko pitanje u Austro-Ugarskoj 1917/18", Historijski zbornik XI-XII (1958-1959), 7-8; IBID., Italija, saveznici i jugoslavensko pitanje 1914-1918 (Zagreb, 1970), pp. 200-205.

¹⁷ A. Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu ...": 249.

The reign of Emperor Charles in Dalmatia was marked by starvation, which also rather severely hit neighbouring Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹⁸ A harsh winter and a long-lasting drought in 1917 additionally exacerbated a situation that had been dramatic in preceding years. Circumstances were not the same everywhere, at least not at the beginning of the year. In Split it was still better than in other parts of Dalmatia. Supplies to Split during the war were administered by the Cooperative Alliance, which proved rather successful in this endeavour, so that in March 1917 Regent Attems also entrusted it to handle the provisioning of Zadar, which had been quite inadequate up to that point. The Austrian authorities amended certain regulations in order to facilitate marine fishing. However, as the year progressed, the consequences of the drought become increasingly apparent. In the summer there were no crops, and the lack of water in some regions influenced the spread of infectious disease and a die-off of the remaining livestock. The assured quantities of food which were supposed to reach Dalmatia from the northern provinces of the Austrian part of the Monarchy arrived in smaller amounts than guaranteed, and some shipments never even arrived. Even on the open market there was nothing to buy. Under such circumstances, prices rose, and even price ceilings were raised. This fostered the development of smuggling and a black market, on which many items could be purchased, but at exorbitant prices which few could pay.¹⁹

The opening of the Imperial Council allowed the Dalmatian deputies to speak out in Vienna about the trying circumstances which the province's population was enduring. In their speeches, they stressed the difficult economic situation, supply problems and other hardships in everyday life, as well as the persecution, jailings and deportations, press censorship, trampling of civil rights and the unconstitutional style of governance in the province.²⁰ For example, Juraj Biankini, in speech delivered on 16 June 1917, extensively described the troubles besetting Dalmatia, the starvation, the requisitioning of even the most meagre crops, the problems in fishing, the transit collapse due to requisitioning of draft animals and other means of transport, the die-off of livestock as a result of the drought and the abuse of the food-rationing system.²¹ A month later, on 15 July 1917, he was even harsher. In his speech on that day, he first described the political persecution, and then the horrors of starvation, calling out the government and parliament because, despite warnings and reports on those who had died of starvation, almost nothing had been

Nusret Šehić, Bosna i Hercegovina 1918-1925: privredni i politički razvoj (Sarajevo, 1991), pp. 46-48.

¹⁹ J. Biankini, *Dalmacija u vrieme rata*, pp. 9-19; Bralić, "Kako preživjeti u Zadru?", pp. 166-169; Bralić, "Kretanje cijena u Zadru", pp. 413-429; Vrandečić, "Brač u Prvome svjetskom ratu", pp. 96-98.

J. Biankini, Dalmacija u vrieme rata, pp. 3-36; Diklić, "Don Ivo Prodan", pp. 261-263; Petrinović, Politički život i nazori Ante Tresića Pavičića, pp. 56-60.

²¹ J. Biankini, *Dalmacija u vrieme rata*, pp. 3-19.

done. At the time, he said the sole hope was for Emperor and King Charles to help find solutions to these problems.²²

People in Croatia and Slavonia considered ways to assist the regions of Istria, Dalmatia, the Slovenian Littoral and Bosnia-Herzegovina that were beset by starvation. They could not send food, because this would have required permission from the Austrian and Hungarian authorities. So the campaign was oriented toward saving children. The campaign of organized assistance was launched and led by the Zagreb-based Central Committee on Protection of Families of Conscripted and Slain Soldiers, which saw its social role broadly in line with the enhanced social welfare activities during the reign of Emperor Charles, so it expanded its efforts to encompass those suffering from starvation. The campaign was initially planned as the placement of children with foster families in grain-rich regions over the summer, for which they managed to obtain permission from the relevant authorities, but these stays were extended, because circumstances in the hunger-stricken areas did not improve. The organization of transfers of children differed from region to region. In Dalmatia, the Central Committee, also known as the People's Defence, established contacts with the provincial school board in Zadar, and the children were accompanied on the journey by their teachers.²³ The first group of children from Dalmatia were sent to northern Croatian regions in August 1917. In August and September children from the wider Zadar environs and from the islands of central and northern Dalmatia were sent.²⁴ However, the campaign was quickly expanded to the entire province, and continued even during 1918. Preserved records on the number of children sent away for better nutrition contain differing statistics. According to data from 1921, there was slightly more than 3,000 children placed with a high number of foster families over a broad area, mainly in villages.²⁵

Individuals employed various pretences to renew their political activism in Dalmatia, because open agitation was still not possible. Political associations dissolved at the beginning of the war could not be renewed, so the solution to political activism began to be sought in the enhancement of activities by various cultural and social organizations which had not been banned. For example, the former mayor of Zadar, Luigi Ziliotto, found the possibility for reactivation in political life in the restoration of the management of an organization that administered Zadar's Casino. In this regard, in 1918 he initiated consultations with the leaders of the Italian Party in Zadar, and a new board of directors was

²² J. Biankini, *Dalmacija u vrieme rata*, pp. 25-36.

²³ Mira Kolar, *Zbrinjavanje gladne djece u Hrvatskoj za Prvoga svjetskog rata* (Slavonski Brod, 2008), pp. 22, 41-49, 51-59.

A. Bralić, "Kako preživjeti u Zadru?": 68; Kolar, Zbrinjavanje gladne djece, pp. 84-86; J. Vrandečić, "Brač u Prvome svjetskom ratu": 97.

²⁵ M. Kolar, Zbrinjavanje gladne djece, pp. 86-90.

established on 1 February 1918. It was headed by Ziliotto himself. Thereafter, adherents of the Italian Party began to gather in the Casino's salon.²⁶

A similar example is that of the association *Hrvatski napredak* (Croatian Progress) in Split. In February 1918, the board of directors of this association began to promote a mass membership drive. According to an estimate of the Public Order Sector of the District Government in Split, its objective was to keep the national consciousness alive. Activities in this regard were developed in particular by clerks working for the Cooperative Alliance, Josip Beroš and Petar Vranković. The association's general assembly was convened on 24 February, at which time a new board of directors was elected. Beroš was elected chairman, and Vranković became secretary. They began to foster activities through public lectures and commemorations of important dates in Croatian history and culture, of which the first was the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of Petar Preradović's birth.²⁷

Certain possibilities for activity became open to former political prisoners who gathered in Zagreb because they were unable to return to Dalmatia. Among the first to become active were the Šibenik Rightists Mate Drinković and Ivo Krstelj, who in the autumn of 1917 formed ties with the Starčević Party of the Right and the dissidents from the Croato-Serbian Coalition gathered around the newspaper *Glas SHS*.²⁸

In 1918, work began on achieving national concentration with the aim of creating a national council that would create a new state of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. The campaign to gather political parties and groups was launched by the Starčević Party of the Right (known as *Milinovci*, after the nephew of Ante Starčević, Mile). The first meeting of politicians with this objective in mind was held in Zagreb on 2-3 March 1918. It was organized by the Starčević Party of the Right and the Yugoslav Club, and it gathered a broad circle of participants from both parts of the Monarchy. Among the politicians from Dalmatia, it was attended by Drinković and Krstelj from the Šibenik Rightist group, Josip Smodlaka and Ivo de Grisogono from the HPNS, Melko Čingrija, the pre-war chief of the Dubrovnik Municipality and a deputy for the HS in the Imperial Council, and Budislav Grga Anđelinović, originally from the island of Hvar, and Kerubin Šegvić, originally from Split, both at the time members of the Starčević Party of the Right in Civil Croatia.²⁹ At the end of the meeting,

²⁶ A. Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu ...": 244-245.

²⁷ DAZd, PSN, vol. 706, R-677 (1918), Dopisi Kotarskog poglavarstva u Splitu od 23. 2., 26. 2., 28. 2. i 3. 3, 1918.

²⁸ S. Budisavljević, *Stvaranje Države SHS*, pp. 36-37.

²⁹ For the names of the participants, see: Šišić, *Dokumenti*, pp. 125-126. Notes on pre-war political party affiliation is based on the sources in note 1. On the meeting, cf.: S. Budisavljević, *Stvaranje Države Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca*, pp. 40-41; B. Krizman, *Hrvatska u prvom svjetskom ratu*, pp. 155-157; Zlatko Matijević, "Narodno vijeće Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba u Zagrebu. Osnutak, djelovanje i nestanak (1918/1919)", in: *NV SHS: Izabrani dokumenti*, p. 43; Pleterski, *Prvo*

a declaration was adopted which emphasized the right of nations to self-determination, but did not mention any type of framework, and also underscored civil rights and freedoms and religious equality, and foresaw respect for the state/legal continuity of historical-political territories in a future state. It was a compromise proposal that contained only that around which consensus was achieved in the meeting, and on the basis of this declaration it was possible to achieve a concentration of political forces.³⁰

Some historiographic works emphasize that all Dalmatian parties and groups were represented at that meeting,³¹ but this was not in fact true, for among those present there were no representatives of the core Dalmatian SP, nor representatives of the SS, nor any of the other parties and groups with lesser influence. Given its status as the leading party in the province, the HS was scantly represented. The Dalmatian Rightists at that time complained about the poor communications in the province, the problems encountered by telegraph traffic and the difficulties in obtaining steamboat tickets to Rijeka, which was their only link to the remaining lands of the of the Monarchy.³² The same problems were probably troubling the representatives of other parties. That these difficulties in communication were the reason for the low and unequal representation of politicians was reflected in the fact that the meeting in Zagreb was in fact mostly attended by those Dalmatian politicians who were already residing there at the time. But in Dalmatia efforts were made to do what was possible.

In Zadar on 3 March 1918, at the same time as the meeting in Zagreb, a public assembly was convened by a part of the Dalmatian deputies from the HS, SP and SS in the Imperial Council. The public summons to the assembly called on all citizens of Zadar and its environs, but it was noted that the signatories of the summons were generally deputies who were in Zadar, which was again influenced by the transportation difficulties. Nonetheless, they were distinguished representatives of their parties, who enjoyed a high reputation in the wider region.³³ At the end of the assembly, a resolution was adopted which

opredjeljenje, pp. 230-243; Šepić, Italija, saveznici i jugoslavensko pitanje 1914-1918, pp. 280-283.

³⁰ B. Krizman, *Hrvatska u prvom svjetskom ratu*, p. 156; D. Šepić, *Italija, saveznici i jugoslaven-sko pitanje*, pp. 281-283.

D. Šepić noted that the meeting, among others, inclduded "representatives of parties and all groups in Dalmatia, Istria and Međimurje" (D. Šepić, *Italija, saveznici i jugoslavensko pitanje*, p. 280), while B. Krizman noted that the meeting was, among others, attended by "representatives of all groups in Dalmatia" (B. Krizman, *Hrvatska u prvom svjetskom ratu*, p. 155).

³² A. Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu ..." : 250, note 28.

³³ Based on party affiliation, the signatories to the summons included three SP deputies in the Dalmatian Diet (Matulin, Perić and Prodan), of whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Perić and Prodan), two were SS deputies in the Dalmatian Diet, of whom one was also a deputy in the Imperial Council (Baljak) and the other was a member of the Territorial Committee (Simić), and four were HS deputies in the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also chairman of the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also chairman of the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also chairman of the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also chairman of the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also chairman of the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also chairman of the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also chairman of the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also chairman of the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also chairman of the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also chairman of the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also chairman of the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also chairman of the Dalmatian Diet, among whom two were also deputies in the Imperial Council (Biankini and Ivčević, who was also ch

sought implementation of the principle of self-determination of nations and endorsed the campaign initiated by the May Declaration aimed at achieving the independence of the South Slavs, and expressed gratitude to the Yugoslav Club for communicating in Vienna all of the troubles to which the areas it represents had endured since the beginning of the war.³⁴ The text explicitly mentions national concentration, but the actual composition of the deputies who led the assembly and belonged to different parties indicates their affinity for such policies in order to achieve the objectives stated in the resolution. As in the Zagreb resolution adopted on the same day, only the natural right of nations to self-determination is highlighted, and not the Croatian historical statehood right. The framework of the Monarchy was also not mentioned, so the impression was created that the May Declaration was approved only as a point of departure.

Soon after this assembly was held in Zadar, on 6 March 1918, Juraj Biankini (HS), Ivo Prodan (SP) and Vladimir Simić (SS) forwarded a proposal for a new resolution with similar content to all deputies in the Dalmatian Diet and in the Imperial Council, asking them to provide written consent insofar as they agreed with it. In an accompanying letter, it was pointed out that all Dalmatian deputies would soon be invited to a joint meeting in Zadar in order to deliberate on vital current political and economic matters.³⁵ This meeting was then indeed convened on 13 April 1918, and it truly was necessary, because the Dalmatian Diet had not been convened for over six years. However, when the official provincial government did not want to allow its official convocation, it was convened by the deputies themselves. The meeting was held in the premises of the Territorial Committee in Zadar. It lasted two days. It was presided by Vicko Ivčević, the chairman of the Dalmatian Diet and the Territorial Committee, and a deputy in the Imperial Council. Out of the 54 deputies who were in the Dalmatian Diet prior to the war, 17 of them answered the summons. A group of fourteen excused their absence, giving their consent in advance to its decisions and the draft resolution, while Mate Drinković opposed the meeting.³⁶ Some of the deputies had died in the meantime, and some could

tian Diet) and one was a member of the Territorial Committee (Machiedo). For the text of the summons, see: F. Šišić, *Dokumenti*, p. 126; On the circumstances which led to the sending of the summons: A. Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu ...": 250.

³⁴ F. Šišić, *Dokumenti*, p. 126.

³⁵ For the text of the proposed resolution and the accompanying letter, see: Perić, "Politički portret Pera Čingrije", pp. 250-251.

³⁶ A. Bralić and M. Diklić, based on press reports, noted that 18 deputies were present at the gathering, while 13 of them excused their absence (A. Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu ...": 251; M. Diklić, *Pravaštvo u Dalmaciji*, pp. 447-448; M. Diklić, *Don Ivo Prodan*, pp. 95, 264), while I. Perić, using archival documents, stated that 17 attended and provided a list of their individual names, while 14 excused their absence. According to Perić, the gathering was attended by deputies Dušan Baljak (SS), Gajo Bulat (HS), Ante Dulibić (SP), Ante Franić (HS), Dinko Giunio (HS), Vicko Ivčević (HS), Joakim Kunjašić (HS), Jerko Machiedo (HS), Petar Matulina (SP), Milorad Medini (HS), Dujam Mikačić (HS), Josip Virgil Perić (SP), Ivo Prodan (SP), Vladimir

attend for other reasons. For two days, they discussed the province's burning economic issues, and also political questions. During the gathering, it was stressed that new political circumstances had arisen in Dalmatia and that the need for common effort was felt regardless of partisan divisions.³⁷ At the end of the meeting, what became known as the April Resolution was adopted. In comparison to the one previously sent to deputies, it described the situation in the province more broadly and in greater detail, although the general sense remained unchanged. At the beginning, the resolution expressed unanimous support for the activity of the Yugoslav Club in the Imperial Council, particularly with regard to the unification of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs into a single state body. Most of the resolution consisted of protests over the situation in the province, primarily because the Dalmatian Diet had not been convened for a full six years, a portion of the municipalities were still administered by commissioners, and the persecution and jailing of citizens during the war for political reasons. A particularly dramatic section of the resolution describes the difficult economic situation in the province and the onset of starvation, demanding that the relevant authorities secure without delay a supply of food to the province in guaranteed quantities to save the people from death. Connected to this, they also demanded the possibility of free trade between the two halves of the Monarchy. In the end, the deputies condemned war profiteers who exploited the situation to their advantage, often with the knowledge and even encouragement of the authorities. Thus, in order to pacify the population, they demanded the publication of all procurement invoices for all foodrationing purchasers and a list of all quantities of food sent to Dalmatia, and conferral of the right to supervise these supply operations to the Territorial Committee.38

The last document of Dalmatian politics in which the framework of the Monarchy is mentioned is the Declaration of the Territorial Committee of 19 June 1918 which opposed plans to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia to the Hungarian part of the Monarchy, and any discussion of Dalmatia's fate in the Monarchy at all without convening the Dalmatian Diet. As the best solution to the Yugoslav question in the Monarchy, the declaration once more stressed the demand of the May Declaration of 1917 for the unification of the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes under the sceptre of the Habsburg dynastic rulers. Since this protest declaration was hand-delivered by the chairman of the Dalmatian diet, Vicko Ivčević, to the Dalmatian regent, Count Mario Attems, expression of loyalty to the Habsburgs may have only been a political tactic, but also perhaps an expression of sincere fealty by the Territorial Committee's members. The Territorial Committee had until then been politically passive,

Simić (SS), Stjepan Srzentić (SS), Ante Tresić-Pavičić (HS) and Vuković (?). Perić, *Dalmatinski sabor*, 134. Designations of party affiliation were added for the needs of this work.

³⁷ A. Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu ...": 251.

³⁸ F. Šišić, *Dokumenti*, pp. 128-130.

which was particularly notable a year earlier, when it voiced no public support for the May Declaration, even though the leadership of the Dalmatian SP called on it to do so.³⁹

Hopes and hardships

The quantity of food procured from foreign states continually declined. As of the beginning of 1918, only 50-60% of the quota of cereal foods guaranteed by the state had been delivered to Dalmatia. On the market, food prices continually grew, and it was not easy to obtain food even at market prices. Not even the arduous situation at the end of the war nor the demands from Dalmatia put forth in the spring and early summer of 1918 to allow negotiation for essential quantities of food from Croatia and Slavonia did not prompt the Austrian authorities to make an exception and allow unimpeded supply between the two parts of the state. Together with the previous political and national reasons, this situation largely influenced the dissatisfaction of the Dalmatian population with Austrian rule.

Hope for a solution to the food problem was provided by the Croatian Diet, which at a session held on 11 July 1918 discussed the petition forwarded from the meeting of Dalmatian deputies on 15 April of that year. The Croatian Diet appointed a seven-member committee that would discuss the food question in Dalmatia with a committee of the Dalmatian Diet, and then forward a proposal to the Croatian government. The summer of 1918 saw a crop yield in northern Dalmatia at the very least. In the Zadar area the harvest was good, but a portion of even this modest quantity was requisitioned. In other parts of Dalmatia, the situation did not improve. Bread and everything else were still in short supply.

During the first half of 1918, some of the persons arrested in the first two years of the war because they were "politically suspect" returned to the province with permission from the relevant authorities. However, the latter remained cautious. In July 1918, a communiqué was sent to the district governments in which there were Italian populations, seeking a report on possible contacts between politically suspect individuals who were members of the Italian movement and politically suspect persons in the Yugoslav movement, because such contacts could have been detrimental to the Monarchy. All responses indicated that there were no such contacts, and that the Italians were rather indifferent

³⁹ F. Šišić, *Dokumenti*, pp. 139-141; Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu ...", pp. 248, 253.

⁴⁰ Novo doba (hereinafter: ND), year I, no. 7, 15 June 1918, p. 3; no. 23, 2 Jul. 1918, pp. 1, 3-4; no. 24, 3 Jul. 1918, p. 1; no. 28, 7 Jul. 1918, p. 3.

⁴¹ ND, year I, no. 36, 15 Jul. 1918, p. 1; no. 46, 25 Jul. 1918, p. 3.

⁴² A. Bralić, "Kako preživjeti u Zadru?": 169-171; J. Vrandečić, "Brač u Prvome svjetskom ratu": 98-99.

to the Yugoslav movement.⁴³ This was not in the least surprising, since the Dalmatian Italians saw Dalmatia's future in Italy.

During the spring of 1918 two different iterations of this idea and the manner in which it should be implemented became increasingly apparent among the politicians in Zagreb who supported the idea of national concentration, among whom there were persons from Dalmatia. The representatives of the Starčević Party of the Right advocated the view that national concentration should be implemented by gathering existing parties and groups in to some type of coalition, while the group around the newspaper Glas SHS advocated the need to create an integral national organization that would be joined by parties and groups that would thereby cease to exist as independent organizations. Over time a compromise was achieved whereby the parties and groups were left to decide whether they would preserve their specific character or if they would join the initiative of the Glas SHS group and join a national organization. The national organization was established at a meeting held in Zagreb on 12 May 1918. At the meeting, a ten-member committee was elected with the task of working toward this aim, and the pre-war mayor of Šibenik, Ivo Krstelj, was elected the committee's chairman.⁴⁴

The view of national concentration as a process in which political parties should be erased culminated at the large public assembly held in Split in 2 July 1918. Since the Austrian authorities were still restricting political gatherings, the assembly was officially convened because of the difficult economic situation in the province, and a considerable part of the assembly was in fact dedicated to this problem. Gajo Bulat, a deputy in the Dalmatian Diet and a distinguished member of the HS, presided over the assembly. The economic and political resolutions were prepared in advance, and they were endorsed at the assembly with applause, as was the election of the nominated members of the Board of Directors of the National Organization for Dalmatia and the Economic Committee. The political resolution stressed the unity and harmony among the adherents of all pre-war Dalmatian parties in the work aimed at the creation of an independent state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes based on the right of nations to self-determination. It also stressed that until the achievement of this objective, any manner of separation "due to matters of secondary

⁴³ DAZd, PSN, sv. 706, R-2224 (1918), Dopis Kotarskog poglavarstva u Splitu od 2. 8. 1918.; Dopis Kotarskog poglavarstva u Zadru od 18. 8. 1918.; Dopis Kotarskog poglavarstva u Šibeniku od 25. 8. 1918.

⁴⁴ S. Budisavljević, *Stvaranje Države SHS*, pp. 45-46; Horvat, *Politička povijest*, pp. 45-46; Zdravka Jelaska Marijan, "Nova država, novi putevi (predratni dalmatinski pravaši u političkim zbivanjima 1918.–1920. godine)", in: Zdravka Jelaska Marijan and Zlatko Matijević (eds.), *Pravaštvo u hrvatskome političkom i kulturnom životu u sučelju dvaju stoljeća*, (Zagreb, 2013), p. 429; D. Šepić, *Italija, saveznici i jugoslavensko pitanje*, pp. 312-313.

⁴⁵ ND, Split, year I, no. 24, 3 Jul. 1918, pp. 1-3.

concern or which are today not pressing" was deemed harmful. 46 As a result of this decision, all pre-war political parties in Dalmatia were virtually liquidated.

The Board of Directors of the National Organization for Dalmatia was actually the first national council formed in the Monarchy's South Slav lands. Soon the others would form their own, and then the central National Council as well. However, the National Organization for Dalmatia was the only one formed on the basis of a concept that foresaw the elimination of previous political parties, as well as the bypassing of their until-then most distinguished representatives. A total of 16 members were elected to its Board of Directors, but among them there was not a single deputy in the Imperial Council, nor the deputies who initiated the April meeting. Their work on national concentration had been invalidated, and the impetus was assumed others, among whom there were a few deputies in the Dalmatian Diet. Gajo Bulat was elected to the top post in the Board of Directors.

The Economic Resolution constituted a protest due to the failure to regularly secure the contingent of cereal foodstuffs to which Dalmatia was entitled, and it contained a demand that Dalmatia be allowed to obtain food from Croatia and Slavonia. It was stressed that this had to be taken up with the provincial and state authorities and the government in Zagreb using all available means. The elected Economic Committee was charged with these tasks. The same committee was also charged with making an effort to exchange those products of which there was a sufficient quantity in Dalmatia (dried cherries and figs, carob, salted sardines) for supplies which were lacking in Dalmatia. The resolution further contained a sharp protest against state requisitioning of the already modest quantities of grains and also livestock and hay. Shortages of clothing also led to a protest against the requisitioning of wool. The quantity of olive oil which was produced in the province could not cover the entire shortage of the necessary fats, so imports of oil were also sought. They also demanded that the populace be supplied with potatoes and other foodstuffs to a level not less than that in other provinces, for in Dalmatia it was lower at the time. Equal distribution of sugar to all residents of the province was sought, as well as more sugar "for oenological purposes." Coal, kerosene and carbide were sought for lighting needs.49

One of the signs of general dejection, and probably of a looming collapse, was the increasing number of deserters. Their capture and incarceration were frequent in the summer and autumn of 1918. For example, in Split in July

⁴⁶ F. Šišić, *Dokumenti*, p. 141.

⁴⁷ F. Šišić, *Dokumenti*, pp. 156-160; S. Budisavljević, *Stvaranje Države SHS*, pp. 48-49; B. Krizman, *Hrvatska u prvom svjetskom ratu*, pp. 215-216, 237-238; B. Krizman, *Raspad Austro-Ugarske i stvaranje jugoslavenske države* (Zagreb, 1977), pp. 40-41; Z. Matijević, "Narodno vijeće": 44; Pleterski, *Prvo opredjeljenje*, pp. 334-342.

⁴⁸ Z. Jelaska Marijan, "Nova država, novi putevi": 445-451.

⁴⁹ ND, year I, no. 24, 3 Jul. 1918, p. 2.

1918, the state and military police brought in several fugitives from the city, its environs and neighbouring municipalities almost every day. Their number varied, but most often it ran between three and eight per day. But sometimes there were even more, so that on 2 July the State Police brought in 13 fugitives, while on 23 July the Military Police brought in 17 fugitives.⁵⁰ Similar scenes could have been seen in other cities and settlements.⁵¹

The autumn of 1918 brought not only greater shortages of food and fuel, but also the spread of the so-called Spanish flu. The total number of those who died as a result of this influenza epidemic in Dalmatia is not known, but indicators point to a sudden increase in the number of deaths. For example, in Split the first cases of infections were recorded as early as July 1918, but since there were no deaths, the illness was not taken seriously enough. Deaths began to stack up in September, and the mass deaths reached their peak in mid-October, when twelve funerals per day were recorded in a city in which there were zero to two funeral per day under normal circumstances.⁵² The number of funerals increased by a high factor elsewhere as well.⁵³ An additional problem was also the lack of physicians, because many of them were on the battle-fields. The spread of the epidemic led the Imperial and Royal Provincial School Board to decide on 11 October to postpone the beginning of classes and the opening schools.⁵⁴

The Croatian Diet kept its promise to help Dalmatia. During the autumn funds were collected and food was procured, but due to the shortage of means of transport, it could not be transferred to Dalmatia.⁵⁵

The circumvention of the most distinguished representatives of Dalmatian political life on the eve of and during the war that came to the fore in the election of the Board of Directors of the National Organization for Dalmatia was repeated in the election representatives of Dalmatia to the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, which was established in Zagreb on 5 October 1918. The National Organization appointed seven representatives. Among those appointed, the Šibenik Rightist circle and the HPNS were the best represented. The deputies in the Imperial Council were once more deliberately overlooked, but three of them nonetheless entered the Central Committee by means of co-optation (Smodlaka, Tresić Pavičić and Vukotić).⁵⁶

⁵⁰ ND, year. I, no. 22-52, 1 Jul. – 31 Jul. 1918, pp. 3-4.

A. Bralić, "Kako preživjeti u Zadru?": 169; J. Vrandečić, "Brač u Prvome svjetskom ratu": 98-99.

 $^{^{52}}$ Almost every issue of the newspaper *Novo doba* from September to December 1918 spoke about those who died due to influenza.

⁵³ A. Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu ...": 256; J. Vrandečić, "Brač u Prvome svjetskom ratu": 99.

⁵⁴ ND, year I, no. 125, 12 Oct. 1918, p. 3.

⁵⁵ Proclamation from Regent Attems of 30 October 1918, in: A. Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu ...": 265.

⁵⁶ Narodno vijeće Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba 1918-1919.: Izabrani dokumenti, pp. 73-74, 76, 84-92; Z. Jelaska Marijan, "Nova država, novi putevi": 452-458.

The manifesto issued by Emperor Charles on 16 October 1918, in which he promised the peoples of the Austrian part of the Monarchy a federal state within which each nation would have its own state or special territory, was deemed unacceptable by the peoples represented by the National Council, because the pledge only referred to the Austrian section, with explicit assurances that the integrity of the Hungarian section would be maintained. In relation to the international situation and the situation on the battlefields, this move on the emperor's part was already too late. The National Council of the SCS issued a declaration on 19 October 1918 in which the emperor's proposal was rejected, and the unification of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was sought, regardless of "provincial or state borders". 57

The news of Austria-Hungary's acceptance of a ceasefire and the conditions put forth by U.S. President Woodrow Wilson on 28 October 1918 arrived by telegram to Split on the same day and provoked great public euphoria. The National Organization for Dalmatia, together with the members of the National Council from Split, immediately issued a proclamation on the supreme authority of the National Council of the SCS and freedom.⁵⁸ Jubilation was expressed in public events in other places over the following days.⁵⁹ On 30 October, the Board of Directors of the National Organization for Dalmatia took control of the state offices in Split from the earlier Austrian authorities. 60 In Zadar, the Italians formed one National Council, while the Croats and Serbs established another. However, when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy collapsed, they displayed a certain degree of unity and formed a joint Interim Committee of the National Council, whose representatives went to Regent Attems on 31 October and notified him that he had to leave Zadar, which he did the following night. On the next day, 1 November, Stefan (Stevo) Metličić, until then the finance procurator, assumed control of the Regency on behalf of the National Organization for Dalmatia. By this act, the previous administration was subordinated to the new provincial government, and through it to the National Council of the SCS in Zagreb. Through this same act, Zadar ceased being the seat of provincial authority.⁶¹ This role was assumed by Split, in which a new provincial government was formed on 2 November, and in the coming months it would resolve the problems of feeding the population and the spread of infectious disease, and also confront the Italian occupation of a part of the province.

⁵⁷ F. Šišić, *Dokumenti*, pp. 176-177, 179-181; S. Budisavljević, *Stvaranje Države SHS*, pp. 117-121,125-133; B. Krizman, *Raspad Austro-Ugarske*, pp. 57-60, 66-67; D. Šepić, *Italija*, *saveznici i jugoslavensko pitanje*, pp. 363-365.

⁵⁸ ND, year I, no. 142, 29 Oct. 1918, p. 3; Branislav RADICA, Novi Split: monografija grada Splita od 1918-1930 godine (Split, 1931), pp. 12-13.

⁵⁹ J. Vrandečić, "Brač u Prvome svjetskom ratu": 99-100.

⁶⁰ ND, year. I, no. 145, 1 Nov. 1918, p. 1.

 $^{^{61}\,}$ DAZd, PSN, vol. 709, tgm. no. 1 of 31 Oct. 1918; tgm. no. 1-b of 1 Nov. 1918; no. 4659/1918; 4672/1918; 4674/1918; Dalmatinski glasnik: zvanični list Zemaljske vlade za Dalmaciju, year. I, no. 1, 9 Nov. 1918, p. 1; A. Bralić, "Zadar u vrtlogu ...": 259-261.

Umstände in Dalmatien während der Regierung des Kaisers Karl

Zusammenfassung

In dieser Arbeit wird die Situation in österreichischer Provinz Dalmatien vom Ende 1916 bis zum Ende des Ersten Weltkrieges dargestellt. Im Leben der Bevölkerung war diese Zeit durch viele Schwierigkeiten gekennzeichnet, von denen Hungersnot die schlimmste war. Die meisten mit den Folgen des Ersten Weltkrieges verbundenen Probleme übten Einfluss auch auf das Leben im Hinterlande aus. In Grundrissen sind auch die Besonderheiten des politischen Lebens geschildert.

Schlagwörter: Dalmatien, Erster Weltkrieg, die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie, Lebensmittelrationierung, Hungersnot