

ASPECTS OF PERSONAL FREEDOM DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR IN ZAGREB¹

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This paper examines the social and political situation in Zagreb after the “Exceptional Measures in Case of War” were introduced on 27 July 1914. The state of emergency led to the limiting of civil liberties: the freedom of movement, the free flow of information, and the freedom of commerce. Mobilization and conscription were implemented. “Disturbing the public peace and order” became a criminal act, as did “insulting His Majesty” or speaking out against the Army. Greater freedom of action existed in matters related to caring for wounded soldiers and their families. Unlimited freedom of speech was in effect in the Land Parliament (Sabor) of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. Due to parliamentary immunity, select individuals – Parliament representatives – enjoyed freedom of speech and were not bound by the Criminal Law, but only by the Parliamentary Procedure.

Key words: First World War, Zagreb, state of emergency, care for the wounded and their families, sessions of the Land Parliament, personal freedom, freedom of choice, freedom of speech

A state of emergency was introduced on the territory of Austria-Hungary one day before the beginning of *The Great War*, on 27 July 1914. This allowed the state to suspend certain civil rights, which is legally described as “modifying constitutionality i. e. legality.”² The introduction and implementation of such measures was necessary in order to adapt the society to a state of war, and its legality was based on the limited time it could remain in effect.³

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² Velimir Ivančević, *Institucije upravnog prava*, [Institutions of Administrative Law] 1 vol., (Zagreb, 1983), 1: 109.

³ *Ibid.*, 109.

When we examine the published sources, we can see that war preparations in Austria-Hungary began as early as 1912. The acts titled “Exceptional Measures in Case of War”⁴ and the “Wartime Contributions Act”⁵ were adopted that year. The “Exceptional Measures (...)” were a legal solution for the state of emergency, while the Wartime Contributions Act was supposed to help supply the Army during wartime. This intent of this act was to seize private property for the Army’s use, with compensation payments (*namire*) to the owners. That same year (1912), the laws on “defence forces”⁶ and the “Home Guard”⁷ were also amended. Certain constituent parts of the armed forces were reformed, and the recruit contingents for the Common Army and the Home Guard became larger.

The wartime laws of Austria-Hungary were partially implemented in July 1914. Along with a partial mobilization on 26 July 1914, a “Wartime Contributions Act” was introduced on the ban’s order,⁸ while a state of emergency was introduced the next day, when the “Exceptional Measures in Case of War” came into force. Apart from that act, it was also declared that Emperor and King Francis Joseph I had issued a “Most High Decision” – he granted ban Ivan Skerlec Lomnički permission to introduce a state of emergency in the Ban’s Croatia. Along with these two legal measures, the same issue of the *Official Gazette* [*Narodne Novine*] also published the ruler’s “Most High Write-Off” – on the postponement of the session of the Land Parliament (Sabor) of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia.⁹ That same day, a separate ban’s order established a *court-martial* in Zagreb. Murder, rebellion,

⁴ Broj 69, “Zakonski članak LXIII. : [Legal Article LXIII : 1912. of the Common Hungarian-Croatian State Parliament on Exceptional Measures in Case of War] 1912. zajedničkog ugarsko-hrvatskog državnog sabora o iznimnim mjerama za slučaj rata,” *Sbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju* (hereafter SZIN), [Collection of Laws and Orders Applicable to the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia] Godina 1913. (KOMAD I. – X. BROJ 1. – 122.), (Zagreb, 1913): 369-379.

⁵ SZIN, Broj 81, “Zakonski članak LXVIII. : [Legal Article LXVIII : 1912 of the common Hungarian-Croatian State Parliament on Wartime Contributions] 1912. zajedničkog ugarsko-hrvatskog državnog sabora o ratnim davanjima,” Godina 1913. (KOMAD I. – X. BROJ 1. – 122.), (Zagreb, 1913): 504-515.

⁶ SZIN, “Zak. čl. XXX. : [Legal article XXX : 1912 of the common Hungarian-Croatian State Parliament on the Defence Forces] 1912. zaj. ug.-hrv. državnog sabora o obranbenoj sili,” Godina 1912. (KOMAD I. – VIII. BROJ 1. – 96.), (Zagreb, 1912): 513-562.

⁷ SZIN, “Zak. čl. XXXI. : 1912. [Legal article XXXI : 1912 of the common Hungarian-Croatian State Parliament on the Home Guard] zaj. ug.-hrv. državnog sabora, o domobranstvu,” Godina 1912. (KOMAD I. - VIII. BROJ 1. – 96.), (Zagreb, 1912): 563-575.

⁸ *Narodne novine*, 26 July 1914, 1-2. The “Wartime Contributions Act” and the “Exceptional Measures in Case of War” act went through the legislative procedure in the common Hungarian-Croatian Parliament, but didn’t undergo the same procedure in the Land Parliament of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. Thus, the “Wartime Contributions Act” was enacted through a ban’s order, while a state of emergency was implemented in the same way, after the ruler’s permission was obtained.

⁹ “Previšnji otpis“, [The Most High Write-Off] “Iznimne mjere za slučaj rata,” [Exceptional Measures in Case of War] *Narodne novine*, no. 170, 27 July 1914, 1.

arson, and deliberate damaging of someone else's property ("public violence through malicious damage") were punishable by death.¹⁰ The state of emergency limited certain civil liberties: physical liberties, freedom of movement, and freedom of the press, while the seizure of property began in accordance with the "Wartime Contributions Act" – requisitions became an integral part of the wartime economy.

It is possible to follow the preparations of the military and civilian authorities for war by examining documents from 22 until 27 July 1914. On 25 July, the day diplomatic ties between the Austria-Hungary and the Kingdom of Serbia were severed, war plan "B" was set into motion, and the first day of alert – *Alarmierungstag* – was declared on 26 July¹¹. Partial mobilization was also declared,¹² followed by general mobilization a few days later.¹³ At the same time, the civilian authorities introduced an increasing number of regulations, which laid the foundation for a system of administrative services whose purpose was implementing repressive measures.

Already on 24 July, the Land Government issued a warrant to the *Royal Police Committee of the City of Zagreb* (the city's police department) for making a list of "politically suspicious persons",¹⁴ while examining the contemporary press shows that a rather large number of people who spoke out against the state were arrested in Zagreb.¹⁵ Two days later, on 26 July, ban Skerlec appointed government commissioners for all counties of the Ban's Croatia, whose main responsibility was to maintain public law and order.¹⁶

A law issued (came into force) on 27 July, "Exceptional Measures in Case of War", contained 15 paragraphs. In addition to determining the time of application for the laws, it introduced censorship, forbade the possession of firearms and ordnance, and banned public gatherings.¹⁷ The declared state of emergency was of a general nature and the system was refined during the war through the

¹⁰ "Naredba. bana (...) broj 4412/Pr. (...)," [Ban's Order (...) no. 4412/Pr. (...) *Narodne novine*, no. 172, 27. July 1914, 1. Even though a court-martial competent for the mentioned crimes was introduced in Zagreb, anti-Serb demonstrations took place on 28 July, the day partial mobilisation was introduced. The demonstrators damaged Serb-owned property.

¹¹ Croatian State Archives, Zagreb (Hrvatski državni arhiv - HDA) Zagreb, Predsjedništvo zemaljske vlade [Presidency of the Land Government] (PRZV), kutija (box) 867, Svez. 6-22/4202/1914., broj 4334 Pr. – 1914. Austro-Hungarian war plans (*Kriegsfälle*) were titled B, R, I, and Ru, which stood for war in the Balkans, war against Russia, war against Italy, and war against Romania, respectively.

¹² HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 867, Svez. 6-22/K br. 4202 od god. 1914., broj 4286 Pr

¹³ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 867, Svez. 6-22/K br. 4202 od god. 1914., broj 4580 Pr.

¹⁴ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 867, Svez. 6-22, Broj 4212 Pr., Broj 431 Pr.-1914. K broju 4212

¹⁵ [k.], "Uapšenja u Zagrebu," [Arrests in Zagreb] *Jutarnji list*, 26 July 1914, 5. [k.], "Uapšenja u Zagrebu," *Jutarnji list*, 28. July 1914., 6.

¹⁶ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 871, Svez. 6-22/4279/1914 – 4327 Pr.-1914., "Iznimne mjere za slučaj rata," *Narodne novine*, no. 170, 27. July 1914., 1.

¹⁷ "Iznimne mjere za slučaj rata," *Narodne novine*, no. 170, 27. July 1914, 1.

enactment of separate *Ban's orders*. Similarly, the basic legal text was expanded in 1915.¹⁸ Individual orders were enacted autonomously by the ban, while others were *common*, i. e. identical to Hungarian ones. In such cases, the original Hungarian order was referred to upon the introduction of the Croatian one. In addition to the first repressive orders related to the state of emergency, later ban's orders began to regulate almost all relations in society – the economy, companies' business practices, etc.

Special emphasis was placed on keeping state – military secrets. Revealing or transmitting secret information was considered an act of treason. Laws which were supposed to prevent enemy intelligence services from acting on Austro-Hungarian territory (i. e. espionage) were enacted.¹⁹

Examples of individual ban's orders

Number and date of Ban's order	Date of publishing in Official Gazette, page	Contents of the Ban's order
no. 4221. Pr., 27 July 1914	27 July 1914, 1-2	gate locking times, limits on working hours of eating and drinking establishments
no. 4224/Pr., 27 July 1914	27 July 1914, 2	passports are issued by the Minister of Interior, i. e. the Ban
no. 4225/Pr., 27 July 1914	27 July 1914, 2	limits on crossing ("land") borders
no. 4227/Pr., 27 July 1914	27 July 1914, 2	provisions on reporting foreigners in hotels...
no. 4228/Pr., 27 July 1914	27 July 1914, 2	limits on trading and possession of firearms and ordnance
no. 4230/Pr., 27 July 1914	27 July 1914, 3	establishing control over telephone, telegram, and postal traffic
no. 4235/Pr., 27 July 1914.	27 July 1914, 4	suspension of the law "on the right to gather" – a ban on public gathering in open spaces

¹⁸ SZIN, Broj 29, "Zakonski članak L. : [Legal Article L : 1914. wich amends Legal Article LXIII on Exceptional Measures in Case of War and Legal Article LXVIII on War Contributions] 1914. kojima se dopunjuje zakonski članak LXIII. : 1912. o iznimnim mjerama za slučaj rata i zakonski članak LXVIII. : 1912. o ratnim davanjima," Godina 1915. (KOMAD I. – XX BROJ 1. – 122.) (Zagreb 1916): 168-173.

¹⁹ SZIN, Br. 41, "Zakon o prestupcima zabrane objavljivanja iz vojničkog kaznenog postupka te promjeni §§. 67., 92. i 222. kaznenog zakona i nekih propisa o nadležnosti u kaznenom postupku," [Act on Violations of the Ban on Publishing Material from Military Penal Proceedings and on the Amending of §§.67, 92, and 222 of the Criminal Law and some Regulations on Jurisdiction in Criminal Proceedings] Godina 1914, (KOMAD I.-XIX. BROJ 1.-131.), (Zagreb, 1915): 457- 459, SZIN, Br. 98, "Zakon o imovinskoj odgovornosti kod izdajničkih djela počinjenih za vrijeme rata," [Act on Proprietary Liability in Acts of Treason Committed in Wartime] Godina 1915. (KOMAD I.-XX. BROJ 1.-122.), (Zagreb, 1916): 731-734.

no. 4241/Pr., 27 July 1914.	27 July 1914, 5-6	civilians can be tried at "Home Guard" (military) courts
no. VI. – 1200, 1 December 1914	2 December 1914, 1	determining the maximum prices of flour and wheat
no. VI. – 1223, 7 December 1914	7 December 1914, 1	provision on the production of mixed-flour bread
no. VI. 612/6 – 1915, 11 March 1915	11 March 1915, 1.	new maximum prices of flour and wheat
no. VI. 657/1915, 16 March 1915	16 March 1915, 1	registration of malt and barley supplies
no. VI – 3132, 29 June 1916	30 June 1916, 1	surrender of "certain" metal items

The duties of the government commissioners are listed in the fourth paragraph of the mentioned act. Their primary duties were to keep law and order, and they were active in the area which was assigned to them according to the government's instructions. These duties gave them broad powers – their provisions had to be implemented without question,²⁰ and we can therefore conclude that this duty, in the circumstances of war, represented a direct intervention of the Land Government into local government. Namely, the commissioners issued permits for public gatherings, issued provisions on preventing the spreading of infectious diseases,²¹ and determined the maximum prices of the most important food products.²² The ban appointed Zvonimir Žepić as commissioner for the County and City of Zagreb.²³ In March 1915, Grand Prefect Vladimir pl. Treščec Branjski became the commissioner for the County of Zagreb,²⁴ while Žepić remained the commissioner for the City of Zagreb. However, the post of government commissioner for the City of Zagreb was abolished in April 1916 by a *Ban's order*.²⁵

Through examining the relevant documents it becomes obvious that this post had a decidedly repressive character. They were given duties such as making lists of *suspicious, unreliable* persons,²⁶ which they took over from the police after 26/27 July – this is a clear indication of their broad powers. In cases where individuals deprived of their physical liberty, it is important to distinguish between arrested and detained politically suspicious persons, and *own*

²⁰ "Iznimne mjere za slučaj rata," [Exceptional Measures in Case of War] *Narodne novine*, no. 170, 27 July 1914, 1.

²¹ "Pecivo u javnim lokalima," [Pastry in Public Eating and Drinking Establishments] *Jutarnji list*, 31 December 1914, 5.

²² HDA, Zagreb, Zbirka Stampata, 5/135

²³ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 871, Svez. 6-22/4279/1914 – 4327 Pr.-1914. Zvonimir Žepić was also the head of the Department of National Economy.

²⁴ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 871, Svez. 6-22 K. br. 4279 od god. 1914., Broj 2980/1915.

²⁵ "Obustava djelovanja vladinih povjerenika," [Government Commissioners' Post Abolished] *Jutarnji list*, 30 April 1916, 4.

²⁶ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 867, Svez. 6-22/4212/1914, Broj 5665 Pr.-1914.

and foreign interned nationals. The term “politically suspicious person” mostly applied to the Serbs because Austria-Hungary was at war with the Kingdom of Serbia. This is also the reason behind a provision from October 1914, which prohibited the teaching of the Cyrillic alphabet in schools and the printing of Cyrillic texts in new editions of school textbooks.²⁷ During the war, citizens of hostile states (Russia, France, Serbia, the UK, Montenegro) – persons subject to military service – received the status of prisoners of war and were sent to a POW camp in Esztergom in Hungary.²⁸ Once the Kingdom of Italy entered the war on the Entente side in May 1915, the authorities detained 43 “Italian subjects” from Zagreb, who were interned in the Zagorje region of Croatia; Taborsko (Veliki Tabor) near Desinić and Čret near Krapinske Toplice.²⁹ Thus, the outbreak of war meant the partial loss of physical liberty for the detained, and the complete loss of freedoms for the arrested and interned as well as all non-suspicious Austro-Hungarian citizens who were required to enter military service.

The entire society was subject to a series of repressive measures. In addition to the mentioned repressive provisions, the authorities also strove to limit the flow of information concerning the war and information on military infrastructure and objects. For example, in order to prevent the photographing of military objects, the Austro-Hungarian Army’s Balkan Headquarters allowed amateurs to take photos only in their places of residence and ateliers.³⁰ Mail, telegrams, and telephones were put under surveillance,³¹ and the fear of uncontrolled information flow even led to possession of carrier pigeons being banned.³² Restrictions and supervision were implemented on the most advanced communications systems of the time – telegrams and telephones, which were of great importance to the state authorities and the Army. The ban on long-distance telecommunications use by civilians was, together with the restrictions on flow of information, supposed to allow quicker, uninterrupted communication between the civilian and military authorities. Therefore, special emphasis was put on the security on the entire telecommunication system: infrastructure and devices. The importance of keeping news secret and

²⁷ “Ćirilica ukinuta u srednjim školama,” [Cyrilic Alphabet Abolished in High Schools] *Jutarnji list*, 16 October 1914, 5

²⁸ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, kut. 867, Svez. 6-22/4212/1914., 4102 Pr. - 1914., Abt. 10, Nr. 3292 res.

²⁹ [k.], “Interniranje zagrebačkih Talijana,” [Internment of Italian Residents of Zagreb] *Jutarnji list*, 22 June 1915, 5. One of the internees was the „consular agent“, engineer Carnelutii, a well-known Zagreb architect.

³⁰ Hrvoje Čapo, *Povijest Požege i njezina stanovništva od 1910. do 1921* [History of Požega and its Inhabitants from 1910 until 1921] (Jastrebarsko, 2009), p. 75.

³¹ “Naredba bana (...) broj 4230/Pr.(...)”, [Ban's order (...) no. 4230/Pr. (...)] *Narodne novine*, 27 July 1914, 3.

³² “Naredba bana (...) broj 4229/Pr. (...)”, [Ban's order (...) no. 4229/Pr. (...)] *Narodne novine*, 27 July 1914, 3.

preventing their spread via postal employees was stressed.³³ Therefore, special attention was given to monitoring the work of postal and telegraph service employees. A report made by a government commissioner to the *Directorate of the Imperial and Royal Post and Telegraph* in Zagreb mentions five employees whom the commissioner considered unreliable and asked them to be “assigned to places of lower responsibility.”³⁴ The document’s text shows that the system, although repressive, did not become totalitarian upon the introduction of a state of war. Despite the war and censorship, a large number of materials were published, and unsigned articles appeared in certain newspapers towards the end of the war (1917 and 1918), in which unknown authors (individuals or groups) wrote more freely about the wartime events and their consequences.

The powers of the Ban and the Army were greatly increased through the introduction of a state of emergency and implementation of mobilization and wartime contributions laws. The ban enacted provisions which increased state surveillance over civilians, while military authorities were given absolute power over those mobilized. The provisions of the civilian and military authorities thus became identical for *free* i. e. non-mobilized civilians and military conscripts. The state of emergency allowed the state to control all aspects of an individual’s life but still gave individuals limited freedom of public action through the possibility of working for charities. However, one can conclude that war was the only reality for all people.

Charity work – a form of free(r) activity

Before the war, there existed a slew of societies in Zagreb dedicated to helping the poor.³⁵ In the pre-war years, some individuals had very negative views on such activities. For example, on 5 June 1909, Milan Grlović noted: “Today and tomorrow is the so-called ‘Children’s Day,’ the modern way of collecting contributions for poor schoolchildren. Our ladies and teachers copy Vienna and annoy the public in various ways. One cannot even leave one’s home without being accosted from all sides... And we’re all poor!”³⁶

As the war drew to a close, mobilizations and recruitment followed one after another, completely changing the structure of the society. The families

³³ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 876, Svez. 6-22/4212/1914, Broj 5668 Pr.-1914.

³⁴ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 867, Svez. 6-22/4212/1914, Broj 5665 Pr.-1914.

³⁵ Vijoleta Herman Kaurić, “Koliko je društava djelovalo u Zagrebu za vrijeme Prvoga svjetskog rata?”, [How Many Societies Were Active in Zagreb during the First World War?] *Historijski zbornik* 62 (2009), no. 2: 427-463, 433-434

³⁶ National and University Library, Zagreb (Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica - NSK) Zbirka rukopisa i starih knjiga (Rijetkosti), Milan Grlović, *Moj dnevnik*. [My Diary]. From 1 May 1909 to 31 August 1909, Book 11, in Zagreb 1/5 1909, 28. R 4612, X.-(1909-2.)

of soldiers, especially the poorer ones, were left without a source of income once their breadwinners were sent to the Front. The difficulty of their position is attested by a letter sent by Janko Holjac, the Mayor of Zagreb, to the Land Government in August 1914, in which he comments that the departure of the breadwinners for the Front has left over 3,200 people "(...) in abject poverty and hardship, without a penny to their name (...)"³⁷ Even though the civil authorities offered monetary support to the families of mobilized soldiers,³⁸ a drop in the living standards of an increasing number of families became obvious in a very short time, which soon caused a series of social problems. The visible decline in living standards caused by the mobilizations coupled with the arrival of a large number of wounded soldiers to the city via rail hastened the changing perception towards charity among the entire population. This is also visible in the press: propaganda slogans on the necessity of helping were published at the beginning of the war,³⁹ as were the names of Red Cross Society donors⁴⁰ and donors for various actions.⁴¹

Since the state of emergency banned the activities of all societies, unions, and organizations,⁴² individuals made personal efforts to organize relief efforts. The severity of the situation and the difficulties caused by the indirect consequences of the war and their influence on everyday life can be seen in a letter sent to the ban by a senior clerk from the Ivanec district in early August 1914. In his letter, the clerk notes that he has already organized fund-raising for soldiers' families in his town. He states that he has read of the "Gold-for-Iron" action which was then under way in Austria. He sent gold to the ban in order to assist soldiers' families and offered to work as a volunteer.⁴³ Seeing the social problems of the population, the government approved such relief efforts and volunteer work and began giving an increasing number of charities permission to operate. In this way individual initiative, the choice of an individual, gained the groundwork for better organization and broader scale of action. Individual actions took the form of donating various supplies or money, or direct participation in charities. Professional associations also took part in raising funds for providing assistance to soldiers, their families, and the

³⁷ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 872, Svez. 6-22, K. br. 4495 od god. 1914, Broj 5021

³⁸ HDA, Zagreb, Zbirka Stampata, 6/55

³⁹ Slogan: ["Činite svoju dužnost za obitelji vojnika"] "Do your duty for soldiers' families," *Jutarnji list*, 13 September 1914, 4.

⁴⁰ "Za 'Crveni križ' kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije," [For the 'Red Cross' in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia] *Jutarnji list*, 20 September 1914, 6.

⁴¹ "Za naše ranjenike," [For Our Wounded] *Jutarnji list*, 20 September 1914, 5.

⁴² V. Herman Kaurić, "Koliko je društava", p. 435

⁴³ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 872, Svez. 6-22/4495/1914, 5354 - 1914., Broj 5354. The letter was found in attachment of document number 5354.

wounded. For example, the Tavern Keepers' Union in Zagreb organized the feeding of soldiers' children⁴⁴ and collected gifts for the soldiers on the Front.⁴⁵

The state apparatus soon became aware of the importance of said choice and all charity activities on the level of the Ban's Croatia were approved by government commissioners i. e. the Land Government. At the same time, *War-time Relief Offices* were organized at the state level in Vienna and Budapest, with the goal of raising funds in as many ways and forms as possible. This was envisioned in several ways.⁴⁶ It was recommended that money be sent, while individuals and companies made contracts with the relevant office for the production and sale of various appropriate products.⁴⁷

The King's birthday on 18 August 1914 involved a solemn ceremony and signified the beginning of charity activities.⁴⁸ A series of actions were followed after *King's Day*, and some of them were public manifestations: the *Gold-for-Iron* action, military music concerts, charity shows in the Land Theatre, the selling of Red Cross badges, *Flower Days*, the collection of Christmas and Easter presents for soldiers in the field, the erection of a *Commemorative Tilia Tree* (*Spomen lipa*) on the Ban Jelačić Square, and the setting up of a *Firing Trench Exhibition* on the Sajmište market. The listed actions were supported by extensive propaganda in all daily newspapers and various reports on their progress, all with the goal of attracting as many people and companies as possible to contribute donations. After particular manifestations, the newspapers published reports on their success i. e. the amount of funds gathered.

In addition to collecting material aid; money, food, clothing, and footwear, books were collected for wounded soldiers from the Triune Kingdom and Bosnia and Herzegovina following an appeal made by the ban. The mentioned soldiers were recovering in hospitals in other parts of Austria-Hungary, and the state secretary informed the ban of a plea by the hospital administration in Hungary for newspapers printed in the Croatian language. Following this, the editorial boards of the most circulated daily newspapers – the *Jutarnji list*, *Narodne novine* (*Official Gazette*), *Hrvatska*, *Pokret*, *Obzor*, *Novosti*, and *Male Novine* – sent free copies directly to the hospitals.⁴⁹

Providing care for wounded Croatian soldiers in the Austrian part of the country, more precisely in Vienna and its surroundings was the responsibility of the "Magyar Society of Vienna." This society wrote to the ban, saying the

⁴⁴ "Darovi za prehranu djece u kuhinji gostioničarskog saveza," [Donations for the Feeding of Children in the Kitchen of the Tavern Keepers' Union] *Jutarnji list*, 25 October 1914, 4.

⁴⁵ "Jedan milijun cigareta za hrvatsku vojsku," [One Million Cigarettes for the Croatian Army] *Jutarnji list*, 28 February 1915, 5.

⁴⁶ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 876, Svez. 6-22, K. br.5429 od god 1914, Broj 5484 Pr.-1914

⁴⁷ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 876, Svez. 6-22, K br. 5429 od god 1914, Broj 4234

⁴⁸ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 872, Svez. 6-22, K. br. 4495 od god. 1914, 5265 Pr.-1914.

⁴⁹ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 876, Svez. 6-22/5689/1914, Broj 7705 Pr.-1914

wounded would like to read books of Croatian folk songs published by the Matica Hrvatska (Matrix Croatica).⁵⁰ The ban then asked the Matica and the Society of St. Jerome to send as many books and publications as possible. The Matica sent a large packet of books – “Hrvatske narodne pjesme, knjiga I, II, V, VI” [Croatian Folk Songs, books I, II, V, and VI], “Narodna pjesmarica” [Folk Songbook], and “Posljednji Zrinjski i Frankopani” [The Last Zrinskis and Frankopans],⁵¹ while the Society of St. Jerome sent 353 books.⁵² According to the titles of the books, we can see that the wounded sought books of historical and religious significance, and folk songs.

The success of this action and the later dwindling of book donations are attested in the newspapers. Namely, the “Executive Board of Croatian Scout Associations” participated in the gathering and sending of books and appealed to the citizens to donate books. Near the beginning of the action, it sent around 10 packets per week. By the end of October 1914, they had sent 232 packets of books to all the hospitals throughout Austria-Hungary, while the Matica Hrvatska donated 400 books. According to an article published in the Official Gazette, interest for donating books then started to wane, and the Executive Board of Croatian Scout Associations again appealed to citizens, asking them to send books, fiction, so that the action would not die down.⁵³

This form of gathering relief goods, which could be called a *book action*, was at first intended to help the wounded break the monotony of hospital life, but it spontaneously took on an educational function. Literacy courses using the book “Početnica za odrasle abecedarce” [Alphabet Book for Adults] were organized in Vienna and its surroundings, with the goal of combating illiteracy among wounded soldiers, “a skill which is a true boon for those who master it.”⁵⁴ The wounded were thus offered a chance to receive a basic education. When we take into account the large number of illiterate people on the area of the Triune Kingdom, it becomes clear that this *book action* had an indisputable educational value. After learning to read and write, the wounded soldiers were no longer inhibited, becoming literate, enlightened and free. This symbolism was depicted by sculptor Rudolf Valdec on the eve of the war, on the pediment of the rear facade of the Royal Land University Library. The relief depicts illiterate people in chains on one side and free people on the other, while a figure holding a torch, representing Liberty, stands in the middle.

⁵⁰ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 876, Svez. 6-22, K. br. 5689, Broj 32 Pr.-1915

⁵¹ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 876, Svez. 6-22, K. br. 5689 od god. 1914, Broj 370 Pr. – 1915

⁵² HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 876, Svez. 6-22, K. br. 5689 od god. 1914, Br. 351. Pr. – 1915.

⁵³ “O knjigama za ranjenike,” [On Books for Wounded Soldiers] *Narodne novine*, 29 October 1914, 3.

⁵⁴ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, box 876, Svez. 6-22/5689/1914 Broj 7339 Pr.-1915.

Complete freedom of speech in the Land Parliament

The aforementioned examples show the effect of the state of emergency on the freedom of an individual. Civil liberties were limited as was freedom of movement, while censorship of the press, mobilization and conscription were introduced. One of the free choices was charity work, and freedom was given to organize charity societies. Complete freedom existed only for a select few – the representatives in the Parliament of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia.

Parliamentary life in Austria-Hungary came to a halt after the outbreak of war, and the Austrian and Hungarian parliaments were dissolved. Namely, in wartime, the civil authorities were required to act quickly and it thus became standard practice to dissolve the parliament. This was justified by the need to enact urgent and necessary regulations in the shortest time possible.⁵⁵

In contrast to the Hungarian and Austrian parliaments, the Land Parliament of the Triune Kingdom was postponed following the ruler's "Most High Decision" on 22 July.⁵⁶ This meant that the Parliament was allowed to hold sessions later on, i. e. it did not cease functioning during the war.

The "working majority of the so-called administrative government" in the Parliament during the First World War was comprised of the Croato-Serb Coalition, the Unionists, and the Serbian People's Radical Party.⁵⁷ Individual politicians i. e. representatives, members of the Croato-Serb Coalition had close ties with the Kingdom of Serbia before the war and could be arrested as *politically suspicious persons* during the state of emergency. Even though all representatives kept their parliamentary immunity despite the postponement of the Parliament's sessions, some of them were nonetheless arrested, while most evaded internment.⁵⁸ Representative Svetozar Pribićević, the "First Strategist of the Croato-Serb Coalition"⁵⁹ was arrested despite his immunity, while Vitomir Korać, a representative of the Social Democratic Party, was mobilized.⁶⁰ Five sessions of the Land Parliament of the Triune Kingdom were held during the First World War.

⁵⁵ V. Ivančević, *Institucije*, 110.

⁵⁶ "Previšnje rješenje," [The Most High Decision] *Narodne novine*, 27 July 1914, 1.

⁵⁷ Branka Boban, *Stjepan Radić u vrijeme Prvoga svjetskog rata* [Stjepan Radić during the First World War] (Zagreb, 2006.), p. 74.

⁵⁸ B Boban, *Stjepan Radić*, p. 74.

⁵⁹ Bogdan Krizman, *Hrvatska u Prvom svjetskom ratu* [Croatia in the First World War, Croato-Serbian Political Relations]: *Hrvatsko-srpski politički odnosi*, (Zagreb, 1989), p. 99

⁶⁰ B Boban, *Stjepan Radić*, pp. 57, 74.

The sessions of the Land Parliament of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia during the First World War ⁶¹	
I. session	14 June – 6 July 1915
II. session	20 December 1915 – 9 March 1916
III. session	14 June – 4 July 1916
IV. session	14 December 1916 – 9 March 1917
V. session	5 June 1917, lasted until November/December 1918 with many interruptions

The state of emergency had a negative impact on the public activities of all political parties because all political and “people’s” gatherings on public – open spaces was forbidden. All public gatherings were subject to the approval of the ban i. e. the government commissioner.⁶² This measure was elaborated by a separate ban’s order which suspended the law “on the right to gather.” Only “trustworthy indoor meetings” were allowed to be held provided that the government was notified in advance, i. e. after permission was granted.⁶³ In addition to the ban on public gatherings, all organs of the political parties were subject to censorship.⁶⁴

This state of affairs meant that while “disturbing the public peace and order” – speaking against the state or its structure of government was punishable by up to eight months in prison, ⁶⁵ “insulting His Majesty” could result in a sentence of up to two years in prison, ⁶⁶ and publishing news on the economic situation in the state was forbidden,⁶⁷ there existed an *oasis* in which select individuals were allowed to speak freely. The representatives in the Parliament were not bound by the Criminal Law, but only by the Parliamentary Procedure.

In the parliament hall, the representatives were allowed to speak more freely and discuss the problems of the society and state during wartime. Parliament representatives held many political discussions and often came into conflict due to differing views and opinions on resolving the Croat Question.⁶⁸ Their discussions were quite heated and many insults were traded, leading to many repre-

⁶¹ B Boban, *Stjepan Radić*, pp. 79, 92, 100, 129, 204.

⁶² “Iznimne mjere za slučaj rata,” [Exceptional Measures in Case of War] *Narodne novine*, no. 170, 27 July 1914, 1.

⁶³ “Naredba bana (...) br. 4235/Pr. (...),” [Ban's order (...) no. 4235/Pr. (...)] no. 170, *Narodne novine*, 27 July 1914, 4.

⁶⁴ *Stenografski zapisnici Sabora Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije (SZ)*, [Stenographic Minutes of Land Parliament of Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia] vol 5 (1917), 30-31

⁶⁵ “Radi smetanja javnog mira,” [For Disturbing the Public Peace] *Jutarnji list*, 16 October 1914, 7.

⁶⁶ “Radi uvrede veličanstva,” [For Insulting His Majesty] *Jutarnji list*, 27 February 1915, 7.

⁶⁷ HDA, Zagreb, PRZV, kut. 871, sv. 6-22, K. br. 4236 od god. 1914, Broj 2475. Pr.

⁶⁸ B. Krizman, *Hrvatska u Prvom*, pp. 72-73.

representatives being banned from future sessions.⁶⁹ The censored media provided some coverage of this, but the language was *toned down*, which meant the critical and harsh attitudes of certain representatives were not faithfully transmitted to the public. The representatives were allowed to voice a negative opinion of the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise; “(...) this Croatian-Hungarian Compromise is nothing but a great curse on the Croatian people.”⁷⁰ They also spoke critically of military reports which were printed in the newspapers, which lauded the heroism of the military.⁷¹ It was pointed out that German general Lützmann had lauded the *42nd Home Guard Devil’s Division*, but called it the “42nd Hungarian Division of the Croatian Honvéds”, while the Parliament failed to even congratulate the Croatian units.⁷² The foreign policy of Germany (an ally) towards Istria regarding the founding of schools also came under criticism.⁷³ The wartime economy was also often criticised; requisition, provisioning, and the business models and profiteering of military suppliers.⁷⁴ Some problems weren’t even mentioned in the press, which can be seen when calls for war bonds were issued. In such cases, the newspapers propagated that payments should be as high as possible in order to secure a greater effect. For example, General Svetozar Boroević was cited as saying: “We can lose the war if we run out of money. The pledged millions are like battles won, battles which lead to peace. We on the Front pledge our last penny. Who in the homeland would lag behind? Who..?”⁷⁵ However, in the Parliament there were complaints that Hungarian war bonds do not contain anything written in Croatian, while the Austrian bonds are written in all the languages of Austria-Hungary, including Croatian.⁷⁶ This was seen as one of the unresolved problems of the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise.

The most prominent representative during the wartime Parliament sessions was Stjepan Radić,⁷⁷ who spoke of the problems of provincial people, requisitions, and food supply.⁷⁸ During a parliamentary debate in 1917 Radić cried “Down with the Habsburg!”, for which he was, in accordance with the Parliamentary Procedure, punished by exclusion from 30 sessions of the Parliament,⁷⁹ while citizens who did similar would be punished with several months or even years in prison.

⁶⁹ B. Krizman, *Hrvatska u Prvom*, 82.

⁷⁰ SZ, vol 5 (1917), 7

⁷¹ SZ, vol 3 (1915), 294-296.

⁷² SZ, vol 5 (1917), 530.

⁷³ SZ, vol. 3 (1915), 29

⁷⁴ SZ, vol 4 (1916, 1917), 215-218.

⁷⁵ “VOJSKOVODJA BOROVIĆ O VAŽNOSTI RATNOGA ZAJMA”, [General Boroević on the Importance of War Bonds] *Jutarnji list*, 10 December 1916, 3.

⁷⁶ SZ, vol 3 (1915 and 1916), 246.

⁷⁷ B Boban, *Stjepan Radić*, p. 9

⁷⁸ SZ, vol 5 (1917), 102-103.

⁷⁹ B Boban, *Stjepan Radić*, p. 223

Daily newspapers reported on the sessions of the Parliament; on the debates held there and their general direction, but did not transmit all details or their heatedness, and did not cite parts of speeches of individual representatives. Therefore, the public was not completely informed of the speeches and discussion held in the Parliament.

Conclusion

The beginning of the war in Zagreb, a city far from the front lines, was marked by the introduction of a state of emergency. The day of alert – *Alarmierungstag* marked the beginning of the implementation of war plans and the sending of conscripts to war, to the Front. The state of emergency that limited civil liberties – the freedom of movement, free flow of information, freedom of commerce, public gatherings – limited individual freedom. “Disturbing the public peace and order” became a criminal act, as did “insulting His Majesty” or speaking out against the Army. Bans became a feature of everyday life. The almost-comical ban on public celebration of the Carnival⁸⁰ shows the level of control over the civilian population and their everyday lives. One would not expect freedom of action in such a repressive system, but the government did allow individual freedom in performing charity work – caring for soldiers’ families, caring for the wounded, fundraising, and gathering supplies for the most endangered parts of the population. Thus, individual charity initiatives received the opportunity for better organization. This was especially visible in book-gathering actions for wounded soldiers who were recovering in other parts of Austria-Hungary. The gathered books served to increase literacy among the soldiers.

Five sessions of the Land Parliament of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia were held during the war. Representatives of various political parties, and thus differing viewpoints, held heated debates; on the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise, the war, the economy, and various methods of resolving the Croat Question. They were not criminally liable for their strong words, or even their mutual insults. They were bound only by Parliamentary Procedure, and could be banned from attending a certain number of sessions if they failed to comply with it. Complete freedom of speech existed only in the Parliament, an *island* within Croatia, but only for a select few.

⁸⁰ “Redarstvene odredbe za današnji pokladni utorak,” [Police Provision on Today's Shrove Tuesday] *Jutarnji list*, 7 March 1916, 5. “On Shrove Tuesday and Ash Wednesday, all public gatherings in Zagreb’s streets are prohibited, as are masked processions, the wearing of masks, throwing confetti or similar, and all sorts of Shrove Tuesday pranks such as the burial of the King Carnival etc. Violation of this provision is punishable by a fine of K 200 or up to 14 days in prison.”

Aspekte individueller Freiheiten während des Ersten Weltkrieges in Zagreb

Zusammenfassung

Im Artikel wird die gesellschaftliche und politische Situation in Zagreb dargestellt, die nach der Einführung der „Außerordentlichen Maßnahmen im Falle des Krieges“ vom 27. Juli 1914 entstand. Nach Genehmigung – „allerhöchster Anordnung“ – des Kaisers und Königs Franz Joseph I. wurde im Banalkroatien der Ausnahmezustand vom Banus Ivan Skerlec von Lomnica verhängt. Mit der Verhängung des Ausnahmezustandes kam es zur Einschränkung von Zivilfreiheiten - der Bewegungsfreiheit, der Freiheit des Handels sowie der Informationsverbreitung - und es wurde mobil gemacht. Öffentliche Versammlungen und öffentliche Tätigkeit politischer Parteien wurden verboten. Jemandem wurde ein Strafprozess „wegen Störungen von öffentlicher Ordnung und Frieden“, beziehungsweise wegen der Majestätsbeleidigung oder der „gegen die Armee gerichteten Rede“ gemacht. Man führte Zensur und Aufsicht über die Verbreitung von Informationen ein. *Politisch verdächtige* Bürger und ausländische Staatsbürger wurden interniert. Mit diesen Repressivmaßnahmen wurde die ganze Gesellschaft umfasst. Die Anordnungen der Zivil- und Militärbehörden wurden auch für nichtmobilisierte Zivile und Wehrpflichtige von Bedeutung. Der Ausnahmezustand ermöglichte dem Staate, die Kontrolle über alle Aspekte der Freiheit des Einzelnen vorzunehmen, dessen Alltagsleben vom Krieg durchdrungen war. Obwohl das Staatssystem durch die Kontrolleausübung über alle Aspekte des Lebens repressiv wurde, war es nicht totalitär. Trotz der Zensur wurden zahlreiche Blätter veröffentlicht, in denen später während des Krieges anonyme Artikel veröffentlicht wurden, derer Autoren die kriegerische Realität kommentierten und auf diese Weise eigene Sicht auf die Folgen der Kriegsgeschehen präsentierten. Auf Initiative von Einzelnen erlaubte der Staat humanitäre Arbeit als Hilfeleistung den Armen, Kindern und Familien mobilisierter Soldaten. Es ist besonders eine Aktion des Sammelns von Büchern hervorzuheben, die den verwundeten Soldaten während ihrer Erholung in Österreich und Ungarn nicht nur für Zerstreuung, sondern auch für Alphabetisierung von Analphabeten dienten. Diese Möglichkeit der freien Auswahl kann als ein Aspekt der Freiheit interpretiert werden.

Die unbeschränkte Redefreiheit existierte damals nur im Landtag des Dreieinigten Königreichs Kroatien, Slawonien und Dalmatien. Fünf Landtagssitzungen wurden während des Krieges abgehalten, an denen die Abgeordneten frei diskutieren sowie alle Probleme des Staates und der Gesellschaft kommentieren durften, wofür sie nicht nach dem Strafgesetz, sondern nach der Geschäftsordnung des Landtags verantwortlich waren.

Nach dem Kriegsbeginn kam das parlamentarische Leben in der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie zum Stillstand und das österreichische und das ungarische Parlament wurden aufgelöst. Im Unterschied zum ungarischen und österreichischen Reichstag war der Landtag des Dreieinigten Königreichs durch „allerhöchste Anordnung“ des Herrschers vom 22. Juli 1914 vertagt. Wegen der Vertagung konnte der kroatische Landtag später seine Sitzungen abhalten, beziehungsweise seine Arbeit kam während des Krieges nicht zum Stillstand. Die Vertagung des Landtages ist der „*arbeitsfähigen Mehrheit*“ der sog. administrativen Regierung“ zu danken, die die Kroatisch-serbische Koalition, Unionisten und die Serbische nationale radikale Partei bildeten. Auf diese Weise konnten gewisse Politiker (Abgeordnete) der Kroatisch-serbischen Koalition, die vor dem Krieg bedeutende Kontakte zum Königreich Serbien pflegten, ihre Abgeordnetenimmunität auch weiterhin genießen.

Schlagwörter: Erster Weltkrieg, Zagreb, Ausnahmezustand, Sorge für Verwundete und ihre Familien, Sitzungen des kroatischen Landtages, individuelle Freiheit, Freiheit der Auswahl, Redefreiheit