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## Drugi bokeljski ustanak (1882.) i Italija prema spisima austrijske špijunaže u zadarskoj pismohrani

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Austrija je na Berlinskom kongresu dobila mandat da okupira Bosnu i Hercegovinu nakon što su njezini agenti izazvali ustanak i s njime neposredno upravljali, primjerice Andrásyjev agent Gustav von Thoemmel, koji je u doba ustanka djelovao u stožeru knjaza Nikole.<sup>1</sup> Austro-Ugarska je okupirala Bosnu i Hercegovinu, sklopila tajni sporazum sa Srbijom, a potom je privukla u svoju orbitu Rumunjsku i Italiju u Trojnom savezu. Europska masonerija, koja se desecima godina predvođena Mazzinijem i Garibaldijem suprostavljala austrijskoj špijunaži poduzela je gotovo očajnički pokušaj da podigne Balkan protiv Austro-Ugarske i Turske i inspirirala Drugi bokeljski ustanak. Ustanak je pobudila masonska loža Egeria u Rimu kojoj je venerabilis bio Giuseppe Garibaldi. S njim i s njegovim sinom Menottijem bili su u vezi Léon Gambetta i Gladstone. No ustanak je bio loše organiziran pa je propao.

Agenti Giuseppea Garibaldija pojavili su se na Balkanu krajem 1850-ih godina, dakle u doba kad se Carevina nazivala Austrijom ili Carskim državama (*die kaiserlichen ili die österreichischen Staaten*). Srpski hajduk Luka Vukalović, koji je sudjelovao u hercegovačkim ustancima, nadao se da će se Garibaldi iskrcati 1862. godine u Dalmaciji. Hrvatski liberali Imbro Tkalac i Eugen Kvaternik pristigli su u Torino da bi Hrvatsku uključili u ustanak koji je trebao pobuditi Garibaldi iskrcavanjem u Dalmaciju i koji je onda trebao zahvatiti Hrvatsku, Srbiju, Mađarsku, Poljsku i Češku. Time je Garibaldi nastojao onemogućiti ruski utjecaj na Balkanu, a taj je bio osobito jak u Srbiji. No Garibaldi je nastojao suzbiti i Austro-Ugarsku i potisnuti je s Balkana. Ta nastojanja, koja su nastojala stvoriti jednu podunavsku ili balkansku federaciju, spoticala su se na tvrde mađarske stavove, jer Mađarska je željela hegemoniju u Podunavlju, a spoticala su se i na velikosrpskoj ideologiji, koja je nastojala obnoviti Dušanovo carstvo. Glavni velikosrpski ideolozi bili su političar Ilija Garašanin, filolog i folklorist Vuk St. Karadžić i povjesničar Stojan Novaković. To je car-

<sup>1</sup> Ivan Pederin, Uloga Andrásyjevog agenta Gustava von Thoemmel u bosanskohercegovačkom ustanku 1875-1878. Motrišta, Mostar, 1997., br.1.-2. str. 45-51.

stvo trebalo sezati od Jadrana do Crnog mora i obsizati veći dio Hrvatske, Bosnu, južnu Ugarsku (danas Vojvodinu), Crnu Goru, sjevernu Albaniju, Makedoniju, Bugarsku i dijelove Grčke.<sup>2</sup> Preporuke sardinijskih diplomata u Beogradu (Luigi Cerruti, Marc-Antonio Canini, Stefano Scovasso i dr.) slabo su se slušale u Beogradu jer su oni polazili iz liberalnih polazišta, a to nije baš nalazilo odjeka kod pravoslavnih srpskih nacionalista. Srpski je suvremeni nacionalizam počeo u 17. st., kad je srpski seljak, čiji je vjerski fanatizam raspaljivalo pravoslavno svećenstvo, odbijao plaćati poreze agi, odnosno njegovu zakupniku poreza - pravoslavnom čorbadžiji. Slijedila su nasilja i ustanici koji su se nastavljali manje ili više do Berlinskog kongresa godine 1878. Iz toga nasilja nastala je hajdučija, jezgra buduće srpske narodne vojske, koja je uvijek igrala u Srbiji neku političku ulogu. Tako je nastala klasa čorbadžija, dakle zakupnika poreza. Ona je postala jezgra buduće uprave autonomne srpske kneževine, a utajivala je porezne novce. Srpska kneževina nije imala građanskog zakonika, prvi ustav dobila je 1838. od Porte, a taj ustav nije bio liberalan. Gospodar Miloš Obrenović bio je sam zakupnik poreza, naplaćivao je poreze za Turke i utajio mnogo novca koji je iznio u inozemstvo. Autonomna srpska kneževina imala je uporište na selu. Za ustanaka napadali su se i razarali gradovi. Nacionalna ideologija nije počivala na književnosti i novinstvu, nego su njezini nositelji bili seoski svećenici i pjevači narodnih pjesama.<sup>3</sup> Bio je to nacionalizam koji se razvijao u sklopu osmanskih političkih tradicija i koji je izgledao liberalan jer se suprotstavljao turskom feudalizmu i bio separatistički u odnosu na Tursku. Ideal ovog nacionalizma, koji je vodilo pravoslavno svećenstvo, bila je majčica Rusija koja je s Austrijom i Pruskom bila temelj europskog apsolutizma u 19. st.

Pokušaji političke subverzije Italije u Dalmaciji počeli su 1850-ih godina. Već 1851.<sup>4</sup> neki je neznanac pokušao politički djelovati na neke časnike u Dubrovniku i pridobiti ih za revoluciju. Netko ga je prijavio, no on je uspio pobjeći. Nije malo Dalmatinaca, Talijana, ali i Hrvata pristupilo revoluciji u Italiji 1848./49. Neki protestant i britanski državljani Spiro Con došao je 1851. u austrijski konzulat u Sarajevu s putovnicom britanskog konzulata u Beogradu i tražio austrijsku vizu. Dobio je vizu, krenuo u Beč, pa Beograd, a onda u Bosnu. Policija je doznala da se on zapravo zvao Spitz Goldstein, da je bio revolucionarni agent, pa mu je zabranila daljnje ulaske u Austriju.<sup>5</sup> Godine 1852. stigao je u Bosnu barun D'Ariel,<sup>6</sup> Francuz, koji se zanimao za slavensku filologiju. To je zabrinulo sumnjičavu austrijsku policiju koja se bojala da će se u Bosnu uvući revolucionarni agenti i stvoriti žarišta koja Turska neće biti u stanju ugušiti. I Francuska je 1853. poslala u Bosnu tri diplomata - vicekonzula Edouarda Vieta, dragomana Emerata i Maurice Garniera.<sup>7</sup> Oni su stigli u Dalmaciju i zanimali se kakva je situacija u toj pokrajini. Austrijsku policiju zabrinjavao je polj-

<sup>2</sup> Angelo Tamborra, L-Europa centro-orientale nei secoli XIX-XX (1800-1920) Parte prima della Storia universale diretta da Ernesto Pontieri, Milano, 1973., p. 344-382. Ljiljana Aleksić Pejković, Politika Italije prema Srbiji do 1870. godine, Beograd, 1979.

<sup>3</sup> Vasa Čubrilović, Istorija političke misli u Srbiji XIX. veka, Beograd, 1982.

<sup>4</sup> 361. XII2 1.989/p.

<sup>5</sup> 372. XII2 1.1911/p. 514/p.

<sup>6</sup> 382. XII2 1.2083/p.

<sup>7</sup> 392. XII2 1.188, 131, 597p.

ski politički izbjeglica Mazinski koji je 1853. dobio mjesto tumača u francuskom vicekonzulatu u Sarajevu pod lažnim imenom Moreau.<sup>8</sup> Svi su oni bili manje ili više uvjereni da će se Turska ubrzo raspasti i da Omer paša Latas neće uspjeti sa svojim programom posuvremenja (*tanzimat*). I Kossuth Lajos poslao je svoje ljude Omer paši Latasu u Bosnu s nekim porukama, no nije poznato jesu li oni u Bosnu i stigli.<sup>9</sup>

Svećenik Lodovico Glisenti iz Brescie stigao je 1853.<sup>10</sup> u Kopar *per diporto e per predicazione* u Istri i Dalmaciji. S njim je putovao zemljoposjednik iz Milana Antonio Besana i Englez William Wingfield. Ta trojica raspitali su se o vojnim postrojbama u utvrdama i to je policija odmah doznala. Glisenti je nastavio put i otišao u Cetinje, a policija je bila uvjereni da je pravi razlog njegova putovanja bilo stvaranje veza s Talijanima u Istri i Dalmaciji i da je otišao na Cetinje da odvraća pozornost policije. Pa ipak tršćanska policija javila je dalmatinskom namjesniku podmaršalu barunu Lazaru Mamuli da Englez Wingfield nije bio politički sumnjiv (*politisch ganz unbedenklich*).

Austrijska je policija uvijek znala sve što poduzimaju liberali pa je tršćansko namjesništvo javilo 1853. Mamuli da Giuseppe Mazzini šalje agente s porukama u Istru i Dalmaciju.<sup>11</sup> Bilo je to izvješće koje je prema mišljenju bečke policije moglo biti i pretjerano.<sup>12</sup> Uprava bečke policije (*k.k. Oberste Polizeibehörde*) izvijestila je u veljači 1854. da je Kossuthov agent Sigmund Hegedüs krenuo u Dalmaciju i Srbiju pod krivim imenom Joanesku.<sup>13</sup> Nije poznato je li on i stigao. Za c. k. policiju svijet je bio pun tajnih i podmuklih agenata koji su znali samo za subverziju u Austriji. Godine 1854. Vrhovna policijska uprava dobila je vijest da se Mazzini, koji se nalazio na Krfu, sprema iskrcati u Dalmaciji sa 400 dobrovoljaca ili pak u papinskoj državi.<sup>14</sup> Godine 1856. Vrhovna policijska vlast iz Beča dojavila je Mamuli da je Mazzini poslao u Dalmaciju inženjera Cesarea Borghia s porukama.<sup>15</sup> Borghi je obilazio neko doba Dalmacijom i otišao da ga policija nije uspjela uhititi. Prema policijskim dojavama i Mazzini je bio u Dalmaciji. Dana 31. listopada 1857. okružni poglavar u Splitu, barun Kemper dobio je šifrirani brzojav. Prema tom brzojavu engleski major Wesley, koji je krstario Jadranom na jahti *Dream*, matične luke Krf, bio je zapravo Mazzini.<sup>16</sup> Odmah je izdan nalog za uhićenje, ali u nalogu je stajalo da policija ne smije stupiti na jahtu što bi bilo suprotno međunarodnom pravu, nego da mora čekati da se on iskrca, te će ga onda uhititi na austrijskom tlu. Jahta je stigla u Korčulu, ostala tamo nekoliko dana, odjedrila u Durbrovnik i tamo ostala nekoliko dana uvijek pod budnim okom policajaca, ali navodni Mazzini nije se iskrcao s jahte. Na-

<sup>8</sup> 392. XII2 1.1288/p.

<sup>9</sup> 392. XII2 1.299/p.

<sup>10</sup> 392. XII2 1.1828, 1917, 1913, 2157, 1857, 1876/p.

<sup>11</sup> 392. XII2 1.2164/p.

<sup>12</sup> 392. XII2 1.2199/p.

<sup>13</sup> 392. XII2 1.364/p.

<sup>14</sup> 404. XII2 1.1200/p.

<sup>15</sup> 419. XII2 1.1166/p.

<sup>16</sup> 425. XII2 1.914, 922, 927, 943, 976/p.

pokon je jahta isplovila iz dubrovačke luke i vratila se na Krf praćena razočaranim pogledom policajaca koji su se nadali da će uhititi Mazzinija i dobiti neko promaknuće. No Mazzinijev identitet nije utvrđen.

Poslije poraza kraj Magente i Solferina carska policija zbijala je redove pa je okružni poglavar u Splitu Giovanni Buratti izvjestio u listopadu 1860.<sup>17</sup> namjesnika Mamulu u Zadar da se vlast ne može oslanjati na Dalmatince talijanskog jezika jer se oni žele sjediniti s Italijom, a k tome su pod utjecajem talijanskih agenata koji su bili u Splitu, a da ih policija nije uspjela otkriti. Split je bio grad u kojem je rasla industrijska proizvodnja, a iz Italije su stizali klesari, zidari, vrtlari i sl. i širili ideje Risorgimenta. Mnogi agenti stizali su iz Apulije preodjeveni kao pomorci ili trgovci. Splitski studenti koji su studirali u Padovi nosili su *capello alla mosca* i pušili cigarete u burmuticama sa slikom alpskog lovca. Žene su kupovale modnu odjeću u Italiji, osobito supruga gradonačelnika Antonija Bajamontija. Splitom su kolale glasine da su žene plele odjeću i slale je za Garibaldijeve borce, a Piemont je činio sve moguće da osvoji naklonost Dalmatinaca; vlasti su davale stipendije mladim Dalmatincima i sl. I okružni kapetan u Zadru Zanchi javljao je da su Zadar i drugi primorski gradovi predobiveni za revoluciju, da njima djeluju piemontski emisari,<sup>18</sup> da Dalmacijom obilaze Garibaldijevi emisari prodjeveni kao seljaci ili ribari i da žene oduševljene Italijom nose podvezice s tri boje talijanske *tricolore*, čime je neki duhoviti dojavnik stavio policiju u položaj da istražuje politička uvjerenja žena pod njihovim suknjama. Čini se da je vrijeme bilo naklonjeno Garibaldijevu iskrcavanju u Dalmaciju pa je Namjesništvo organiziralo anketu u mjesnim preturama.<sup>19</sup> Ta je anketa pokazala da simpatije prema Italiji postoje u Splitu, Zadru, Rabu, ali samo među muškarcima, a da nema simpatija za Italiju u Pagu, Dubrovniku, Korčuli, Šibeniku, te da u Kninu i gradićima unutrašnjosti ljudi govore o Garibaldiju s prezirom. Izvješća su prema tome bila pretjerana i policija nije istraživala pod suknjama žena. No ova pretjerana izvješća kažu o strahu i nervozu kod organa carsko-kraljevske vlasti u Dalmaciji. Pa ipak, neki pomorac, koji je došao u Dubrovnik na trabakulu iz Apulije, Petar Kosmaj, pokušao je pridobiti nekog vojnika za revoluciju pa je dopao tamnice.<sup>20</sup> Uznemirena policija doznala je da se u kući contesse Julije Pellegrini održavaju okultističke sesije pa se potrudila istražiti jesu li one i revolucionarne.<sup>21</sup> Policija je pratila talijanska dramska društva koja su putovala po Dalmaciji.<sup>22</sup> Godine 1860.<sup>23</sup> stiglo je izvješće da se Garibaldi zanima za Dalmaciju i da u Kopru kola neki revolucionarni spis koji je pozivao austrijske Talijane na ustanak. Talijanski agenti, među njima Marko Pelicarić, širili su u okolici Zadra vijesti da se Garibaldi namjerava iskrcati u Dalmaciji i da će se onda smanjiti ili posve ukinuti porezi. Zadarska je policija doznala 1860. da su se u Genovi okupljali mađarski vojnici

<sup>17</sup> 451. XII2 1.1356/p.

<sup>18</sup> 451. XII2 1.1491/p.

<sup>19</sup> 451. XII2 1.619, 237, 1535, 1400/p.

<sup>20</sup> 451. XII2 1.1694/p.

<sup>21</sup> 451. XII2 1.1738/p.

<sup>22</sup> 451. XII2 1.612/p.

<sup>23</sup> 451. XII2 1.1163, 1176/p.

po nalogu Kossutha Lajosa<sup>24</sup> da pojačaju Garibaldijeve snage što će se iskrcati u Dalmaciji. Ti vojnici trebali bi kasnije poći u Mađarsku. Jedan bragoc iz Biscelije<sup>25</sup> pokušao je prenijeti u Dubrovnik talijansku zastavu sa *in mezzo la Croce di Savoia in colore rosso*, ali policija ga je uhvatila. U Kotoru se pojavio Henry Merimée, a vlast je sumnjala da je on zapravo mađarski general Klapka György.<sup>26</sup> Mjere opreza nisu davale rezultata, no već u listopadu 1860<sup>27</sup> vlasti su očekivale da će se Garibaldi iskrcati u Crnoj Gori ili u Dalmaciji, gdje bi mogao računati s podrškom brđana. Vlasti su sumnjale u austrijske časnike talijanskog jezika i u *Società drammatica musicale* u Zadru, u kazalište jer su tu Talijani bili jaki. Malo nakon toga Mamula je dobio izvješće da je general Türr krenuo iz Napulja s 810 vojnika u namjeri da okupira jedan školj u Jadranu i da odatle krene u napad da oslobodi sužnjeve u Koprju. U prosincu je tršćanska policija uhvatila poziv Istranima i Dalmatincima da pristupe talijanskoj ratnoj mornarici. Policija, koja je posvuda tražila opasnost, pregledavala je poštanske pošiljke pa je u prosincu 1860.<sup>28</sup> našla u jednom paketu perzervative pa je sumnjala da bi se u perzervativima, a tako i u voću mogli naći revolucionarni manifesti.

Direktor zadarske policije Josef Gariup javio je u prosincu 1860.<sup>29</sup> o raspoloženju hrvatske većine u Dalmaciji koja je željela sjedinjenje sa sjevernom Hrvatskom. Pedesetih godina Hrvati i Talijani u Dalmaciji (ali ne Srbi) bili su zaneseni Risorgimentom i nisu se suprostavljali jedni drugima. Sada, međutim, hrvatska inteligencija želi sjedinjenje s ostalom Hrvatskom, a Talijani žele sjedinjenje Dalmacije s Italijom, kako je naprijed izloženo. Gariup je istaknuo da se kultura Dalmacije razlikuje od kulture sjeverne Hrvatske, da je ta kultura superiorna kulturi sjeverne Hrvatske, da je trgovačka razmjena sa sjevernom Hrvatskom oskudna pa je preporučio da se čuva *status quo* s Dalmacijom u austrijskom krugu to više što Dalmacija u Austriji može računati s dobroti uljudbe koja je viša od uljudbe sjeverne Hrvatske. On je preporučio vlasti da se oslanja na dalmatinski autonomizam i da se suprotstavlja militarizmu Vojne Krajine u Hrvatskoj, u kojoj se nalazilo mnogo Srba. Gariup se pozvao na liberalnu Listopadsku diplomu koja je, međutim, bila centralistička i ustao je protiv hrvatskog liberalnog nacionalnog ideologa Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog što je bio za sjedinjenje, a Dalmatinci nisu za sjedinjenje ni s Italijom, ni s Hrvatskom, te da Dalmacija nije hrvatska, nego *slavenska*. Iz svih tih razloga Dalmacijom valja upravljati iz Beča, a ne iz Zagreba. Sad su Talijani osnovali stranku koja je prihvatila ovo držanje kao svoju stranačku ideologiju pa je ratni poklik Antonija Bajamontija bio *Slavi sempre, Croati mai!* U prvom broju talijanskog lista u Zadru *Il Dalmata, Giornale politico, economico, letterario* od 10. ožujka 1866. čita se da je taj list želio odgovoriti potrebama pokrajine i pojačati organe liberalnih shvaćanja,

<sup>24</sup> 451. XII2 1.1211/p.

<sup>25</sup> 451. XII2 1.1220/p.

<sup>26</sup> 451. XII2 1.1255/p.

<sup>27</sup> 451. XII2 1.1713, 1427, 1294/p.

<sup>28</sup> 451. XII2 1.1670/p.

<sup>29</sup> 459. XII1 1.59/p.

da je autonomaška stranka bila stranka čiste autonomije, da smo mi Slaveni ne samo po krvi, nego i po srcu, te da smo mi prvi koji ćemo isticati krvne veze s našim zemljacima kojih je više od šezdeset milijuna. Pošto se okomio na hrvatski aneksionizam iz kojeg slijedi nestanak talijanskog jezika, list je tražio njegu talijanskog, ali i *slavenskog* jezika. Autonomaška stranka došla je na vlast, a njezina lidera baruna Luigija Lapennu podupirao je Gariup.<sup>30</sup> Međutim, kad se ta stranka potkraj sedamdesetih godina orijentirala iredentistički, na vlast je došla Narodna stranka osamdesetih godina, ali nije smjela isticati svoje želje za sjedinjenjem sa sjevernom Hrvatskom.<sup>31</sup>

Mudri savjeti Gariupa imali su utjecaja i ljudi se nisu javljali u talijansku ratnu mornaricu.<sup>32</sup> Malo je značilo da su se u blizini Murtera pojavili brodovi s kojih su se u siječnju 1861. čuli povici *Viva Garibaldi!*<sup>33</sup> Pa ipak, politička agitacija jačala je u Dalmaciji, policija je sumnjala da se južno voće krijumčari u Dalmaciju i očekivala da će se Garibaldi iskrcati.<sup>34</sup> Knjaz Danilo poslao je senatore Iva Rakonića i Đuru Matanovića u Italiju da stupe u vezu s Garibaldincima. U Supetru na Braču uhićeni su Vicko Medičević, Ante Nikolović i dr. Nikola Ivelić jer su kazali da više vole Garibaldija, nego li Austriju,<sup>35</sup> a policija je doznala da je u Mađarskoj osnovan odbor da okuplja mladež koju će onda poslati u Mađarsku i Hrvatsku i Dalmaciju da se bori i da digne narod protiv Austrije. Kao član ovog odbora spomenut je Bartolomeo Negri koji se 1848./49. borio u Mađarskoj i putovao pod lažnim imenom Bartolomeo Farkas. U veljači 1861.<sup>36</sup> austrijsko je Ministarstvo policije donijelo odluku da se nadzire trgovina žitom i opskrba mlinova da se garibaldinci ne bi mogli opskrbiti hranom ako se jednom iskrcaju u Dalmaciji.

No onda je policija utvrdila da su sva ova nagađanja o agentima koji su nastojali pridobiti Dalmatince za Italiju bile bez osnove. Politički razvoj Dalmacije išao je u pravcu borbe za aneksiju, odnosno za autonomiju pokrajine. Velik broj *italianissimi*, a to su bili oni koji su bili oduševljeni Risorgimentom, prema izvješćima policije sada je bio u redovima aneksionista i tako je ideološko naslijeđe Risorgimenta proširilo političke tradicije hrvatskog liberalizma.

U kolovozu je policiji pao u ruke jedan primjerak knjige Francesca Domenica Guerrazzija. Mnogo tih knjiga potajno je uneseno u Split i tu se prodavalo.<sup>37</sup> Jedan sje-

<sup>30</sup> 459. XII2 1.2029/p.

<sup>31</sup> Na početku 1860-ih godina otpočela je oštra polemika između talijanske manjine i hrvatske većine u Dalmaciji o uredovnom jeziku. Mletačka uprava u Dalmaciji nikad nije poznavala uredovni jezik, talijanski je postao uredovnim jezikom u Dalmaciji tek 1808. odlukom generalnog providura Vicenza Dandola, Ivan Pederin, Strani i uredovni jezik u Hrvatskoj, Jezik, XXIX (1982), br. 3, str. 65-73. Sad su Hrvati predložili hrvatski za uredovni jezik u Dalmaciji, a to je bio jezik koji je u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj bio uredovni, no tome su se suprostavili Talijani, držeći da je hrvatski neizgrađen jezik koji ne može biti službenim, Grga Novak, God. 1860. u polemikim spisima. Jedno poglavlje iz povijesti borbe Dalmacije za sjedinjenje Hrvatskom, Radovi IJAZU u Zadru, sv. 8 (1961) Vjekoslav Maštrović, Odnos činovnika prema jezičnom pitanju u Dalmaciji u preporodno vrijeme, Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> 459. XII1 1.37/p.

<sup>33</sup> 459. XII1 1.137/p.

<sup>34</sup> 459. XII2 1.148, 147/p.

<sup>35</sup> 459. XII2 1.384, 418/p.

<sup>36</sup> 459. XII2 1.524, 659/p.

<sup>37</sup> 459. XII2 1.1720, 1920/p.

meništarac u Splitu, imenom Ozretić, morao je napustiti sjemenište jer je čitao tu knjigu i drugu knjigu talijanskog pisca Giustija i koji je prema mišljenju biskupa bio “zanesen revolucionarnim duhom i naklonjen Italianissimima”. U studenome 1861.<sup>38</sup> stizala su povjerljiva izvješća austrijskom ministru policije u Beč. Prema tim izvješćima garibaldinski časnici slali su svoje fotografije na mjesto okupljanja. Revolucionarni agent Floria Cordella iz Mletaka bio se vratio iz Amerike i spremao se na put u Dalmaciju. Talijanska politička agitacija širila se u redovima talijanske ratne mornarice, a osobito među Talijanima koji su u toj mornarici služili. No onda je Gariup umirio duhove u rujnu 1862.<sup>39</sup> Neuspjese pokušaja da se Italija ujedini umorili su dalmatinske *Italianissime*. O oružju koje se, prema vijestima što ih je primala bečka policija, potajno krijumčarilo u Rijeku nije bilo ni traga. Mađarska legija stacionirana u Piemontu nije se pojavljivala u Dalmaciji. Jedan talijanski brod sa stožernim Garibaldijevim časnicima nije došao u Dalmaciju da bi izabrao točku za iskrcavanje. U srpnju 1862.<sup>40</sup> neki grof Mollie, Mollier, Mounier ili Moynier, koji se nazivao slikarom, a policija je držala da je on bio garibaldinski agent, došao je u Dalmaciju da sklopi veze u Dalmaciji i policija ga je pratila. On je imao veza s ruskim knezom Vasilijem Sciakovskim, sastao se s ruskim konzulom u Dubrovniku Konstantinom Petkovićem, a onda je otišao na Cetinje.

U Splitu su se u Vijećnici sastale neke ličnosti Autonomnaške stranke i poslale caru peticiju da dopusti Nikoli Tommaseu da se vrati u domovinu. Ministar Anton von Schmerling odgovorio je namjesniku Mamuli da je Tommaso *notorni buntovnik*, sve ako su njegovi nedavni spisi pobudili autonomizam u Dalmaciji<sup>41</sup> i nije se složio za zahtjevom autonomaša.<sup>42</sup> U Splitu su se, međutim, prodavali šeširi izrađeni u Italiji s likovima Napoleona III. Vittoria Emanuele, Garibaldija i Cavoura.<sup>43</sup> Na Cetinje je pak stigao neki Spiridone Sassella.<sup>44</sup> Austrijska policija doznala je da je on sudjelovao u Garibaldijevim pohodima na Siciliji, a pratila je i nekog trgovca Laghija iz Splita,<sup>45</sup> koji je često putovao u Milano, Torino, a možda i na Capreru. Policija je držala da je on odgovoran za širenje revolucionarnih letaka po Bosni. U ožujku 1864.<sup>46</sup> Mamula je dobio vijest od zbornog područja u Veroni da se Garibaldi ukrcao na engleski brod *La Valetta* i da je brod isplovio. O svrsi ovog putovanja ništa se nije znalo.

U lipnju 1864. u blizini Barlette okupilo se 30 000 dragovoljaca sa svih strana Italije u namjeri da se iskrcaju u Dalmaciji. Autonomasi su vjerovali u pobjedu talijanskog ratnog brodovlja u borbi protiv austrijskog brodovlja, ali ne i narodnjaci. Novi namjesnik podmaršal Franjo barun Filipović, Hrvat, obilazio je Dalmacijom da hra-

<sup>38</sup> 459. XII2 1.2199, 2233, 2313, 23547p.

<sup>39</sup> 468. XII2 1.466, 162, 255, 1656/p.

<sup>40</sup> 468. XII2 1.1249, 1257, 1271, 1285/p.

<sup>41</sup> Ivan Pederin, Tommaso pod okom austrijskog redarstva i njegovo rodoljublje, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru, 34 (1992), str. 197-235.

<sup>42</sup> 468. XII2 1.1370, 1380/p.

<sup>43</sup> 468. XII2 1.1735/p.

<sup>44</sup> 468. XII2 1.328, 859, 885, 1067/p.

<sup>45</sup> 476. XII2 1.311/p.

<sup>46</sup> 476. XII2 1.423/p.

bri narod i poziva na obranu Dalmacije protiv garibaldinaca. Namjesništvo se preselilo iz Zadra u Drniš. Godine 1866. vjerovalo se u austrijskim diplomatskim krugovima u Albaniji da bi Garibaldi mogao pokušati iskrcavanje u Albaniji da prijeđe u Srbiju i Mađarsku.<sup>47</sup>

Austrijske pobjede kod Visa i Custozze donijele su preokret. Ništa nije pomoglo autonomasima što su širili glasine da se Garibaldi iskrcao kod Slanog.<sup>48</sup> Italija je bila poražena i oslabljena, a talijanski gradonačelnik Splita Antonio Bajamonti morao je čestitati Tegetthofu na pobjedi kod Visa.<sup>49</sup> Izvješća o pokušajima talijanskih agenata u Dalmaciji počela su nestajati iz spisa austrijske policije. Dvor je sklopio Nagodbu s Mađarskom 1867. i time uklonio političko nezadovoljstvo u Mađarskoj.

Godine 1875. počeo je ustanak u Bosni iza kojega je stajala Srbija i Rusija<sup>50</sup> i garibaldinci su pritekli u pomoć Srbima<sup>51</sup>

Garibaldi je još jednom pokušao dići Balkan protiv Austro-Ugarske godine 1871-1881. Neka udruga u Bologni koja se zvala *Unità d'Italia* poslala je u Zadar, a potom i u Bosnu žestokog republikanca Angela Morella iz Mletaka koji je nekoć djelovao kao novinar u Srbiji.<sup>52</sup> C. k. savjetnik austrijskog poslanstva u Rimu, knez Wrede sastao se krajem 1879. s nekim konfidentom, čije ime nije spomenuo.<sup>53</sup> Prema tom konfidentu neki iredentistički komitet sastao se u stanu ljevičarskog političara, profesora Oddija u Rimu i poslao agente u Trident, južni Tirol, a potom i dra. Fabrisa na Kvarner. Fabris se vratio u Italiju i priopćio svoje dojmove Garibaldiju. U Rimu je sve vrvilo od talijanskih emigranata iz Istre i Dalmacije koji su se željeli okupiti u legiju i boriti protiv Austro-Ugarske. I ruski agenti zastrašeni od osovine Beč-Berlin, stizali su u Italiju, a tu su uz Irredentu pristajali i ljevičari.<sup>54</sup> Na čelu ovog pokreta nadahnutog Garibaldijem koji je živio na Capreri nalazio se general Doda i njegov sin, pa Terenzio Priori i oni su sklapali veze s Balkanom pa je anonimni informant naveo desetak imena agenata u Grčkoj, Srbiji, Bosni i Hrvatskoj te u Albaniji. Sve su to bili ljudi iz krugova urote što je ugušena u Srbiji.<sup>55</sup> Iz Trsta je krenuo brodom za Kotor neki ruski pukovnik Waldemar von Becher da isporuči knjazu Nikoli brod što mu ga je darovala ruska vlada. Njegova misija završila je neuspjehom jer dalmatinske tvrtke nisu htjele prevesti taj brod u Crnu Goru budući da nitko nije davao garancije da će im posao biti plaćen, pa je napokon Becher molio neke trgovce u Dubrovniku da mu pozajme novaca da se vrati kući.

<sup>47</sup> 497. XII1 1.296/p.

<sup>48</sup> Šime Perićić, Namjere Talijana glede Dalmacije i austrijske protumjere 1866. godine, Pomorski zbornik, 1966., br. 4.

<sup>49</sup> Osca Randi, Antonio Bajamonti, il "mirabile" potestà di Spalato, Zara, 1932. str. 24.

<sup>50</sup> Milorad Ekmečić, Ustanak u Bosni 1875-1878, Sarajevo, 1960. Prema popisima pučanstva u Bosni je bilo 42,88 % Srba, 38,73 % muslimana, 18,09 % Hrvata i 0,29 % Židova. Tomislav Kraljačić, Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini 1882-1903, Sarajevo, 1987, str. 14. Broj je Srba opadao.

<sup>51</sup> O. Randi, Op.cit., str. 35. U sv. 560. XIV31. zadarske pismohrane nalazi se svežnjic pod naslovom Garibaldi, no u tom svežnjicu ne nalazi se ni jedna od signatura što su navedene na omotnici.

<sup>52</sup> 586. XII2 9.2592/p.

<sup>53</sup> 586. XII2 9.2641/p.

<sup>54</sup> O iredentizmu vidi E.Sabatucci, Il problema dell'Irredentismo e le origini del movimento nazionalistico in Italia, u: Storia Contemporanea, 1970., str. 467-502, i 1971., str. 53-106.

<sup>55</sup> 586. XII2 9.2731, 22264, 2307, 2345, 2461, 2556, 2551/p.



U travnju 1879.<sup>56</sup> priopćio je austrijski ministar unutarnjih poslova grof Eduard Taaffe dalmatinskom namjesniku podmaršalu barunu Gavrilu Rodiću o namjerama iredente i o tome da je namjeravana ekspedicija u Guineju, koju je Italija spremala, za pravo namjera da se pokuša iskrcavanje u Dalmaciji i da taj pokušaj valja spriječiti. Carsko-kraljevski poklisar u Rimu, barun Haymerle izvijestio je Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova u Beču o pokretima iredentističkih agenata koji su poslani u Bosnu da pobune Srbe i muslimane protiv Austro-Ugarske. Knez Wrede i barun Haymerle<sup>57</sup> javljali su o vezama talijanske ljevice, u kojoj je sa Srbima i Albancima jako djelatno bio Menotti Garibaldi, sin Giuseppea. U rimskoj masonskoj loži Egeria raspravljalo se kako pokrenuti političku subverziju, u Bresciji se skupljalo oružje za tu svrhu i čuvalo u skladištima Massina. Egeria je održavala veze i s Giuseppeom Garibaldijem i Crispijem, pa s Gladstoneom koji je želio izazvati rat između Italije, Grčke i Srbije s jedne strane i Turske s Austro-Ugarskom s druge strane. Loža je k tome održavala veze i s Léon Gambettom, liberalnim francuskim državljanom koji je svojedobno ustajao da se osveti poraz Francuske u ratu protiv Pruske 1870. William Ewart Gladstone također je bio liberalni političar koji je ustajao protiv Turske i bio velikim neprijateljem pape i katolicizma. Prema svim tim izvješćima oružje namijenjeno Balkanu nalazilo se u Jakinu i prebacivalo se u Korčulu i Skadar.<sup>58</sup> U izvješćima Ministarstva vanjskih poslova spominjala su se imena, koja su često bila pogrešno napisana. Svi članovi ove široke organizacije oslovljavali su se međusobno s ti i nazivali se braćom.

Policija je počela istraživati u Dalmaciji, Bosni i Hercegovini. Utvrdila je da u Dubrovniku zaista postoji navodni agent Andrija Mitrović, vlasnik nekog pansiona, ali vrlo stroga prismostra nije dala nikakvih rezultata,<sup>59</sup> a tako ni istraga koja je počela u siječnju 1880. Većina imena u izvješćima austrijske špijunaže bila je napisana pogrešno. Neki kao Andrija Mitrović, Petar Franasović, Nikola Opuić, Đorđe Kovačević iz Dubrovnika individualizirani su, ali prismostra nije potvrdila njihovo sudjelovanje u uroti. Policija je utvrdila da glavnog agenta Saulovića iz Korčule nije bilo moguće naći u tom malom gradu. Sve je upućivalo na to da je izvješće bilo pretjerano. Policija je ipak utvrdila da su Matija Ban i njegov zet slikar Stevan Todorović bili članovi te tajne organizacije što je bila vezana s Ujedinjenom omladinom srpskom, te da su bili povezani sa srpskim čelnikom u Bosni Mićom Ljubibratićem, te da je iza njih stajao srpski ministar Jovan Ristić. Istraga je utvrdila postojanje i djelatnost srpskog agenta u Bosni Tome Svetića, te Albanca ili Grka Stefana Hagi Janini i nekog Soliman Beya. I Saulović nije bio posve izmišljena osoba, osoba tog imena dugo je živjela u Dubrovniku, ali je onda nekamo otišla. Prema mišljenju austrijske diplomacije urota je bila djelo talijanske masonerije, odnosno njezina velikog meštra Giuseppea Garibaldija.

<sup>56</sup> 586. XII 9.941, 956/p.

<sup>57</sup> 586. XII 9.79, 146/p.

<sup>58</sup> 588. XII 2. 147, 199/p.

<sup>59</sup> 588. XII 2. 199, 279, 302, 342, 373, 35, 754, 469, 503, 1079/p.

Urota je bila loše pripremljena i ustanak Srba i muslimana koji je počeo u Boki i u Hercegovini u prosincu 1881. nije uspio nabaviti oružje pa ga je lako ugušio dalmatinski namjesnik podmaršal barun Stevan Jovanović.<sup>60</sup> Međutim, ova epizoda pokazala je i slabost austrijskih tajnih službi. Bilo je jasno da je austrijska špijunaža imala u Italiji samo jednog informanta, a taj nije bio u stanju doći do preciznih podataka. U 1820-im godinama Austrija je imala u Italiji gustu mrežu špijunaže koja je pratila karbonare i druge tajne organizacije.

Urota je ostala bez rezultata i Garibaldi se nije iskrcao u Dalmaciji. No, sposobni je austrougarski ministar vanjskih poslova grof Andrassy Gyula, koji je bio mason, uvjerio Italiju da stupi u Trojni savez, a, s druge strane, djelovao je na Srbiju, Rumunjsku i Rusiju da sklope saveze s Austro-Ugarskom. Tako je počelo razdoblje sjaja Austro-Ugarske, razdoblje u kojem je Italija, nakon što je ostvarila svoj san i ujedinila se, bila prisiljena stupiti u savez s Austrijom, a to je bio savez koji nije bio povoljan za njezine nacionalne interese.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> M. Ekmečić, Op.cit. Ivan Pederin, Odnos austrijske vlasti prema talijanskom, hrvatskom, srpskom i crnogorskom novinstvu u doba bokeljsko-hercegovačkog ustanka (1880-1882), Boka, Herceg-Novi, 20(1989) str.187-209.

<sup>61</sup> Charles Loiseau, L'Equilibre adriatique (L'Italie et la question d'orient), Paris, 1901.

## The second uprising of Boka Kotorska (1882) and Italy

According to the documents of Austrian espionage in the Zadar archives

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At the Berlin Congress, Austria was given a mandate to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, after its agents had incited an uprising and directly controlled it as, for instance, Andrassy's agent Gustav von Thoemmel, who, at the time of the uprising, was active at the headquarters of prince Nikola<sup>1</sup>. Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, made a secret pact with Serbia and drew Romania and Italy into its orbit, thus making a Tripartite Alliance. The European Freemasonry led by Mazzini and Garibaldi, that for a decade had resisted the Austrian espionage, made an almost desperate attempt to raise the Balkans against Austria-Hungary and Turkey and inspired the second uprising of Boka Kotorska. The masonic lodge Egeria in Rome, the *venerabilis* of which was Giuseppe Garibaldi, incited the uprising. Leon Gambetta and Gladstone kept contacts with him and his son Menotti. However, the uprising was badly organised and it failed.

The agents of Giuseppe Garibaldi appeared in the Balkans at the end of 1850's, in other words, at the time when the empire was called Austria, or the Emperor's States (*die kaiserlichen ili die oesterreichischen Staten*). A Serbian highwayman Luka Vukalović, who took part in uprisings in Herzegovina, hoped that in 1862 Garibaldi would land in Dalmatia. Croatian liberals, Imbro Tkalec and Eugen Kvaternik arrived in Torino in order to include Croatia into an uprising that was supposed to be awaked by Garibaldi with his landing in Dalmatia, and then the uprising would spread in Croatia, Serbia, Hungary, Poland and Bohemia. In that way, Garibaldi, strove to prevent Russian influence in the Balkans, that was especially strong in Serbia. Besides, Garibaldi tried to fight Austria-Hungary as well and to push it from the Balkans. These attempts targeted at creating a strong Danubian or a Balkan federation, collided with rigid Hungarian stands, since Hungary wanted a hegemony in the Danube region. They also collided with the Great-Serbian ideology which strove to renew the Empire of Dušan. The main Great-Serbian ideologists were politician Ilija Garašanin, philologist and folklorist Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and historian Stojan Novaković. This empire should have covered the area from the Adriatic Sea to the Black Sea encompassing a greater part of Croatia, Bosnia, southern Hungary (the Vojvodina of today), Montenegro, northern Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria and

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<sup>1</sup> Ivan Pederin, *Uloga Andrassyjevog agenta Gustava von Thoemmela u bosansko-hercegovačkom ustanku 1875-1878*, Motrišta Mostar, 1997, numbers 1-2, pages 45-51

parts of Greece.<sup>2</sup> The recommendations of Sardinian diplomats in Belgrade, namely: Luigi Cerruti, Marc-Antonio Canini, Stefano Scovasso and others were poorly followed in Belgrade, since they departed from liberal points of view which were not well understood by the orthodox Serbian nationalists. The contemporary Serbian nationalism had begun in the 17<sup>th</sup> century when Serbian peasants, whose religious phantasm was stirred up by orthodox priests, refused to pay taxes to the agha, i.e. to his tax tenant- the orthodox "čorbadžija". Violence and uprisings followed, which continued, to a greater or a lesser extent, until the Berlin Congress in 1878. A product of the violence was the highway banditry, the nucleus of a future Serbian people's army that always played some kind of a political role in Serbia. Thus originated the class of "čorbadžija", in fact, the class of tax tenants who became the nucleus of a future administration of the Serbian principality that concealed the tax money. The Serbian principality did not have a civil code. In 1838 it got its first constitution from the Port, though it was not a liberal one. Master Miloš Obrenović was a tax-tenant himself. He collected taxes for the Turks, and concealed a lot of money that he brought out overseas. The autonomous Serbian principality had its stronghold in the countryside. During uprisings towns were attacked and destroyed. The national ideology was not founded on literature and journalism, but its main bearers were village priests and singers of folk songs<sup>3</sup>.

It was a nationalism that developed in the framework of Ottoman political traditions. It seemed liberal because it opposed Turkish feudalism and was separatist in relation with Turkey. The ideal of this nationalism, led by the orthodox clergy, was mother Russia that, together with Austria and Prussia, was the foundation of the European absolutism in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Attempts of Italian political subversion in Dalmatia began in 1850-ies. Already in 1851<sup>4</sup> an unknown man tried politically to influence some officers in Dubrovnik and to gain their support for the revolution. Somebody reported him but he succeeded in escaping. There were more than few Dalmatians, Italians, and Croats as well, who, in 1848/49, joined the revolution in Italy, which is explained in the text that follows. A protestant and British subject, Spiro Con, in 1851 came to the Austrian consulate in Sarajevo with a passport issued by the British consulate in Belgrade, to apply for the Austrian visa. He was issued a visa, he went to Vienna, to Belgrade and then to Bosnia. The police found out that his real name was Spitz Goldstein, that he was a revolutionary agent and forbade him future entrance in Austria<sup>5</sup>. In 1852 baron D'Ariel came to Bosnia. He was a Frenchman interested in Slav philology.<sup>6</sup> This troubled the suspicious Austrian police who worried that revolutionary agents would thus enter Bosnia and make focuses of uprisings that Turkey would not be able to

<sup>2</sup> Angelo Tamborra, *L'Europa centro -orientale nei secoli XIX-XX (1800-1920) The first part of General history directed by Ernesto Pontieri Milan, 1973, pages 344-382* Ljiljana Aleksić Petković, *Politika Italije prema Srbiji do 1870*, Belgrade 1979

<sup>3</sup> Vasa Čubrilović, *Istorija političke misli u Srbiji XIX. veka*, (Beograd, 1982).

<sup>4</sup> 36. XII2 1.989/p.

<sup>5</sup> 372. XII2 1.911/p. 514/p

<sup>6</sup> 382. XII2 1.2083/p.

suppress. In 1853, France also sent three diplomats to Bosnia, namely vice-consul Edouard Viète, dragoman Emerate and Maurice Garnier<sup>7</sup>. They arrived in Dalmatia and inquired on the state of affairs in the province. Mazinski, a Polish political refugee, who was appointed interpreter by the French vice-consulate in Sarajevo under the false name Moreau<sup>8</sup>, worried the Austrian police. They all were, more or less, convinced that Turkey would very soon fall apart, and that Omer-paša Latas would not succeed in implementing his modernisation plan (*tanzimat*). Lajos Kossuth also sent his men to Bosnia, with some messages, but it is not known whether they really arrived there<sup>9</sup>.

In 1853, a priest named Lodovico Glisenti from Brescia, arrived in Kopar<sup>10</sup> (*per diporto e per predicazione*), Istria and in Dalmatia. A landowner from Milan, Antonio Besana, and an Englishman, William Wingfield traveled with him. The three of them inquired on military units inside fortifications, which the police discovered immediately. Glisenti continued his trip and went to Cetinje. The police was convinced that the real reason of his travel was establishing connections with Italians in Istria and Dalmatia, and that he went to Cetinje in order to distract the attention of the police. Still, the police of Trieste sent a message to the Dalmatian governor, vice-marshal and baron Lazar Mamula saying that Englishman Winfeld was not politically suspicious (*politish ganz unbedenklich*).

The Austrian police always knew everything liberals undertook so the governorship of Trieste, in 1853, informed Mamula that Giuseppe Mazzini had sent his agents with messages to Istria and Dalmatia<sup>11</sup>. It was a report that, in the opinion of the police of Vienna, could have been exaggerated<sup>12</sup>, too. The administration of Vienna police (k.k. Oberste Polizeibehörde), in February 1854 reported that Kossuth's agent Sigmund Hegedüs set out to Dalmatia and Serbia under a false name Joanesku<sup>13</sup>. There are no records confirming that he actually arrived there. For the Emperor's police, the world was full of secret and dangerous agents who knew only of plotting in Austria. In 1854, the Supreme police administration got a message that Mazzini, who was on the island of Corfu, was preparing to disembark in Dalmatia with 400 volunteers, or in the Papal States<sup>14</sup>. In 1856, the Supreme police authorities from Vienna sent a message to Mamula that Mazzini had sent to Dalmatia an engineer, Cesare Borghi, with messages<sup>15</sup>. Borghi toured Dalmatia for some time and left since the police had failed to arrest him. According to police reports, Mazzini, too was in Dalmatia. On 31 October 1857, the head of district in Split, baron Kemper, received a coded cable. According to the cable an English major, Wesley, who had been

<sup>7</sup> 392. XII2 1.188, 131, 597p.

<sup>8</sup> 392. XII2 1.1288/p.

<sup>9</sup> 392. XII2 1.299/p.

<sup>10</sup> 392. XII2 1.1828, 1917, 1913, 2157, 1857, 1876/p.

<sup>11</sup> 392. XII2 1.2164/p.

<sup>12</sup> 392. XII2 1.2199/p.

<sup>13</sup> 392. XII2 1.364/p.

<sup>14</sup> 404. XII2 1.1200/p.

<sup>15</sup> 419. XII2 1.1166/p.

cruising about in the Adriatic on a yacht named *Dream*, having Corfu as its home port, was, in fact, Mazzini<sup>16</sup>. An arrest warrant was issued immediately, but it said that the police must not step aboard the yacht, since that would be against the international law. They had to wait for Mazzini to step ashore and capture him on the Austrian territory. The yacht arrived to Korčula, stayed there a couple of days, then sailed to Dubrovnik and stayed there a couple of days under a watchful eye of policemen, but the alleged Mazzini did not disembark. Finally, the yacht set sails from the Dubrovnik harbour and returned to Corfu followed by disappointed eyes of policemen who hoped to arrest Mazzini and thereby get a promotion. However, Mazzini's identity was not established.

After the defeats near Magenta and Solferino, the Emperor's police crowded together so the district governor in Split, Giovanni Buratti, in October 1860<sup>17</sup> informed governor Mamula in Zadar that the authorities could not rely on the Dalmatians speaking Italian because they wanted to unite with Italy. Moreover, they were influenced by Italian agents who were in Split still undiscovered by the police. Split was a town in which industrial production was growing. Stonecutters, bricklayers, gardeners and others came from Italy spreading the ideas of Risorgimento. Many agents came from Puglia dressed as sailors or merchants. Students from Split who studied in Padua wore *capello alla mosca* and smoked cigarettes in snuff-boxes with pictures of the Alpine hunter. Women bought fashion clothes in Italy, especially the wife of Antonio Bajamonti, the mayor of Split. Rumours that women knitted clothes and sent them to the fighters of Garibaldi were spreading all over Split, while Piedmont did all it could to win the sympathies of Dalmatians, the authorities awarded scholarships to young Dalmatians, and so forth. A district captain, Zanchi, in Zadar also communicated that Zadar and other Dalmatian towns were in favour of the revolution, that the emissaries from Piedmont<sup>18</sup> were active there, that Garibaldi's emissaries were touring Dalmatia dressed as peasants or fishermen, and that women, while being enthusiastic about Italy, wore garters with three colours of the Italian *tricolore*. By saying that a funny informant put the police into a position to investigate political convictions of women underneath their gowns. It seemed that the time was favourable to Garibaldi's landing in Dalmatia so the governorship conducted a poll at local police stations<sup>19</sup>. The poll showed that sympathies for Italy existed in Split, Zadar, Rab although only among men, but that there was no sympathy for Italy in Pag, Dubrovnik, Korčula, Šibenik, and that in Knin and other small inland towns people talked about Garibaldi with contempt. Therefore, reports on this were exaggerated and police did not investigate underneath women's gowns. Nevertheless, these exaggerated rapports confirmed the fear and anxiety among the bodies of the imperial authorities in Dalmatia. However, a sailor, who arrived in Dubrovnik with a fishing boat from Apulia, Petar Kosmaj, tried to win over a soldier for the revolution,

<sup>16</sup> 425. XII2 1.915, 922, 927, 943, 976/p.

<sup>17</sup> 451. XII2 1.1356/p.

<sup>18</sup> 451. XII2 1.1491/p.

<sup>19</sup> 451. XII2 1.619, 237, 1535, 1400/p.

and ended up in a dungeon<sup>20</sup>. The upset police found out that occultist sessions were taking place in the house of countess Julia Pellegrini, so they took trouble to investigate if the sessions were also revolutionary<sup>21</sup>. The police followed Italian drama groups traveling through Dalmatia<sup>22</sup>. In 1860<sup>23</sup>, a report came in saying that Garibaldi was interested in Dalmatia and that a revolutionary pamphlet was distributed in Koper inviting the Austrian Italians to raise. Italian agents, among them Marko Pelicarić, were spreading news that Garibaldi intended to disembark in Dalmatia in the vicinity of Zadar, and that then all taxes would be reduced or completely abolished. The police of Zadar found out in 1860, that in Genua, by the order of Lajos Kossuth<sup>24</sup>, Hungarian soldiers were gathering in order to reinforce Garibaldi's forces that would disembark in Dalmatia. These soldiers, later on, would go to Hungary. A small sailing boat for fishing from Biscellia<sup>25</sup> tried to bring over to Dubrovnik an Italian flag with *in mezzo la Croce di Savoia in colore rosso*, but was caught by the police. Henry Merimee showed up in Kotor, but the authorities really suspected that he was, in fact, Gyorgy Klapka<sup>26</sup>, Hungarian general. Precautionary measures gave no results, but already in October 1860<sup>27</sup>, the authorities expected Garibaldi to disembark in Montenegro or Dalmatia where he could count on the support of mountaineers. The authorities were suspicious of Austrian officers speaking Italian as well as of the *Societa` drammatica musicale* in Zadar, the theatre, a stronghold of Italians. Shortly after that, Mamula got a report that general Türr had started from Naples with 810 soldiers aiming at occupying a small rocky island in the Adriatic and from there launch an attack in order to liberate captives in Koper. In December the police of Trieste sent an invitation to Istrians and Dalmatians to join the Italian navy. The police that was looking for danger everywhere, inspected postal packages, so that in the December 1860<sup>28</sup>, they found condoms in a parcel and doubted that revolutionary manifests could be found there.

In December 1860<sup>29</sup>, the head of Zadar police, Josef Gariup, reported about the feeling of the Croatian majority in Dalmatia, that wanted to unite with northern Croatia. In the fifties, Croats and Italians in Dalmatia (but not Serbs) were enthusiastic about the Risorgimento and did not oppose each other. But now, however, Croatian intellectuals wanted to unite with the rest of Croatia, whereas Italians wanted the unification of Dalmatia with Italy, as previously explained.

Gariup pointed out that the culture of Dalmatia differed from that of northern Croatia, and that it was superior to that of northern Croatia, that the trading exchange

<sup>20</sup> 451. XII2 1.1694 /p.

<sup>21</sup> 451. XII2 1.1738/p.

<sup>22</sup> 451. XII2 1.612/p.

<sup>23</sup> 451. XII2 1.1163, 1176/p.

<sup>24</sup> 451. XII2 1.1211/p.

<sup>25</sup> 451. XII2 1.1220/p.

<sup>26</sup> 451. XII2 1.1255/p.

<sup>27</sup> 451. XII2 1.1713, 1427, 1294/p.

<sup>28</sup> 451. XII2 1.1670/p.

<sup>29</sup> 459. XII2 1.59/p.

with northern Croatia was poor, so he recommended to keep a status quo with Dalmatia within the Austrian orbit, all the more so because Dalmatians in Austria could count on the advantages of a culture superior to that of northern Croatia. He suggested the authorities to rely on Dalmatian autonomist tendencies, and to oppose the militarism of Vojna Krajina in Croatia that had a numerous Serb population. Gariup made references to the liberal October diploma which was, however, centralist, and stood up against the Croatian liberal national ideologist Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski for his being in favour of the unification, while Dalmatians were against the unification either with Italy or with Croatia. Furthermore, he claimed that Dalmatia was not Croatian, but *Slavic*. For all these reasons, he thought Dalmatia should be governed from Vienna and not from Zagreb. Then Italians founded their political party which accepted this attitude as its party ideology, so that the war cry of Antonio Bajamonti read as follows: *Slavi sempre, Croati mai!* In the first issue of Italian newspapers *Il Dalmata, Giornale politico, economico, letterario* of 10 March 1866, one could read that the newspaper wanted to respond to the needs of the province and to strengthen the organs of liberal thinking, that the Autonomist Party was a party supporting pure autonomy, that we were Slavs, not only by blood, but by hearts as well, and that we were the first to point out blood ties with our fellow countrymen who numbered more than 60 million. Having attacked Croatian annexationism, which would end in a complete disappearance of the Italian language, the journal advocated tending of Italian but also of the Slav language. The Autonomist Party came into power, and Gariup<sup>30</sup> supported its leader, baron Luigi Lapenn. However, when this party, by the end of seventies oriented itself towards irredentism, in the eighties the People's Party came into power, but was not allowed to voice its wishes for uniting with the north of Croatia.<sup>31</sup>

Wise advice of Gariup influenced people not to join the Italian navy<sup>32</sup>. It was of little significance, however, that in January 1861 ships appeared in the vicinity of Murter island, and that shouting *Viva Garibaldi* could be heard from them<sup>33</sup>. Still, political agitation in Dalmatia was increasing and the police had suspected that tropical fruit was smuggled into Dalmatia, they expected Garibaldi to disembark<sup>34</sup>. Prince Danilo sent senators Ivo Rakonić and Đuro Matanović to Italy to establish contacts with Garibaldinians. In Supetar on the island of Brač, Vicko Medičević, Ante Nikolić and dr. Nikola Ivelić were arrested for saying that they loved Garibaldi more

<sup>30</sup> 459. XII2 1.2029/p.

<sup>31</sup> At the beginning of the 1860-ies, a controversy broke out between the Italian minority and the Croatian majority in Dalmatia regarding the official language question. The notion of an official language was unknown to the Venetian authorities, the Italian became the official language of Dalmatia only in 1808 by a decree of the general governor Vincenzo Dandolo, Ivan Pederin, *Strani i uredovni jezik u Hrvatskoj*, JEZIK XXIX 8 (1982) no 3, pag. 65-73. Now, Croats suggested that the Croatian become the official language of Dalmatia, the language already in official use in northern Croatia, which was opposed by Italians considering the Croatian an unfinished language which can not serve as official. Grga Novak, Year 1860, in polemical records, One chapter from history of the fight of Dalmatia for the unification with Croatia, Works of JAZU in ZADAR, VOL.8(1961), Vjekoslav Maštrović, Attitude of clerks toward the language question in Dalmatia in the times of national revival, lb.

<sup>32</sup> 459. XII1 1.37/p.

<sup>33</sup> 459. XII1 1.137/p.

<sup>34</sup> 459. XII2 1.148, 147/p.



than they loved Austria<sup>35</sup>. The police found out that in Hungary a committee had been established for gathering the youth who would be sent to Hungary, Croatia and Dalmatia to fight and to raise the people against Austria. Bartolomeo Negri was mentioned as a member of the committee. He fought in Hungary in 1848/49 and traveled using a false name Bartolomeo Farkas. In February 1861<sup>36</sup>, the Austrian ministry of police reached a decision to monitor the trading of grain as well as mill supplying to make sure that the Garibaldians could not be supplied with food in case of their eventual disembarkation in Dalmatia.

Then the police established that all these speculations about agents trying to win over Dalmatians for Italy were groundless. The political development of Dalmatia took a course towards a fight for annexation or autonomy of the province. According to police reports, a great number of *italianissimi*, those enthusiastic about the Risorgimento, now joined annexationists and, in that way, the political inheritance of Risorgimento spread the political traditions of Croatian liberalism.

In August, the police got hold of one copy of a book by Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi. Many of these books were secretly brought to Split and were sold<sup>37</sup> there. A seminarist in Split named Ozretić had to leave the seminary because he had read the book as well as a book by Italian writer Giusti who, in the opinion of the bishop, was "exalted by the revolutionary spirit and favourable toward Italianissimi". In December 1861<sup>38</sup>, confidential reports were submitted to the Austrian minister of police in Vienna. According to these reports, Garibaldinian officers were sending their photos to the place of gathering. A revolutionary agent, Floria Cordella from Venice, had returned from America and was making preparations for his trip to Dalmatia. Italian political agitation spread among the lines of the Italian navy, especially among the Italians serving in the same navy. Then, in September 1862<sup>39</sup>, Gariup calmed the spirits down. Unsuccessful attempts to unite Italy tired Dalmatian *italianissimi*. There was no trace of arms being smuggled in Rijeka, as stated in the reports received by the Vienna secret police. A Hungarian legion stationed in Piedmont, was not showing up in Dalmatia. An Italian ship with Garibaldi's head officers did not come to Dalmatia to choose a point of disembarkation. In July 1862<sup>40</sup>, count Mollie, Mollier, Mounier or Moynier, who called himself a painter, although police held him for Garibaldi's agent, came to Dalmatia to establish connections there. The police followed him. He had contacts with Russian prince Vasilije Sciakovski. He met a Russian consul in Dubrovnik, Konstantin Petković, and then proceeded to Cetinje.

In the Town Hall of Split some persons from the Autonomist Party met and sent a petition to the Emperor asking him to allow Nikola Tommaseo to return to his home country. Minister Anton von Schmerlin replied to Governor Mamula that Tom-

<sup>35</sup> 459. XII2 1.384, 418/p.

<sup>36</sup> 459. XII2 1.524, 659/p.

<sup>37</sup> 459. XII2 1.720, 1920/p.

<sup>38</sup> 459. XII2 1.2199, 2233, 2313, 23547 p.

<sup>39</sup> 468. XII2 1.466, 162, 255, 1656/p.

<sup>40</sup> 468.XII2 1.1249, 1257, 1271, 1285/p.

maseo was a *notorious rebel*, even if his latest writings ignited autonomist feelings in Dalmatia<sup>41</sup> and he did not agree with the requests of the autonomists<sup>42</sup>. Hats made in Italy depicting Napoleon III, Vittorio Emmanuele, Garibaldi and Cavour<sup>43</sup> were sold in Split. A certain Spiridone Sasella<sup>44</sup> came to Cetinje. The Austrian police found out that he took part in Garibaldi's raids in Sicily, and followed a merchant Laghi from Split<sup>45</sup> who often traveled to Milan, Turin, and maybe to Caprera. The police held him responsible for the distribution of revolutionary leaflets in Bosnia. In March 1864<sup>46</sup> Mamula got a message from the military zone of Verona that Garibaldi had embarked aboard an English ship, *La Valetta*, and that the ship set sails. The aim of the trip was completely unknown.

In June 1864, close to Barletta, 30,000 volunteers gathered from all over Italy with intention to disembark in Dalmatia. Autonomists believed in the victory of the Italian fleet in a fight against Austrian fleet. The People's Party however did not share their view. The new governor, vice marshal, baron Franjo Filipović, a Croat, toured Dalmatia to encourage and invite the people to defend Dalmatia against Garibaldinians. The governorship moved from Zadar to Drniš. In 1866, among the Austrian diplomatic circles, it was believed that Garibaldi could try to disembark in Albania, in order to cross over to Serbia and Hungary<sup>47</sup>.

The Austrian victories near Vis and Custozza represented a turning point. The Autonomists' rumours that Garibaldi had disembarked by Slano<sup>48</sup> were in vain. Italy was defeated and weakened. Italian mayor of Split, Antonio Bajamonti, had to congratulate Tegetthof on his victory near Vis<sup>49</sup>. Reports on attempts of Italian agents in Dalmatia began to disappear from Austrian police reports. In 1867 the Court made a pact with Hungary thereby removing political discontent in Hungary.

In 1875 an uprising started in Bosnia supported by Serbia and Russia<sup>50</sup> and Garibaldinians came to help the Serbs<sup>51</sup>.

In 1871-1881 Garibaldi tried once again to raise the Balkans against the Austria-Hungary. In Bologna an association called *Unita' d'Italia* sent to Zadar, and then to Bosnia, a fervent revolutionary, Angello Morello from Venice who once worked in

<sup>41</sup> Ivan Pederin, *Tomaseo pod okom austrijskog poglavarstva i njegovo rodoljublje*, Radovi zavoda za povjesne znanosti HAZU in ZADAR, 34 (1992) p. 197-235.

<sup>42</sup> 468. XII2 1.1370, 1380/p.

<sup>43</sup> 468. XII2 1.1735/p.

<sup>44</sup> 468. XII2 1.328, 859, 885, 1067/p.

<sup>45</sup> 476. XII2 1.311/p.

<sup>46</sup> 476. XII2 1.423/p.

<sup>47</sup> 497. XII1 1.296/p.

<sup>48</sup> Perićić, *Namjere Talijana glede Dalmacije i austrijske protumjere 1866 godine*, POMORSKI ZBORNIK, 1966, no 4.

<sup>49</sup> Osa Randi, Antonio Bajamonti, Il mirabile Potesta' di Spalato, Zadar, 1932, p. 24.

<sup>50</sup> Milorad Ekmečić, *Ustanak u Bosni 1875-1878*, Sarajevo, 1960. According to censuses in Bosnia there were 42.88% of Serbs, 38.73% of muslims, 18.09% of Croats, and 0.29% of Jews, Tomislav Kraljević, Kalajev Režim u Bosni 1882-1903, Sarajevo, 1987, p.14. The number of Serbs decreased.

<sup>51</sup> O. Randi, Cit.work, p.35, In vol. 560,XIV3I of the Zadar archives there is a little bundle named Garibaldi, but in it there is no call number mentioned on the envelope.

Serbia as a journalist<sup>52</sup>. The imperial counsellor of Austrian Embassy in Rome, prince Wrede, by the end of 1879 met with a confidant whose name he did not mention<sup>53</sup>. According to this confidant, an irredentist committee met in the flat of a leftist politician, professor Oddi in Rome, and sent agents to Trident, South Tirol, and dr. Fabris to Kvarner. Fabris returned to Italy and told his impressions to Garibaldi. Rome was crowded with Italian emigrants from Istria and Dalmatia who wanted to gather in a legion and fight against Austria-Hungary. Russian agents too, afraid of the axe Vienna -Berlin, came to Italy, and leftists<sup>54</sup> adhered to this Irredenta, as well. At the head of the movement, inspired by Garibaldi who lived at Caprera, were general Doda, his son and Terenzio Priori. They made contacts with the Balkans, so that an anonymous informant cited ten names in Greece, Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia and Albania as well. All the men belonged to a conspiracy circle suppressed in Serbia<sup>55</sup>. In Trieste, a Russian colonel, Waldemar von Becher, went by a ship to Kotor to deliver a ship for the prince Nikola, sent by the Russian government as a gift. His mission ended up in a failure because Dalmatian firms did not want to take that ship to Montenegro for nobody gave any guarantees that the job would be, so that finally, Baecher begged some merchants in Dubrovnik to lend him some money to return home.

In April 1879<sup>56</sup>, the Austrian Minister for internal affairs, count Edward Taaffe, communicated to the Dalmatian governor, vice marshal and baron Gavriilo Rodić, the intentions of irredentists and that the intended expedition to Guinea, that Italy had been preparing, was in fact an intention to try a disembarkation in Dalmatia and that it had to be stopped. The imperial envoy in Rome, baron Hamerle<sup>57</sup>, informed the Ministry of foreign affairs in Vienna on the movements of irredentist agents sent to Bosnia to incite Serbs and Muslims to revolt against Austria-Hungary. Prince Wrede and baron Haymerle reported about the connections of the Italian left, in which Menotti Garibaldi, the son of Giuseppe, was very active, together with Serbs and Albanians. The ways to start a political subversion were discussed in the Roman masonic lodge Egeria. In Brescia, arms were collected for that purpose and were kept at stores of Massina. The Egeria kept contacts with Giuseppe Garibaldi and Crispi, as well as with Gladstone who wanted to provoke a war between Italy, Greece, Serbia, on one side, and Turkey and Austria -Hungary on another. The lodge furthermore kept contacts with Leon Gambetta, a French liberal statesman, who once stood up to revenge the France's defeat in the war against Prussia in 1870. William Evart Gladstone, also was a liberal politician who stood up against Turkey, and was a great enemy of the Pope and Catholicism, as well. According to all of these reports, arms destined for the Balkans were in Ancona and were transferred to Korčula and

<sup>52</sup> 586. XI2 9.2592/p.

<sup>53</sup> 586. XI2 9.2641/p.

<sup>54</sup> On irredentism see E. Sabatucci, *Il problema dell'irredentismo e le origini del movimento nazionalistico in Italia*, in *Storia Contemporanea*, 1970, p. 467-502, and 1971, p. 53-106.

<sup>55</sup> 586.XI2 9.2731, 22264, 22307, 2345, 2461, 2556, 2551/p.

<sup>56</sup> 586.XI2 9.941, 952/p.

<sup>57</sup> 586.XI2 9.79, 146/p.

Skadar<sup>58</sup>. In reports of the Ministry for foreign affairs, names were mentioned, often very incorrectly spelled. All members of this large organisation addressed themselves as "thou" and called themselves brethren.

The police started investigating in Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. It established that in Dubrovnik there really was an agent, Andria Mitrović, owner of a boarding house. However, a very close surveillance gave no results<sup>59</sup>, and neither did an investigation that began in January 1880. Most of the names mentioned in reports of the Austrian espionage were misspelled. Some persons such as Andrija Mitrović, Petar Franasović, Nikola Opujić, Đorđe Kovačević from Dubrovnik were individualized. However, the surveillance did not confirm their participation in the conspiracy. The police found out that the main agent, Saulović from Koručula, could not be traced in that small town. All pointed to the fact that the report was exaggerated. The police, nevertheless, established that Matija Ban and his son-in-law Stevan Todorović were members of a secret organisation connected with the United Serbian Youth, and were connected with a Serb leader in Bosnia, Mićo Ljubibratić, and that they were supported by Serbian minister Jovan Ristić. The investigation established the existence and activity of a Serbian agent in Bosnia, Tomo Svetić, and an Albanian or Greek Hagi Janini, and a certain Soliman Beya. Neither Saulović was a completely fictitious person, a person bearing the same name lived for a long time in Dubrovnik, but then left in an unknown direction.

In the opinion of the Austrian diplomacy, the conspiracy was a work of the Italian Freemasonry, i.e. its grand master Giuseppe Garibaldi.

The conspiracy was badly prepared and the uprising of Serbs and Muslims that started in Boka and in Herzegovina in December 1881 did not succeed in procuring arms and was easily neutralised by the Dalmatian governor, vice marshal and baron Stevan Jovanović<sup>60</sup>. However, this episode showed weaknesses of the Austrian secret service. It was clear that, in Italy, the Austrian espionage had only one informant, and that he was not able to get hold of more precise facts. In 1820-ies Austria had a dense net of espionage that followed Carbonari and other secret organisations.

The conspiracy failed to deliver results and Garibaldi did not disembark in Dalmatia. But, on the other hand, an able Austro-Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, count Andrassy Gyula, who was a Mason, convinced Italy to join the Tripartite Alliance and influenced Serbia, Rumania, and Russia to form alliance with Austria-Hungary. Thus began a period of splendour for Austria-Hungary, a period in which Italy, having realised its dream and becoming united, was forced to make a pact with Austria-Hungary, and this was an alliance not favourable to its national interests<sup>61</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> 588.XI2 147, 199/p.

<sup>59</sup> 588.XI2.199, 279, 302, 342, 373, 35, 754, 469, 503, 1079/p.

<sup>60</sup> M. Ekmečić, Cit.work, Ivan Pederin, *Odnos austrijske vlasti prema talijanskom, hrvatskom, srpskom i crnogorskom novinstvu u doba bokeljskog-hercegovačkog ustanka (1880-1882)*, Boka, Hercegovina, 20(1989).p.187-209.

<sup>61</sup> Charles Loiseau, *L'équilibre Adriatique* (Italy and the Eastern question), Paris 1901.