



Department of History and Civilization

**Negotiating the Nation: Fiume – From
Autonomism to State Making (1848-1924)**

William Klinger

Thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaining the degree of
Doctor of History and Civilization of the European University Institute

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EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE

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For Francesca

Twofold is the truth I shall speak; for at one time there grew to be one alone out of many, and at another time, however, it separated so that there were many out of the one. Twofold is the coming into being, twofold the passing away, of perishable things; for the latter (i.e. passing away) the combining of all things both begets and destroys, and the former (i.e. coming into being), which was nurtured again out of parts that were being separated, is itself scattered.

And these (elements) never cease changing place continually, now being all united by Love into one, now each borne apart by the hatred engendered of Strife, until they are brought together in the unity of the all, and become subject to it. Thus inasmuch as one has been wont to arise out of many and again with the separation of the one the many arise, so things are continually coming into being and there is no fixed age for them; and farther inasmuch as they [the elements] never cease changing place continually, so they always exist within an immovable circle.¹

¹ Empedocles, *Fragments and Commentary*, Book I, Arthur Fairbanks, ed. and trans. The First Philosophers of Greece, (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1898), pp. 165-167.

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INTRODUCTION

The study of nationalism has known a renaissance since the early Eighties. Nevertheless, most of the works focus upon successful cases of nation building. The goal of this dissertation is to provide an assessment on theories of ethnicity, nation formation and nationalism by using a failed case: that of the Adriatic port city of Fiume, Fiume¹, is perhaps most known for the Dannunzian “Impresa” in the 1919 and the precarious City State that followed from 1920 to 1924, year of its annexation to Italy.

The problem of Fiume is that the definitional political concept in “the Long Nineteenth Century” is not the nation but municipal autonomy, while nationalism appears largely instrumental. According to the autonomists, Fiume had to preserve the highest possible degree of institutional independence from the surrounding provinces. Initially the threat of national inclusion came from Croatia, later from Hungary, ultimately in the 1920s from Italy, leading to a peculiar political ideology restricted to a single City. In Fiume its exponents were exclusively Italian speaking people, drawn mainly from the *petit bourgeoisie*, but the movement had a strong appeal among the working classes as well. Most of its propaganda and ideology resembled that of nationalism, albeit of particular sort: the sense of belonging it fostered, the limits of its “imagined community”, were restricted to the City.

Ljubinka Karpowitz, the only author who attempted to provide a comprehensive account of the political history of Fiume in the period 1860-1924, rightly centred her work on the *Corpus Separatum* but, nevertheless, ended with the adoption of the Italian nationalist interpretation that sees Fiuman history as a process leading from Fiuman Autonomism, to nationalism then irredentism and ultimately fascism, where the opposition is only seen as a disturbance in this otherwise linear process. This is the Italian irredentist interpretation that considers Fiuman history as a spiritual path leading towards irredentism and fascism. Nevertheless, in another part of the same work, though she claims that the *Corpus Separatum* of Fiume, similarly to Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in Dalmatia and Trieste in the Austrian littoral, are examples of archaic urban communities that during the nineteenth century develop ideologies of political legitimisation where they claim political autonomy in resisting incorporation to a nation but not political independence from the multinational empire where they were included. By this they see their political urban community as a commercial crossroad for different nations.²

Fiuman Autonomism as a political option resembles that of the other cities of the eastern shore of the Adriatic that in the period also developed such ideology. From certain aspects the story of Fiume resembles the story of other Adriatic cities, notably Trieste. As Marina Cattaruzza, in a recent work underlies, for Trieste the national problem of the local Italians never related to the Austrian imperial centre but rather to the Slavic minorities present in the city³. The triestines similarly enjoyed too privileged a position to engage seriously in anti Austrian sentiments. Fiume by contrast had its status of autonomy never secured as Trieste, and the memory of the struggles with Croatia, then put to practice also against Hungary, made its political evolution much more aware of the political conflict and the importance of the negotiation.⁴ Thus in 1918 their stance will

¹ The present-day Rijeka was known, at the time of the events, as Fiume, and lay within the Hungarian domain of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Today, Rijeka is part of the Republic of Croatia. When referring to the city before it took its modern name, this dissertation will use its former name of Fiume.

² Karpowitz, L.J. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, pp. 144-145. a view shared also by Stančić, Nikša. *Hrvatska nacija i nacionalizam u 19. i 20. stoljeću*, Barbat, Zagreb, 2002.

³ Cattaruzza, Marina. *L'Italia e il confine orientale*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2007.

⁴ Also Trieste was characterised by a political ideology that was fundamentally autonomist see Negrelli, Giorgio, *Al di qua del mito. Diritto storico e difesa nazionale nell'autonomismo della Trieste asburgica*, Del Bianco Editore, Udine, 1978. and Ugo Cova, "Der Landtag der reichsunmittelbaren Stadt Triest und ihres Gebietes", in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918. Bd. VII/2: Verfassung und Parlamentarismus: Die regionalen*

be that they possessed as for self determination and political autonomy the same status to build a state as did Hungary or Croatia.

Conrad Clewing in his book on the process of formation of national identities for Dalmatia in *Vormärz*.⁵, has reconstructed several concepts of the nation that emerged in Dalmatia. The author argues that in this region diverse nationalist programs and ideologies frequently referred to differently imagined nations, ranging from Italy, Croatia, a south Slav federation, Greater Serbia or an independent Dalmatia. According to Clewing, the Dalmatian autonomists were wrongly considered regionalists, since they considered Dalmatia not as a *region* but as a *state*.

Since in Fiume the limits of the “imagined community” were those of the City, and Autonomism is not conceptually distinguishable from nationalism as such, the Fiuman autonomist political program will therefore be analysed as a case of nation building. This kind of approach represents a provocation - both in the terms of the historical tradition of the area, and the literature on nations and nationalism in general, too much concerned with successful and conspicuous cases of nation building. The spread of nationalist ideologies from former elites to broader strata of the population will turn into a political practice restricted to the City itself. Any separatist movement could be labelled as autonomist by its enemies, apart from irredentism - that as ideology aims at an inclusion into an existing nation state. The nature of the autonomist ideology mirrors the ambivalent asset of the *corpus separatum* where municipalist moments mix with modern economic or political interests, labelled as “mediaeval particularism” by its opponents.

It is out of question that autonomism had a mass appeal and a long political tradition. The first mention of a political party with this name - the “Partito Autonomo” in the City was founded only in 1889 but Autonomism in the City, from the 1860s pervaded the local political scene and was an older legacy, with its narratives dating back at least to 1848, and lasted well after that, being still actual at the Paris Peace Conference in 1947, where the historical leader of Autonomism and elected president of the Free State of Fiume, Riccardo Zanella argued for the restoration of its sovereignty with the argument that the Free State of Fiume was “the first victim of fascism”.⁶

Ironically, only Croat authors suggested that, essentially, **the Fiumani preferred distant political centres rather than nearby ones**.⁷ It seems therefore that the model that the French demographer Herve le Brass calls the evolution of “customs” presents the best theoretical fit for Fiuman Autonomism. Hervé Le Bras claims that local “customs” are the resultants of local resistances to centres of political unification and cultural standardisation.⁸ Fiuman political ideologies are always precise *answers* to ideologies that involved their City. So it is the acceptance (or rather more frequently the refusal) of political ideologies that originate from the centres of national integration that marks the political evolution of Fiume.

What this research reveals is that nationalism is always a response of individuals about a concrete political project. The outcome – national (or municipal) identity was the ultimate crystallization of a

Repraesentativkoerperschaften. Hrsg. v. Helmut Rumpler und Peter Urbanitsch (Wien: Verlag der oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000) S. 1919-1949.

⁵ Clewing, Konrad. *Staatlichkeit und nationale Identitätsbildung Dalmatien in Vormärz und Revolution*, Oldenbourg Verlag, Muenchen, 2001.

⁶ The former President of the Free State of Fiume, Riccardo Zanella, with some other autonomists attempted a desperate attempt to restore the sovereignty of the Free State of Fiume with the argument that it had been “The first victim of fascism”. (Alla fine del 1944 inviò un memoriale alla Conferenza delle Nazioni Unite di San Francisco e si adoperò affinché il problema fiumano rimanesse vivo e attuale.) Giovanni Dalma went to the US to a series of meetings and conferences throughout the US during 1946. Everything was ruled out with the first decision of the Paris Peace Conference of the 25th September 1946, later confirmed by the final decision of the Conference.

⁷ See for example: Sučić, Ivo. 1953. “Rijeka 1918-1945”. In *Rijeka - Zbornik*, pp. 277-304. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, and Marijanović, M., “Rijeka od 1860 do 1918” [Rijeka from 1860 to 1918]. In *Rijeka - Zbornik*, pp. 215-252. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska. It seems that this intuition must have been suggested to them personally since it never appeared in a political program, document or other, and it is never cited by Italianate authors.

⁸ Le Bras, Hervé. “I costumi in Europa occidentale”, *Storia d'Europa* - Vol. 5 - L'età contemporanea, Einaudi, 1996. Alternatively, in the case of France this can be the Reformation vs. the Catholic counterreformation, the French Revolution vs. their monarchist reactions, working class ideologies and the right winged opposition to them.

given plethora of available political projects. No matter what were their ethnic origins, or cultural affiliation, for the Fiumani the popularity of an option depended crucially always about the capacity of a political project in achieving tangible results.

Sources

The history of Fiume is characterised by discontinuity. The visitor coming to Rijeka today will encounter a sleepy port. After having experienced rapid industrialisation, the transition from socialism to market economy here traduces in decay. Still, according to an authoritative guide: “Rijeka is far from beautiful, but is the only northern Adriatic’s true metropolis”.⁹ In fact the history of the City is punctuated with periods of flourishing followed by sudden economic downturns. Thus, nowadays it is difficult to believe that this, in 1913, per volume of traffic was the tenth port in Europe after Amsterdam and bigger than Venice.

Discontinuity influenced researchers too: some periods are extremely well covered: it is the period that immediately follows the end of First World War and, within it, especially the Dannunzian *impresa*, covered and reconstructed on a day-by-day level of detail. The period after the evacuation of Dannunzian troops from Fiume was covered by only a couple of books, Danilo Massagrando being the best account so far.¹⁰

There is a lack of research on the history of the City in the late Nineteenth century and most of the work that is still being published is heavily biased by different nationalist traditions with little or no communication across national or ideological borders.

One importation exception is the still unpublished PhD dissertation of Ljubinka Karpowicz that represents the first syntheses of the period of modern Fiuman history and launches some bold new interpretations.¹¹ Without her work, I would not be able to make sense of Fiuman history, in this crucial period of its political evolution.

There are also good reasons against this kind of research: the sources are scattered over a wide range of archival institutions for all the reasons a port City can have: influences and contacts from distant centres, the frequent change of its borders or shifts in the balance of the centres of power within the City itself, not to mention the mobility of the population itself concerning especially seafarers, merchants and the later industrial entrepreneur class. Another barrier is the linguistic one: sources and secondary works and monographs are usually written in Italian, Hungarian, Croatian, Latin, or German languages which do not help international research and cooperation, to say nothing about the study of the primary sources. Apart from a lack of published sources and the poor or biased nature of most of the research done so far about this topic, the history of the City is poorly known in any terms even today in Croatia or Italy.

In undertaking this research I have many times feared that it would simply grew too large and I have feared that I will not be able to manage the plenty and diversity of (mostly spurious) sources that had to be taken into consideration.

At the first moment I thought that this research was already sufficiently broad in its scope covering the time from the 1867/68 compromises to the outbreak of the First World War. Nevertheless, the most impressive (and well known) development and legacy of Fiume was a staggering raise in nationalistic feelings during the Great War, culminating in the “sacred entrance” of D'Annunzio in the fall of 1919. On the other hand, the political camps in Fiume were definitely defined by 1848,

⁹ Jonathan Bousfield, *The Rough Guide to Croatia*, Penguin Books, London 2000, p.159;

¹⁰ Massagrando, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982. very good is Peteani, Luigi. 1940. *La posizione internazionale di Fiume dall'armistizio all'annessione e il suo assetto costituzionale durante questo periodo*, Firenze: Casa editrice del dott. Carlo Cya, Pubblicazioni della R. Università degli Studi di Firenze. Facoltà di giurisprudenza ; 17.

¹¹ Karpowicz, LJ. *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, 1986.

while the institution of the *corpus separatum* is from the 1779 and was the necessary starting point for any discussion on Autonomism.

In Fall and Winter 2004 I spent three months in London, working mostly at the Public Records Office. For the present work very significant are the materials from the Peace Conference in Paris 1919.¹² The Public Records Office holds the extremely interesting fond of the German consul Hoffmann in Fiume from the period of the Free State. I used his reports extensively for the last chapter since they appear as the only reports by an external observer known so far about the situation in Fiume after the expulsion of D'Annunzio right to the end of the Free State.¹³

In Rome, the Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS), holds important funds for the period 1918-1924.¹⁴ The Archivio del Ministero degli Esteri - Consolato Legazione d'Italia in Fiume holds an important series from the foreign affairs ministry related to the question of Fiume after 1918, and the free state, and was used extensively by Massagrando.

The Archivio Museo Fiumano is an NGO run initially with the donations of the Fiumani who emigrated after the end of the Second World War to Italy. It holds a very rich library but also some important archival sources.¹⁵

The State Archive in Trieste - Archivio di Stato Trieste holds the fond of the Italian Commissariato Generale Civile per la Venezia Giulia 1918-1922), that run the civil administration in the whole area after the end of the Great War.

The archives of Vienna, visited in 2003, were interesting for earlier periods: the Allgemeines Verwaltungs Archiv holds the Polizei Hofstelle fond, an extremely important fond for the Napoleonic occupation of western Croatia and the littoral. The Haus, Hof und Staatsarchiv keeps the epistolary of Adamich with Hudelist (1816). The Hofkammerarchiv holds important fonds from the 18th century, that were not used for the present dissertation.

The National Archive of Croatia in Zagreb – Hrvatski Državni Arhiv holds the fond of the banal commissioner Josip Bunjevac 1848-1850).

The State Archive in Fiume (Državni Arhiv u Rijeci – DARi), is obviously the most important archival institution for the history of the City, and maybe because of its size and complexity, it is still largely unexploited.¹⁶

¹² Public Records Office -WO106-853 BRIT MILIT MISSION FIUME; WO-106-865-FIUME-1919 and FO-608-36-ANAMITI 1919 (dossier of the Interallied Commission of the Annamite incident July 1919 that lead to the dissolution of the CNI, reduction of the Italian contingent and ultimately provoked ignited the D'Annunzian intervention).

¹³ Public Records Office - GFM-33-3769 DEUTSCHES KONSULAT - FIUME

¹⁴ ACS Ministero Interni (MI) - AGITAZIONE PRO FIUME E DALMAZIA (1916-22); ACS Ministero Interni (MI) - Polizia di Stato: PS 1919 b.30 A16 Comitato jugoslavo e Legazione di Serbia, (reports on the Yugoslav county and Serbian propaganda respect the Adriatic); PS 1921 b.8 A5 agitazioni pro Fiume e Dalmazia, arruolamenti c di polizia fiumana, (very rich used by Nitti, to follow the subversive activities towards the Adriatic question, and especially Fiume); PS 1922 b.7 A5 Fiume, (reports on the fascist attacks and violence against the government Zanella and on the putsch); PS 1924 b.51 f.79 Fiume, (the year of the annexation, the problems of the city and the internal situation).

¹⁵ The Verballi del CNI, Comitato Direttivo, and many personal funds (Adamich, Depoli, Gigante) especially manuscripts and notes from some of the foremost Fiuman historians. The most important private archive for the history if the Autonomist Party before and after First World War, although in a phase of systematisation, is the private archive of Riccardo Zanella, the autonomist leader, and the president of the Free State.

¹⁶ I was lucky enough to participate in a project (FIDA), financed by the Italian Ministry of Culture, aimed at producing a survey of the archival funds in the State Archive in Fiume in 2005-2007. The result was a 1200 monograph on the political and other institutions operative in Fiume and its region. The work on the project gave me insight of the extraordinary institutional complexity of the history of Fiume.

Summary

The goal of the dissertation is to present how the elites of the city of Fiume - a port situated on the east coast of the northern Adriatic negotiated the nation. The dissertation is structured in five chapters.

The **first** chapter starts with a general review and evaluation of the contemporary theories on nations and nationalism. What it turns out is that all of them reify democratic political participation and deal with the causes of (or the preconditions for) establishing a democratic community, founded alternatively on culture, ethnicity, or self-determination. I claim that this is not what the nation is about, but that *nationalism is an ideology about a political project related to a territory*. In other words, “state making” provides the central focus of the dissertation, and political elites that developed discourses of political legitimisation within a state are much older than democracy, and so is nationalism. The focus on democratic mass participation has blinded us to see the origins and development of nationalism that is less revolutionary than democratisation and usually goes back to (pre)modern elites in (un)democratic polities.

Moreover, in this way also Autonomism from Fiume and other cities receives a different significance. Here the ruling elites of the city made use of “nationalistic” discourses when negotiating its constitutional status with external powers in a phase of increasing political and economic integration.

For this reason a very large amount of information on the history of the city, ranging from economic and social data to political debate, from historiography to institutional development had to be collected. This appeared necessary since the existing literature resulted inadequate and mainly ideologically biased and thus also XIX century historiography was among the political sources. Economic and social evidence remained in the background and more attention was devoted to political and institutional history.

The overview of the previous historiographical tradition on Fiume shows that its focus is always on the political constitutional issues since they were the most instrumentalized. The cleavage between municipal Autonomism and the Italian Croat - Yugoslav political programs is clearly reflected in history writing and provides a good overview of the competing ideologies and the use of the past they made. While writing history emerges clearly how the contemporaries “imagined” their community. A major dividing line separates those authors that identified with the city and considered it to be different from its hinterland and those who wanted it incorporated into a nation (Croatian, Hungarian, and Italian).

The **second** chapter concerns a crucial process that the city entered from the late eighteenth century. the city is aimed by the Hapsburgs to become a commercial entrepôt and therefore it enters an age of centralisation. It is in this period that an opposition to national identity within the local groups started to shape and penetrate, with resulting factions betting for different states and political projects: namely, autonomy has a meaning only in an age of centralisation

During the whole period the tempo and mode of economic and institutional development of the City was determined by territorial states to which the city was included. The problem is that the rule was never long lasting and that within different states Fiume could play different roles. Some states will show a constant interest in the development of the port others i.e. Austria will be much less interested in it. Therefore the Fiuman elites could not be indifferent about who was going to rule them. Hungary seemed to offer the best solution: although it was distant it proved also very interested in its development and therefore the “Hungarian option” for Fiume represented it was a good compromise between low governmental intrusion in the public affairs and a high rate of economic investment.

The **third** chapter is about the period when the city was annexed to Croatia from 1848 to 1868. The year 1848 marked the beginning of the Croatian rule over the City and the consequent rising of opposition and intolerance against Croatia marks local politics. The progressive mobilisation of the masses involved in the political life of the city was catalysed on several different state projects

competing with no clear winner until the late 1860s, relying on different possibilities of economic development explains the factional nature of the Fiuman public life but also the perceived need for Fiuman elite that it was possible and even better to negotiate a better position for the city by using the extant conflict between the competing neighbouring states. Moreover, since the Fiuman elites, were already (and by great majority) pro Hungarian, the local political cleavages reflect those from Hungary, with the main contrast between the local supporters of Lajos Kossuth and Hungarian independence and the supporters of Ferenc Deak who favoured the settlement with the house of Hapsburg.

The **fourth** chapter investigates the working of the political system of the *corpus separatum*. The “provisory” constitutional arrangement lasted until October 1918, for almost 50 years. It is within this new constitutional setting that the political modernisation of the City has eventually occurred, and the City elites managed to preserve its complete administrative autonomy from Croatia. The political stability within the City was assured thanks to the pervasive presence of informal networks among the leading commercial and financial groups that linked Fiume to Hungary. Although the City underwent a process of modernisation the ruling class was centred on a small number of people able, until the end of the XIX century, to exploit (or even direct) any political change at their own interest. Nevertheless, hybrid and transitional as well as local identities are still present - with Autonomism even dominating the scene. It was only at the turn of the century that massive economic investments initiated by the Hungarian government dwarfed the influence of the locals, producing a reaction that crystallised into the Partito Autonomo. Rhetoric apart, most of the political forces stayed deeply entrenched within the Hungarian political ideological and institutional framework, with the cleavage between the Kossuthists and supporters of Tisza. Only in the last phase some openly unconstitutional movements will emerge and they will always remain marginal. This shows that Fiuman faction recall the factions present in the Hungarian parliament in Budapest. Chapter **five** deals with what is the most known period of Fiuman history: the turmoil that followed the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. The collapse of the political system in October 1918 for Fiume was a period of revolutionary transformation.

The new principle of national self-determination, fostered by the president of the United States Woodrow Wilson, wiped all the political institutions in the Hapsburg monarchy of their legitimacy. Previously legitimate political institutions disappeared and “National Councils” replaced parliaments and governments. Most of these movements and their organisations that at first enjoyed a semi-official status at best were far more violent and mass oriented than the previous ones, ultimately undermining rights of national minorities and democracy.

Basically, after 1918 any traditional Croat state-making program was compromised with the dissolution of the Monarchy, while the opponents who succeeded in associating Italian culture, popular mobilisation, with effective state-making capabilities had many possible solutions at their disposal. The local political elite in Fiume managed to survive after First World War, by changing their horizon of political action thanks to previously established contacts and networks. What changed was not the elite composition as such (at least in the initial phase) but the fact that they were exploiting the various forces in the international arena as resources to realise their political goals, again confined to the City.

There was a Yugoslav alternative but it proved to be unsuccessful. The Croatian-Yugoslav option disappeared soon thanks to political violence of its opponents and absence of any effective institutional control over the City. As a provisory solution, the international community envisaged a creation of a buffer state that with territorial modification will basically recall the contours of the *corpus separatum*. Using that framework, a fringe of the autonomists will develop an ideology for a Free State of Fiume which will recall in its arguments and appeal the classical arguments of nationalism, but limited to a single city. The “Free State of Fiume” that was established has had, nevertheless, a precarious existence in the period 1918-1924. A fascist putsch doomed the “Free State”, half a year before Mussolini’s “March on Rome”.

CHAPTER 1: A CITY BEYOND THE NATION?

WHAT IS THE NATION?*

In the preface of the *Memorie per la storia della liburnica città di Fiume* in a brief biography of its author Giovanni Kobler it is stated that:

“Giovanni Kobler, figlio di Marco e di Teresa nata Luser, nacque a Fiume il 22 agosto 1811. Suo padre nativo di Eisern in Carniola esercitava nella nostra città la mercatura, e nel 1801 chiese ed ottenne la *cittadinanza di Fiume* per sé e i suoi discendenti. Fatte le tre classi normali e le sei ginnasiali in *patria*, il nostro Giovanni si recò a Zagabria, dove frequentò il corso biennale di filosofia e quello di legge dal 1829 al '32. Compiuti con distinzione questi studi, tornò in *patria* ed entrò in servizio del magistrato civico.”¹⁷ (italics mine)

In this excerpt we find some terminology (such as *cittadinanza* and *patria*) that today are habitually associated with states and nations, rather than cities. After a careful reading, we recognise that they do not refer to Hungary or Croatia, but to the City of Fiume: in an age of national competition, the Fiumani felt like a nation.

For Italian irredentist authors Autonomism was simply anachronistic, “Monroe in milionesimo” as it was reductively defined by Gigante.¹⁸ Yugoslav historians also dismissed Autonomism as a municipal “fossil” or a “medieval” form of identity, which “naturally” had to lead to Italian or pro Yugoslav nationalism, that ultimately ended up with annexation to its “mother country” - that in 1924 was Italy and in 1945 Croatia, within Communist Yugoslavia. As Italian irredentists who preceded them, also Croatian Yugoslav authors were uneasy about the Fiuman identity:

“The predominantly mercantile character of the City played a major role in the later spiritual formation, and especially regarding the national self-identification of a part of the bourgeoisie. Here is the origin of a typical characteristic of the local bourgeois – “fiumanity”. This fiumanity denotes some important personal characteristics – a tendency to a comfortable life, based on profits from trade and a pervasive opportunism to achieve both of these goals. On these characteristic personal features a specific sense of identity was constructed (especially in the XIX century) when in all the surrounding areas sought specific political national determination as in Istria, Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, and Hungary, here in Fiume part of bourgeoisie built a specific sense of belonging. When the rest of the citizens were indifferent or got closer to the Croatian, Italian, or Hungarian national programs, a noticeable part of the bourgeoisie, and notably those who profited from trade and thanks to this occupied the most influential positions in the City, held this “fiumanity” almost as an equivalent to national specificity.”¹⁹

* A first version of this chapter has been presented in London at the ASEN Conference on Nationalism by the London School of Economics in April 2004. I express my gratitude to Professor Anthony Smith for the helpful comments and the acceptance of the fundamental thesis of this part, that was of fundamental importance. Obviously the responsibility is mine. It was reworked and published in Italian under the title: Klinger William. “Quando è nazione? Una rivisitazione critica delle teorie sul nazionalismo”, *Quaderni*, Vol. XVII (2006), Rovigno, pp. 399-420.

¹⁷ Kobler, Giovanni. 1896, (1978), *Memorie per la storia della liburnica città di Fiume*, vol I, p. XXXIII.

¹⁸ See for example Gigante, Silvino. “Memorie frammentarie di un vecchio fiumano”, in *Studi saggi appunti*, Deputazione per la storia patria per le Venezie: Sezione di Fiume, Fiume, 1944.

¹⁹ Vidas Kazimir. “Štampa, Knjižare i Društva u Rijeci”. In *Rijeka - Zbornik*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1953, p. 447.

This feeling seems to endure also in the twentieth century with the auspicated formation of a “*nazione fiumana svizzeramente*” as claimed Riccardo Zanella²⁰. That the expression was not an isolated statement is suggested also by the French jurist Robert Redslob who noticed that: *Des citoyens de Fiume que je questionnais pour savoir si leurs penchants nationaux étaient plutôt pour les Italiens ou les Croates, ma firent cette réponse inattendue : « fiumains nous sommes, fiumains nous voulons vivre et mourir. A ce compte, on verra l'Europe se transformer en salle de dissection.*²¹

The question that arises is obvious: is it legitimate for the population of a small city (or even only its political elite) to consider itself as a nation? The answer, according to the contemporary theories of nations and nationalism, is negative. But are these theories sound? Before providing an answer to this question, it is necessary to provide a brief examination on the origins of the modern concepts of the nation and the present state of the debate on nationalism.

ONTOLOGY: THE DEMOCRATIC NATION

The topic of the dissertation is to provide an assessment on theories of nationalism. Since the recent years have witnessed a veritable explosion of scholarly work on the subject, it needs some justification to add something on this topic. It seems that a lot of debate today rests on a misunderstanding due to the fact that most of the authors as a rule do not provide a definition of the terms they employ. Thus, for some authors the nation refers to the cultural features of a population, while for others it is primarily manifested as political mobilisation of the masses in the explicit name of the nation. Before starting our empirical investigation there is a need to make explicit what the contemporary theories have in common and depart from there. Surprisingly enough, there is a common feature that all the contemporary theories share and it has to do more with contemporary politics than with historical evidence. **The ontological claim of all actual theories of the nation claims that the nation represents a significant part of the population in a given territory.**

The origins of these ideas go back in time. It is possible to find a full-fledged version of this majority claim already in Romantic nationalism, that developed in Germany as a response to the French Revolution and its most impressive result: the modern democratic state, with a “national” standing army.

If only “the will of the people” legitimised the new democratic state, then this people must have a collective unity that precedes the state, in other words - a common identity:

“From all this it follows that the state, merely as the government of human life in its progress along the ordinary peaceful path, is not something which is primary and which exists for its own sake, but is merely the means to the higher purpose of the eternal, regular and continuous development of what is purely human in this nation”, proclaimed Fichte in his *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1808). It appears how the state was only the institutional embodiment of the nation and that the latter was fundamental and superior to the first: *“People and fatherland in this sense, as a support and guarantee of eternity on earth and as that which can be eternal here below, far transcend the state in the ordinary sense of the world, viz., the social order as comprehended by mere intellectual conception and as established and maintained under the guidance of this conception”.*²²

Instead of denying the “State” in favour of the “Nation” romanticism claims a *new* kind of state or, better, a new principle of legitimacy for it. Notably, the movement gained momentum after the French revolution in Germany, especially after the Napoleonic conquests. What Fichte claimed was

²⁰ “Voja Marinkovic mi prospettò che stato indipendente Fiume sarebbe diventato in breve croato, non serbo: perciò pericoloso, causa inevitabili attriti. Io dico di no, e nel peggior dei casi, in forza determinismo economico, croati e italiani avrebbe(ro) creato *nazionalità fiumana svizzeramente*”. Dal diario di Riccardo Zanella, lettera del 27 gennaio 1924, ora in Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal “Natale di sangue” all’annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982, p. 172.

²¹ Redslob, Robert, *Le principe des nationalités: les origines, les fondements psychologiques, les forces adverses, les solutions possibles*, Paris : Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1930. L’opera è frutto di un corso fatto nel febbraio del 1930 presso l’Institut universitaire des hautes études internationales, a Ginevra.

²² Now in Vincent P. Pecora, ed. *Nations and Identities: Classic Readings*, Blackwell Publishing, 2001. pp. 114-128.

a new foundational principle of German politics that had to take a much broader part of the population into account. Politics had to consider what objectively united the German nation and this was to be located primarily in the cultural realm. The term *Kulturnation* thus has to be taken literally - a nation without the integrative institutions of a single state but only with cultural preconditions for it. The romantic project, instead of denying the state or reducing its importance, merely changed its foundations. The change was induced by the great organisational and military success of the nation state, put in action by the French.

Hegel added a new theoretical component: the State was the place where liberty could be realised, and therefore, a hierarchy could have been construed among those nations and peoples who in their history managed to build a state from those who failed to do so. In his *Verfassung Deutschlands* already in 1802, Hegel develops further the idea that the state had the duty to exercise its powers upon the civil society that appeared to him as a wild beast that needed constant vigilance and coercion by the State.²³ For the followers of Hegel, extremely popular in central Europe: there were few options left: if their imagined community had lost its state, it was a primary duty for the historian to investigate this glorious past and wake up the nation from lethargy. For this reason many national movements in the area alluded to *Risorgimento* and rebirth (such as the Croatian *Preporod*). If there was no glorious state history, the new nation had to start from scratch.

After its great popularity in Europe the traditional romantic interpretation will gradually lose its appeal, after the tragedies of the world wars and for the influence of leftist socialist movements. Marxism will develop an alternative interpretation linking all the social phenomena with deeper economic changes. Nationalism is, according to this view, only an epiphenomenon. Nevertheless, even this epistemic orientation follows from romantic political philosophy, claiming that people are superior to political institutions that can always be changed.²⁴ The territorial state (now in the form of the nation-state) was seen as the ultimate result of nationalism caused by economic transformation and not as its cause.

EPISTEMOLOGY: MODERNISM AND ITS OPPONENTS

The contemporary debate has not shifted away from the romantic (or democratic) ontological paradigm: they all agree that the nation is (or must be) a substantial part of the population in a given land. In order to be *legitimate* the people has to be included into the nation, in order to be *effective* such a group (no matter how large or scattered) must be homogenous. The real issue is therefore what has enabled such a large community of homogenised people to come about: it is only the mechanism that transforms (or preserves) the masses of undifferentiated (or rather too different) people into a nation that enables us to distinguish the various theories on nationalism. A homogeneity of language, culture, or shared beliefs was simply inherited by a society while entering modernity, the primordialist claims.²⁵ The modernist holds that such homogeneity has been *created* or *constructed*. The debate is therefore centred upon the creation or the discovery of the nation. The ontological claim about the nation is not seriously questioned by anybody.

Modernist theories can be classified according to the role nationalism plays in a society entering modernity. Nationalism therefore responds to the following needs of societies in modernisation:

- **Functional** necessities of the modern industrial economy (E. Gellner)²⁶

²³ Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, *Die Verfassung Deutschlands* [1800-1802] = Werke, cit., Bd. 1, 1986, pp. 449-610.

²⁴ On the contrasting positions of Marx, Engels and later Marxism see: Cattaruzza, ecc. It was western European Marxism that tended to repudiate nationalism as such, but in central and eastern Europe (to say nothing about the writings of Marx, Engels) there was a much more positive evaluation towards nationalism.

²⁵ Smith A. D. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism*, London, Routledge, p. 146.

²⁶ E. Gellner, 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford, Blackwell;

- **Tactical** necessities of modern politics (P. Brass,²⁷ E. J. Hobsbawm,²⁸ J. Breuille²⁹)
- **Emotional** necessities of a population that enter the process of modernization (B. Anderson)³⁰

If nations are *real* they can only be *discovered*; if they are *imagined* they are *constructs* of culture and society, and thus *invented*. In terms of the epistemology of the nation, it is useful to distinguish *naturalistic* theories of nationalism from the nowadays popular *antinaturalistic* (cultural).³¹ The latter can be divided in *materialist* and *idealist*. Naturalistic theories consider nationalism to be linked with human nature as a part of universal human behaviour independent of its culture or from the degree of its technological or institutional development. Culturalists, on the other hand, usually (but not always!) consider the nation to be an inherently *modern* phenomenon.

The results of the debate on the causes of nationalism are far from satisfying.³² Most of the theories reify ethnic or national groups conceiving them as discrete units – as states on a political map or individuals put on a historical stage. Far from being self-evident, this has yet to be proved and not assumed. Worse, the late nineteenth century concept of the nation as an “everyday plebscote” of a politically mobilised and aware population has been used uncritically outside its geographical *locus classicus* - Europe - to explain the development of extra European societies, but it has proven very useful in denying the existence of nationalism in the European middle ages, for example.

For the modernist the nation is a community of people, which in order to achieve political legitimacy has to represent the majority of a residing population in a territory. This majority can be defined in several ways from ethnic to voluntaristic ones, for example. The principle of legitimisation of the nation is thus essentially democratic or at least demotic. In fact, if we consider any map depicting a nationally mixed area we should ask how it happened that all cultural genealogical or political diversity was simplified and structured in two or three option of choice? That is - why do we typically have two or three nations or ethnic groups interacting but never, say, ten thousand? The following obvious question the modernist faces is how this remarkable homogenisation has been achieved. Several causes have been identified in the literature: from economic and social modernisation, cultural standardisation achieved through print capitalism in the vernacular, changes in the political environment and thus changing opportunities for the rulers.

Materialist modernists stress the *functional* needs of a modern *economy* (E. Gellner) It is the emergence of industrial society that produces nationalism since all workers must be highly mobile and versatile. Such new kind of specialisation could be achieved only on the basis of a common general education centred upon a standardised language and written culture. This is basically a functionalist approach: nationalism emerges as a by-product of industrialisation: a culture which can be defined as national must be functional to economic development. It must be said that this idea is not new – the *Communist Manifesto* contains already a full-fledged version of it. The awareness of a lack of such a culture is what nationalism is all about, according to Gellner. To put it in his words, it is an “ideology of delayed industrialisation”.³³

Another variant stresses the *tactical* needs of modern *politicians* (P. Brass, E. J. Hobsbawm, J. Breuille). This strain is the most popular and prolific nowadays. Nationalist mobilisations are

²⁷ Brass P. R. 1991. *Ethnicity And Nationalism: Theory And Comparison*, London, Sage.

²⁸ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1990;

²⁹ Breuille John. 1985. *Nationalism and the State*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press;

³⁰ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities. Reflection on the Opinion and Spread of Nationalism*, London.

³¹ Explanations based on the biological foundations of human social behaviour have the advantage of generality and ontological parsimony. They have given new insights (if not full-fledged theories) about the different levels of selection form individuals and groups. On the other hand, most of their assumptions appear to be tautological (like social system theory and cybernetics in the years after the Second World War) and are therefore difficult to test.

³² Ozkirimli, Umut. *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*. St. Martin's Press: New York, 2000.

³³ E. Gellner, 1983. *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 24-29.

modern phenomena initiated by elites capable of controlling and mobilising large groups of people. It is also essay to attach a certain payoff which makes this actions rational tactical and egotistic. A variation of the thesis of Gellner is given by Erich Hobsbawm, who insists in the role of political and social modernisation to explain nationalism. According to Hobsbawm, mass democratisation had bred new challenges for the ruling elites who found in nationalism a useful antidote for the control of the masses.³⁴ Nations are therefore, little more than products of invented traditions by the elites who in this way add a sacral dimension to actions that in fact respond to their daily political necessities.³⁵

On the other hand this approach appears tautological: most of political action and mobilisation is done by elites, and to think that all these actions were driven by some narrow and short sighted interest is not entirely convincing.

Benedict Anderson has had the merit to insist on the imagined nature of nationalism since it is about typically large groups whose members do not knew each other. Moreover, he notices that nationalism fulfils *emotional* needs of modernised *populations*. Nevertheless, he insists on the modernity of the phenomenon, although circulation of printed books started well before the eighteenth century.

Rational Choice Theory

Rational Choice Theory offers interesting possibilities of theoretical generalisation and empirical verification. This projected rationality permits also the reconstruction of the choices that nationalists make that often seem to depart from rationality. Discrimination of any sort is considered as bringing certain advantages (economical and not) to one that practices it. A. Breton (1964 and 1995) put forward first an interpretation of the “economics of nationalism”.³⁶ The idea is that nationalist practices can have different economic consequences and that the awareness of this fact enables rational actors to plan and foster nationalistic policies. Individuals who propagate nationalism are assumed to act intentionally and rationally.

Breton distinguishes between two ideal types: cultural and political nationalism. Cultural invests in group loyalty while political nationalism affects political decisions that have direct economic consequences (such as asset ownership). At a glance the Croatian Yugoslav options belong definitely to the cultural type, while the Italian speaking variants of Autonomism are all concerned primarily with economic consequences of the various possible polices.

Apart from formal elegance, another advantage of this approach is given by possibilities of empirical verification it offers. The theory is gaining ground and it explains well phenomena such as the daily reproduction of nationalism, “nested identities”, shifts in identity and the like. Moreover the apparent irrationality of acts such as self sacrifice acquires another light if it is seen as a case of group altruism. The resulting phenomena of nationalism is in fact the resultant of the aggregated sum of optimisations of rational utility included in a social context and where the payoffs are culturally defined.³⁷

But Rational choice theory has its problems: how to measure and quantify the payoffs independently from what we are studying? How to avoid tautology in what is considered as rational

³⁴ E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1990;

³⁵ E. J. Hobsbawm, and Terence Ranger (eds). 1983. *The Invention Of Tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

³⁶ A still fundamental is the excellent: Albert Breton, Gianluigi Galeotti, Pierre Salmon, Ronald Wintrobe, (eds.), *Nationalism and Rationality*, Cambridge University Press, 1995.

³⁷ Ortona, Guido. 2001. *Economia del comportamento xenofobo*, UTET Torino.

from irrational behaviour? Rational choice to be effective, has to take the institutional context extremely seriously. Namely, if we take the institution as a “black box” it is difficult to tell what causes what: individuals shape institutions or it is rather the other way round, institutions shape individual behaviour. On the other hand, institutions (both formal and informal) with stable rules (stable payoffs) can explain the daily renovation of nationalistic beliefs if they are able to provide a perception of some benefit to the members of the nation. We can postulate the existence of behaviour that benefits the group but is detrimental to the individual (self-sacrifice) on the other hand most institutions change payoffs and make the interests of the group also the interests of the individual (by combining sacrifice with material or symbolic awards). One has to note, however, that Rational choice theory does not exclude the existence of nationalism within small groups, also in premodern times.

Primordialism

In many pre modern European societies, there are political and ideological phenomena that appear surprisingly similar to modern national ideology and propaganda. From this observation the challenge to modernism has developed.³⁸ However, its similarity with other kinds of group identity has pointed other authors to consider it a much older phenomenon. The primordialists claim that the origins of nationalism are to be found in the remote past.³⁹

Some primordialists argue that the origins of nationalism are to be located within human nature. Others prefer to consider it a cultural phenomenon, whose origins go back in time. Anthony Smith, adopts a similar view in a theory that he calls ethno symbolism, that stress the great resiliency of the national myths (some appear really ancient - such as is the case of Jews) once that they appear and successfully establish themselves.⁴⁰ National movements, therefore, do not “invent” their nations, but originate from ancient memories and myths of common ancestry and identity, that from time to time re-emerge in particular periods in the history of these communities. Smith notices the continuity of national feelings and their expressions between the mediaeval and contemporary age in places such as England, France, Poland and Russia.⁴¹ What Smith fails to specify is how these transmit and preserve along the elites and even more so among the population that transmit it by real transmission. A. Smith notices correctly that the modernist criterion to consider only the mass manifestation of nationalism, as the only legitimate case of nationalism, but in this way they build a tautology. What Smith does not explain is the way by which an ethnical feeling transforms to a national one or in what lays the difference between nations and *ethnies*. Primordialists fail to explain the causes of stability (if there is any) and daily renovation of nationalistic feelings that they need to sustain their claims.

Primordialism is an attempt to link nationalism to other phenomena of cultural identity. It claims that although nationalism is a widespread phenomenon in contemporary politics and successfully adapts to modern industrialised mass societies, nationalism is not new as such. Cultural works from the past such as poems epics and other historical narratives sometimes at least superficially resemble modern nationalist writings and propaganda. If these phenomena are not nationalist then, what are they? The problem for primordialism is that it fails to explain why ethnic identities are so persistent. Moreover, in many cases the modernist seem to pay more attention to the historical evidence that shows that the people do not appear to be mobilized along ethnic or national lines in premodern Europe.

³⁸ Think of the *De vulgari eloquentia* (1303-1305 ca.) of Dante, a treatise on the possible use of vernacular Italian as a “literary language” or the historical dramas of Shakespeare.

³⁹ On the extreme there are the “classic” romantic nationalists who argued that nations were as old as the first mentions dating from the ancient world or the early middle ages.

⁴⁰ Smith A. D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins Of Nations*, Oxford, Blackwell.

⁴¹ Smith A. D. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism*, London , Routledge, p. 190.

The theories on nationalism are far from satisfying: they do not examine the differences of nations from *ethnies*, not how one transforms to another. All tend to reify groups considering them as discrete and separate entities, and that has yet to be proven. Modernisation and the entrance of the masses in the political arena, is always postulated as the starting point for nationalism, failing to explain the similarity of these phenomena with those from the past.

Moreover, as Hastings has pointed out, terms like *gens* or *natio* were present and used extensively in the Bible, so their importance for European history cannot be exaggerated.⁴² If modernists are right then the term “nation” should appear along with modernisation - as the term “industrialisation” for example, but this is simply not true. The old notions of the nation are quite comparable with modern ones from the point of view of political representation (this is after all what nationalism is about!). This similarity is even more striking and it has to be explained.

Alternatively the nation, if it is a recent phenomenon, should be confined to entirely new areas of human activity than the old nobiliar nations – they are not: all the discourses of the nation are about the constitution and extension of the territorial state. Since the territorial state and the related problems are much older than modern industrial economy or mass politics - so it is the nation, even when not explicitly mentioned with this name. If it is true that it was nationalism that created the nation it is also true that the experience of belonging to a state inspired the first nationalists – members of the “nation”.

Finally, it seems that the modernist paradigm reflects more the change of paradigms of the social sciences in general, shifting its focus of interest from *political development* (fashionable in the '60) to *political democratisation* (in vogue from the '80).

Elite nationalism

It seems that a difference between nationalism and ethnocentrism is rather a matter of degree. Both ethnocentrism and nationalism foster the tendency to feel “different” and in this way stop or at least reduce the cultural “contamination” from other groups. Ethnocentrism relates (usually) to smaller groups without a sophisticated and articulated institutionalisation while nationalism is traditionally related to the particular institutions of the state. **But size is not crucial.**

Nationalism is a way of behaviour grounded on feelings of group identity, myths of common origin etc. closely resembling the feelings and the emotional appeal of ethnocentrism.⁴³ It is nevertheless important to distinguish these two terms: ethnocentrism means the sense of common belonging within smaller groups (like tribes) without a state, its secular education, unified culture and without a political program for obtaining it. Crucial here appears the sense of common identity of one group opposed to others. Today nationalism relies on feelings like common origin and identity of a larger group (a nation). In modern times usually it manifests itself in political programs that aspire to build a nation state, with a pure national culture for its own group, and this goal is to be obtained through territorial partition, control of secular education, bureaucracy etc.

Most (if not all) scholars will agree that nations are groups. But, what is a group, and how big it must be in order to be considered a nation? Is a nation of two persons a useful concept for a historical reconstruction? If we reject this possibility then we face the philosophical problem of the threshold - how many individuals are required to make a nation? I claim that a group of two people

⁴² Hastings, Adrian (1997), *The Construction Of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism*, Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press.

⁴³ I define ethnocentric as any discriminatory behaviour that affects the willingness of one to cooperate on cultural demarcation criteria. In other words an ethnocentric person reduces or prevents interaction with other persons or group for some perceived ascribed (or imagined) cultural trait: that is for behavioural traits that the excluded member has learned for her community. For example some groups can be excluded only with respect to certain issues while in other co-operation is seen as possible legitimate and beneficial. See also Banton, Michael (2004), ‘Are Ethnicity and Nationality Twin Concepts?’ *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30: 4, 807–14.

can be legitimately called a nation as one of, say, 20 million. The difference here is on institutional technology and constitutional assets of the state, but not in the conceptual structure of the phenomenon.

Nationalism is defined as a behaviour that closely resembles ethnocentrism but the group claims a right to rule a state in Europe at least from the middle ages. This means that even mediaeval elites who shared opinions about the territorial state and who perceived themselves as representatives of a “nation” that gave obligations, authority, rights, and duties (such as defence of the territory they represented) were nationalist in the very “modern” sense of the term.

For the modernist, the nation is a community that in order to guarantee its political legitimacy has to constitute the majority (or an important part) of the *population resident in a determinate territory*. Nationalism is intended as the principal identification sentiment such that overcomes and defines all the others. For this reason it is intrinsically homogenising and it is capable to override the class, religious, gender and other barriers within a society. The foundation of such a political community can be done by the ethnical or cultural grounds, up to the will of the free people. The political legitimacy principle is essentially democratic. The nation as it was intended and promoted by the French revolution, posed the will of the free people as the founding moment of a political community that in this way becomes to use an expression by Ernest Renan, a “daily plebiscite”.⁴⁴

Strangely enough, even those that oppose modernism do not deny its fundamental ontological premise – that the nation should represent (or better consist of) the majority of the population in a given land. The most enduring legacy of the romantic tradition is that the nation can be considered separately from the political community such as the state, and its institutions. The basis for the nation cannot be the privileged few, but the popular masses, united by some set of common cultural or ethnic background. Only a mass of the homogenous people can in this way be considered as a suitable basis for building a legitimate political community. If the population is not mobilised at least it has to be homogenous upon some crucial aspect to give life to a community.

Here we have two possibilities for the nationalist: for the primordialists such homogeneity was already present in the past, and the modernization process has just made visible, in a new way a pre-existent religious, linguistic homogeneity, or a set of beliefs and memories shared by the community. The modernist option holds that this homogeneity has been created as a by-product of a wider transformation of the society typical induced by the new technology and economy of the modern societies.

What changes is only the nature of the mechanism that transforms these undifferentiated (or rather too heterogeneous) masses into a nation. To reconstruct this process the ethno-symbolists refer to myths and memories, while for the modernists this is given by compulsory education, modern industrial economy and the *Levée en masse*. Naturalists look at what there is in the human nature that leads to inter-group altruism and intra-group discrimination. The approach does not though explain what there is specific in nationalism, not why it exists after all since human nature could have led humanity towards universalistic cosmopolitanism or individualist anarchy.

What was not taken into consideration is that nations could exist even without the requirement of the population homogeneity. This is even more plausible since even for the modernist theorist at least in the initial moment the mobilization in its first phases had to be done by the cultural and social elites since it does not grow from the popular masses. Moreover, frequently even these modern elites that were not noble frequently had little in common with respect to the population they were addressing.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Renan, Ernest (1823-1892) : Qu'est-ce qu'une nation ?, Conférence faite en Sorbonne, le 11 mars 1882, in <http://www.bmlisieux.com/archives/nation01.htm>

⁴⁵ In Central Eastern Europe, the first national agitators, who initiated the various “Risorgimento type” movements, frequently were of different cultural origins from the nation that they were mobilizing. Germans were the Croat nationalist Josip Juraj Strossmayer (Joseph Georg Strossmayer, 1815 - 1905), the Czech František Ladislav Rieger

Generations of intellectuals that from the Nineteenth century have engaged in a search for the spirit of the nation among popular strata – the *Volk* have not invented the nations as Hobsbawm claims, but they managed to found the nation after a search at another segment of the society. Political and economical modernization certainly brings a better territorial integration while democracy opens new social strata to already existing political discourses and cleavages. But what has to be distinguished in the nationalist discourse is the issue of representation from the democratic praxis of a people intended as the majority of a population. De facto these two elements only recently interacted and gave birth to nationalism as we know it today. The modernists do not deny the existence of cultural or other common substratum in the people before modernity, but this substratum can only lead to “Popular Proto-Nationalism”. This is really a misleading definition, for if it proves that the Proto-Nationalism endorsed rudimental political aspirations linked to a state, it does not prove that it were the elites to possess a full-fledged national ideology. In this way, the modernists look for the nation where it was certainly absent (the masses of people), and ignore it where it was probably present (the nobility).

The encounter of mass democracy and nationalism certainly had engendered great change. But on the other and, these two phenomena can be considered separately from democracy. Concepts such as politics, parties, parliaments and the state have existed before democracy. Strangely this is not considered possible for nationalism, considered a mass affair or at least to acceptably modern elite such as the bourgeoisie or the *Bildungsbürgertum*.⁴⁶

According to my definition nationalism is ethnocentrism that refers to the territorial state.⁴⁷ Any group (no matter how small) that has ever produced a discriminatory behaviour within a territorial state with the purpose of changing its political features is, in my opinion, nationalist. The state has been in the past in competition with many other competing political territorial institutions such as empire, church, city or the fief. It is clear that genuine nationalism can be older than the industrial or French revolution. It can be limited to a group of nobles perceiving themselves as representatives of the nation and thus legitimised and entitled to act and feel accordingly. In other situations such as in cities or later in the territorial state as well this legitimacy to be and represent the nation can extend towards other strata of the population. Moreover nationalists almost by definition are a group that is smaller than the nation to which they imagine to belong. The greater and more universalistic the nation becomes the greater their gap between the size of the nation and the real number of nationalist movements and ideologies. It is conceivable that when the nation was confined to the nobility the overlap between the nations and its practitioners – nationalists was greater.

The fact that these groups were small elites has more to do with the way politics was done in that time and the technical means of excreting power than with the nationalist phenomenon itself. Noteworthy enough, frequently the landed aristocracy of east central Europe referred to themselves as being the *natio* who represent and defended the land or “patria”. This *populus politicus* produced written memories and literature that are absolutely comparable to modern nationalistic works.

The possibility for nations to exist even without any underlying homogeneity of the residing population (or even without any appeal to it) has been completely neglected, although there is

(Philipp Friedrich von Rieger, 1818 -1903), the Slovak Štefan Moyzes (Stefan Moyses, 1797-1869) even István Széchenyi (1791 – 1860) the great Hungarian reformer used German and French for communication rather than Hungarian. The phenomenon was not confined to Eastern Europe; the house of Savoia used French, and in French is written the whole epistolary between Cavour and the King Vittorio Emanuele II, see. Banti, Alberto Mario, *Il Risorgimento italiano*, Laterza, Roma-Bari 2004. It seems that frequently the cultural difference between the nobiliar elites and their people is no more than that of the bourgeois ones.

⁴⁶ See for example Juergen Kocka, “The Difficult Rise of a Civil Society: Societal History of Modern Germany”, in Mary Fulbrook, John Breuilly (eds.) *German History Since 1800*, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 500-505.

⁴⁷ For a discussion see, Grosby, Steven (1995), ‘Territoriality: The Transcendental, Primordial Feature of Modern Societies’, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1: 2, 143–62.

plenty of evidence for it in the historical sources, at least from certain areas. The “political people” in Central Europe (Hungary or Croatia, for example) represented the legitimate political body that ruled a territory, without having to reflect (or represent) any feature of the majority of its resident population. These “nobiliar nations” held the rights to represent other people, counterbalanced with duties towards their land such as military defence. The symmetry between the *rights to represent* a country and the *duties to defend* it has been preserved in the modern discourses on citizenship, well into the XX century:

Type:	Nobiliar Nationalism	Liberal (xix c.) Nationalism	Populist Nationalism
Suffrage criterion:	Land ownership	Census	<i>Ius soli/sanguinis</i>
Defence Duties:	Nobiliar <i>insurrectio</i>	Financial (Tax paying)	<i>Levée en masse</i>

I argue that the issue of *representation* must be separated from that of *democracy* or the rule of the people. In fact these two concepts interacted only lately - giving birth to nationalism, as we know it. Nineteenth century intellectuals, searching for the nation within the *Volk*, have not “invented” or “discovered” their nations – rather they have looked for them in another part of the society. Moreover, pre modern elite conflict and restructuring explains the different conceptions of the nation we still see today.

To conclude, I claim that the nation must be considered separately from the issues of its size, with respect to:

- Size of its claimed territory
- Absolute numeric size
- Relative numeric size (that is its penetration among popular strata)

The implications are:

- First: human groups are in a process of continuous formation and/or dissolution. If a group develops a state building program - it has to be considered nationalist. Nationalists and their perceived or imagined nations arise quite often, but only some of these groups become “real” nations with effective institutions for resource extraction and rule enforcement. In modern age they are typically associated with the territorial administrative state.
- Second: at every single historical moment, diverse “nations” are at different stages of development, dissolution, or emancipation. Historical evidence then should show a much more variegated and contrasting picture if this claim holds true. Many more nationalist movements and perceived nations are and were around than nationalists and others think or admit. Moreover, it is unlikely that all of them are to be found at the same stage of development, spread and political success. A new methodology (which I call snapshot) should portray any given moment to see how these different groups emerged, spread and went extinct.⁴⁸
- Third: the smaller the community more its identity will be complex and articulated. In order to be able to encompass larger human groups more diverse communities and or more scattered ones that do not interact frequently identity should be more general. Therefore it should be expected that nationalist feelings arose upon a small number of symbols images or

⁴⁸ The idea was developed in a totally different context - in population biology for the study of bird speciation in Melanesia. See Ernst Mayr, Jared M. Diamond, *The birds of Northern Melanesia: speciation, ecology, & biogeography*, Oxford University Press, 2001.

suggestions rather than by elaborating complex codes of identifications as it happens in tribes or gangs.

- Fourth: the success of a national group (that is a group that acts according to satisfaction of national goals) depends on several variables, depending also from what is perceived as most important: economic success or political independence. Typically a success story for a nationalist is acquiring a sovereign independent piece of territory - a nation-state, but a cool minded calculation could prefer to achieve a degree of territorial autonomy instead of more costly political independence.

The nation is to be located within the legitimating discourses of those persons who are (claim or believe to be) the representatives of a territorial state. In order to justify what is basically a change in terminology, I provide the following reasons:

- First, we know how to study the institutions of the State far better than its underlying cultural manifestations. Indeed much of what historiography has done in the past is just about that, enabling a far more accurate investigation of the nationalist phenomenon.
- Second, we can provide some solutions that fit better with the evidence than rival theories – such as strongly opposed nationalists who share a very similar culture or belong to a mutually integrated area. Nationalists who do not appear to be ideologues of delayed modernisation appear also possible as well as deeply undemocratic or obscurantist ones. What is at stake is not culture, symbols, myths but a concept of the state in terms of its territory, constitution and resulting political asset. The former are usually only instruments and tools of persuasion but not goals by themselves.
- Third, if we adopt an evolutionist view for the development of the institutions we know it appears that formal institutions such as firms or states are much better candidates for being units of selection than cultural ones. Institutions can be selected and deterministic evolutionary forces could act upon them. It is not clear how could such forces act upon culture or its symbols. Maybe what differentiates institutions from cultures is the nature of evolutionary change and its underlying causal mechanism?
- Fourth, we can better investigate the relationships between masses and elites. It makes no sense to look for nationalistic feelings among masses when they are effectively prevented to enter into political life. The appeal of the *Volk* its features feelings will enter the discourse of the nation with the spread of democratic ideals in the general concept of the state and its political representation. Nationalism will spread from the political elites who represent the state such as the nobility towards popular strata later in the nineteenth century. Intellectuals and later political entrepreneurs who will claim that the bulk of the population will be the political people and not the nobility will initiate it. The shift of nationalistic from an aristocratic to a bourgeois and popular strata is not explainable outside the changes that occurred within the ideology and the practice of governing the State as well.

After having outlined a critique of the contemporary theories of the nation, that pays too little attention of the effective political use of the concept and its practical domain, I have identified a main shortcoming in the view that ontologically the nation is the majority of a population homogenous in respect to certain traits in a given territory (the bigger the territory or the larger the majority - the better). This view is anti historical. The nation in the modern meaning of the term as a trade-off between duties and rights arising from rule over a territory can be surely from the European Middle Ages. As many other terms that built our contemporary political concepts such as liberty freedom, insurrection, parliament, diet, faction, and party so is the nation, which in my view appears inextricably linked with the territorial state and the rights to represent it. This fact adds some important insights about the nature of nation as the object of nationalistic imagination that, I think, have a methodological significance.

From what we have said it appears that nations are more numerous than usually imagined. Second, at least some of them could be older than many theorists today are willing to admit. Third, this feeling can transcend the limits of a state and be confined to a single city or to embrace an empire as well. We do not have theoretical instruments to distinguish national allegiance to a city from that to a state or an empire, apart from the adjective that specifies upon which nationalism it is.⁴⁹

THE IMAGINED COMMUNITY: FIUMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY (1820 – 1924)

*People are rational animals, which build history out of their pictures of the future.*⁵⁰

This is a short review about the main traits of the history of historiography about Fiume. It considers all the attempts to present and reconstruct the past: chronicles, memoirs and proper historical works. There are several reasons for doing this. A brief overview on the precedent attempts to reconstruct the history of the City seemed necessary from the beginnings since it provided an overview of the literature relevant to my subject. I realised only later that this material could serve a different purpose, which could already fill a book: namely it was through the interpretation of the past that all the political ideologies tried to claim their rights over Fiume. This is hardly surprising: modern historiography emerged during the nineteenth century mostly as a tool for nationalistic ideologies. Its purpose has been to narrate and reconstruct the historical continuity (and therefore, political legitimacy) of nations. The re-enactment of the past created a powerful continuum with the world to which they belonged: there was no substantial difference between say, the middle ages and the late nineteenth century, for example.

For Benedict Anderson one of the proofs of the imaginary nature of nations lies in the connection of individuals who do not know each other. Not only is there a spatial distance but also a temporal one: a nation namely includes the dead and the unborn.⁵¹ E. J. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger⁵² also stress this point: nationalism was initiated by the elites who in order to justify their position in a changing political environment, such as was that of the nineteenth century, had to find a source of legitimacy for themselves. If they concentrated on economy and profits only, the emotional grip on people would probably have been much weaker. E. J. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger's interpretation underlies that the community of the past and present has a powerful emotional appeal, but it does not explain why this is so.⁵³

Political elites frequently used (and still do so) historical evidence for daily political purposes, especially in times of crisis or overt threat for their survival. Paintings and chronicles at least since

⁴⁹ Nationalism by itself cannot discriminate or predict the size or the extent of a territory that will be included into this or the nature ideological framework and political program. The inspiration comes from an book in ornithology where biological speciation is modelled as a continuous process that at any given moment shows different stages of speciation (that is reproductive separateness) among populations. Since nationalism is about achieving a sort of autonomy of independence of a population from other ones, this time upon a cultural basis I have supposed that also in human history the same was to happen: in a given area different groups possess different stages of emancipation usually accompanied by some kind of ideology. The idea comes from Ernst Mayr, Jared M. Diamond, *The birds of Northern Melanesia: speciation, ecology, & biogeography*, Oxford University Press, 2001.

⁵⁰ Arthur Stinchcombe, comments, in Tilly, Charles. 1997. *Roads from past to future*. Oxford, Rowman and Littlefield, p.387.

⁵¹ B. Anderson. 1982. *Imagined Communities*, London, Verso.

⁵² E. J. Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger, *The Invention Of Tradition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1983;

⁵³ Modernists typically assume that certain group identity is present in humans as a predisposition, but they do not try to relate it with nationalism, which they consider to be a fundamentally different phenomenon from kin recognition, or identity within small face-to-face communities. I think this is a major failure for the modernist approach, but both this problem and its solution lie outside of the scope and goals of this paper.

the renaissance had to provide the legitimising myths with the sense of authenticity necessary for a convincing political model.⁵⁴

A Smith and ethno-symbolism hold that certain beliefs are so entrenched within communities that they are always able to catalyse their members and in modern times to mobilize them into political action. The use of history conducive to political myth follows a typical pattern: certain facts and events from the past are carefully selected and lumped together in a convincing narrative that is used primarily for solving daily political purposes.

The primordialist argues that it is in the nature of powerful symbols to be able to produce and sustain the myths upon which the ideology of nationalism is constructed. A problem for primordialist is that they do not explain the mechanism of persistence of the myths that they postulate and take for granted as well as the daily renovation (or reproduction) of nationalism. According to the critics of ethno-symbolism, they are conceptually confused that is they stretch the concept of nationalism, also by underestimating the differences between modern nations and earlier ethnic communities. The critics (usually modernists) claim that in pre-modern eras it is not possible to speak about nations and nationalism since we can observe and trace phenomena such as nationalism only in the modern period and therefore according to them, primordialism is refuted empirically. Finally ethnic and national identities are much more fluid than they take them to be. Moreover, their research is done primarily on a selected numbers of cases (like Jews or Armenians) in which the preservation of an ethnic and the national identity was remarkably stable.

In a recent debate between Umut Ozkirimli and A Smith concerning the modernity or antiquity of nations they both seem to agree that – what matters is not solely the presence of premodern cultural materials but the *selection* process, the ways in which they are used and abused, necessarily reflecting present concerns.⁵⁵ What seems to distinguishes Smith from the modernists is the degree of freedom of the inventor of tradition in lumping together elements from different traditions. The selection has to satisfy some relevance (or resonance) criteria for the population the elites wished to mobilise, and this are strongly affected by tradition and memory.

Apart from their functional similarities the diverse political discourses in the process of nation formation in Fiume relied on different types of myths.⁵⁶ I think that ethno-symbolism has a point and that certain myths show a remarkable persistence also in the eastern Adriatic area: one is surely that “the cities belong to the sea”, which gives prosperity, freedom and brings civilization from Roman to Venetian and then Italian times. Their hinterland is always hostile, unknown, unpredictable and primitive:

*“Questo paese è situato sul limite della vita civilizzata, avendo Venezia di fronte ed appoggiandosi a lato sulla Bosnia, lontana sol pochi passi da noi. Gli spiriti risentono qui l’influenza di questa topografica situazione... ma vi si trovano istinti delicati, che costantemente alimenta l’alta coltura dell’Italia colla quale questo paese è legato per il suo linguaggio, i suoi bisogni, il suo passato ed il suo clima...”*⁵⁷

⁵⁴ A well investigated example is Venice where patricians often turned to past glories of their ancestors to remind themselves and the world of the status they deserved. One of the most cherished memories of the Venetian history was their defence of the pope Alexander and the defeat of emperor Frederick I in 1177 a real mythomoteur aimed at justifying Venetian sovereignty over the Adriatic, reasserted in times when it was put into question. Filippo De Vivo, “Historical Justifications of Venetian Power in the Adriatic”, in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol 64, No2, April 2002, pp. 159 – 176.

⁵⁵ Umut Ozkirimli, “The Nation as an Artichoke? A Critique of Ethnosymbolist Interpretations of Nationalism”, and Anthony Smith, “The Poverty of Anti - Nationalist Modernism”, in *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 9, part 3, July 2003 , pp. 339-370.

⁵⁶ This is a *topos* that in the eastern Adriatic area has possibly an ancient (maybe even prehistoric!) origin. See M Alinei, 2000, *Origini Delle Lingue D’Europa*, for the linguistic and archaeological evidence, but also C Schmitt, 1950. *Der Nomos Der Erde*, for a general juridical relevance of the two concepts. Reputedly, in Fiume it had a powerful symbolic emotional appeal in historical times as well. See authors such as Giacich, Susmel etc.

⁵⁷ *Eco del Litorale ungarico*, n. 16, 27th May, 1843.

as the Dalmatian Vincenzo Solitro exclaimed in an article written in Fiume in the 1840s. Most of the discourses take a position in the dichotomy between the *land* and the *sea*, and can be classified accordingly.

Ivo Banac is right in my opinion when he claims that in order to be accepted an ideology should proceed from reality.⁵⁸ Nationalism, in his view, can thrive thanks to the conditions of subjugation of a certain community; but it cannot manufacture the conditions. In other words, if we hold the position that nationalism is nothing but an instrument put in the hands of elites we still have to explain why it is so successful (given certain conditions) that is, why it has a powerful appeal on broad social strata whereas other elite-induced ideas so often are not. An answer to this question is one of the goals of this dissertation.

In this sense it appears that they perceived themselves as an “imagined community” who didn't transcend only the spatial and social distance among individuals but temporal ones as well.⁵⁹ There was an “economy of nationalism” which explains, I think, several phenomena of national inclusion and helps to identify the “natural” allies or enemies of the groups within the City. Most of its initiators were notables employed in the so-called “liberal arts”: physicians, lawyers, attorneys, merchants: people whose economic interests were dependent upon linguistic, social criteria. The underlying or even explicit rationality of most nationalist or proto-nationalist ideologies in Fiume gives in my opinion force to the claim that rational choice played an important role in the “daily reproduction of nationalism” in the City.

Nations rely on the past as providing sources of inspiration legitimating even motivation to their beliefs. I think this all too often obscures the role that the prospects of the future provide for nationalism. It was out of the perception of their future opportunities or threats that they were able to organise a convincing narrative. When they had to choose among different paths of development in their time, they were surprisingly sober and realistic but every such project was supported with references to a more or less distant past. I think that their image of the future is more telling to the real reasons that motivated them than a simple reconstruction and ordering of past events. The past is simply a tool for providing additional information aimed at legitimating future (political) developments or, simply, to help in decision-making. *Ceteris paribus* the future has a much greater motivating power than the past. In other words, people act because of their future prospects, but by doing this they take into serious consideration also information stored from the past.

In this sense, I have devoted comparably more attention to their references to the future more than to those of the past. This is because the future has *ceteris paribus* a much greater motivating force than the past. Thus frequently an argument drawn from the past into a historical narrative served only a concrete political plan for the future. In other words, people need to know their future prospects, interests, and threats in order to be able to formulate coherent political demands. As we shall see, it seems that the production of memory in Fiume suited this purpose.

Arguing and Bargaining: Nationalists and Autonomists

Memories and history writing proved very influential in shaping ideologies that appeared in Fiume. On the other hand, almost all historiography that was produced there served certain specific political purposes. Daily political goals and ideological prejudices thus oriented the areas of research, their priority and which facts or processes had to be enhanced or even omitted. In order to evaluate the areas that were studied or deliberately omitted I think a brief (and hopefully) neutral overview of the history will be attempted. In what follows, I focused primarily on the institutional

⁵⁸ I. Banac, *The National Question in Yugoslavia. Origins, questions, politics*, Yale University Press, 1982; p. 28.

⁵⁹ Benedict Anderson (1982) “imagined communities” the nation is primarily a community of people who are spatially distant who don't know each other, moreover, it includes the dead and the unborn, who are bound together by the ties of kinship, language custom and shared myths that separate it from other groups. Thus, we can have a nation without a state or states that comprise many nations.

changes and constitutional position of the City within the broader imperial context since these issues were the most disputed. Since this exposition is somehow *ex post facto* organised, I do not claim that these facts or processes are those that are the only able to explain the history of the City but they eventually were given the highest importance in nationalist discourses in Fiume during the nineteenth century.

During the Nineteenth century Fiume witnessed a vigorous effort to reconstruct its past. The claimed constitutional asset of Fiume was related to the nature of the sources of political legitimacy, but the arguments employed to support it varied considerably. In Fiume the main divergence in discourses is between autonomists and nationalists (be they Croatian, Yugoslav, Italian or Hungarian). The rhetoric employed by the autonomist regularly used arguments of self interest than those of the nationalist who resorted much more to necessity and solidarity. Fiume had to preserve the highest possible degree of institutional independence from Croatia and later from Hungary as well, leading to a peculiar political nationalistic ideology, restricted to a single City.

The distinction between the municipal autonomists and the nationalists overlaps neatly with the rhetoric they employed: the former relied on the *interest* of the city to stay independent in order to have a better *bargaining* position while the latter *argued* for a legal *right* of a nation to it that imposed a *duty* to its inhabitants to it.

Of course this could be considered a tautology: both extremes are selfish or self sacrificial at an equal extent - it is only the size of the polity which deserves altruistic sacrifices that is different – ranging from an empire to a city. Nevertheless, this is only partially true since *de facto* the rhetoric of the nationalist refers to the rational (usually economic) interest only as a side argument while the autonomist is centred upon it. A tentative explanation could refer to the different social groups they addressed: Fiume was a city of merchants and other economic middlemen and thus could be in principle much more sensible to rational selfish economic arguments than the partisans of the nation as the Croats, Hungarians or Italians. The nation of the first was too poor to have anything to offer, the others were building their port in a rather colonialist fashion so obviously the largest slice of the pie went to Budapest and their interest was to strengthen the ties with Hungary. The Italian irredentist position was economically self defeating for Fiume, since in an unified Italy it should have faced the opposition from Trieste and Venice and become a periphery within the Italian economic system.

In this section we are going to present and review the production of memory about Fiume according to the different political discourses it engendered. In order to analyse the nature and the structure of the “building blocks” of the ideologies that eventually developed in Fiume some remarks have to be made. First, this survey is a synthesis and simplification of what was actually produced, since most of the authors almost never stick perfectly to the models. Second, these ideologies present relatively distinct and stable political options, although some lasted longer and were more successful while others where not.

Fiume has experienced no phase in historiography in which the collecting of things about the past was done by disinterested intellectuals, suggesting that there was no phase “A” in Hroch’s terms.⁶⁰ Instead, from its very beginnings this production was aimed to influence political actions. This is also suggested by the fact that most of it was eventually published during periods of great turmoil or in front of events that were perceived as decisive for the future assets of the City. In these terms it is very interesting to see which arguments were used and what political asset was considered to be optimal for the City and who was the “people” entitled to make decisions to which it referred.

The goal of this overview is to show also how was the political community imagined who were its members, who were the enemies, and which were its interests, priorities, and perspectives.

The first questions are general questions of *political authority*. Where is the source of political loyalty to be located? Solutions sprawl from the imperial dynasty, the Croatian Sabor, the Hungarian parliament, the City patricians, the municipal government, the “people.” The territorial

⁶⁰ This is not surprising at all since the first romantic folklorists were far more attracted by the traditions of the countryside than to the cultural or folkloristic expressions of an industrial City.

unit, the nation or “patria” could have been the Habsburg Monarchy, the Hungarian Kingdom, Croatia, Italy, or simply, the City. The social group that represents the body politic and represents the general interest can be a *nation* in terms of its culture, a *class* with respect to notions of equality, the *people* in terms of breadth of the electorate, a *demos* according to the modes to consult the electorate.

The second group is the issue of *legitimacy*: that is, which interests were perceived as primary and enabled to evaluate the choices? The values capable of ensuring legitimacy to the body politic were diverse: from economic ones, to traditional monarchic loyalty, or to “modern” nationalistic issues such as the official language of the administration, the public education, etc.

The third group is about the *vision* they had about the City and its future in the short run and in the long run: how tight had to be the relationship with its countryside? The port had to serve primarily cosmopolitan interests or regional national ones? Was democracy to be fostered or feared? With which political forces in Hungary or Croatia alliances had to be made?

The final product - the type of the ideology varied greatly - ranging from collectivist to individualist concepts of the nation. National membership was given according to liberal or civic criteria or linked to cultural or ethnic ties.⁶¹ Why were the interpretations these early intellectuals provided so different when they had to evaluate the same facts? Why was the nature of these ideologies, or the “faces” they developed so diversified? It is because they fed on uniform and monotonous diet of myths that were by themselves created and believed, or they were playing a rational game of indoctrination of the “people” - that is the politically active or mobilised population?

In what follows, I propose thus to map the main traditions in history writing that occurred in Fiume concerning its political - constitutional status. Although this typology must be taken as a ideal type or a working hypothesis to link them with contemporary political theory,⁶² I think it is able to shed light on some of their constitutive features. Thus, the main strains are: the municipal – autonomist or secessionist interpretation 1823-1924; and the Italian - Irredentist interpretation 1905 – 1924;

I am going to analyse the use of the past in Fiume as it was done with respect to one crucial issue: what was to be the political relationship of the city with its surrounding territories. Here the myth was centred upon the first decision of the empress Maria Theresa in 1776 to incorporate the city to a territorially defined polity - thereby ceasing its status of an independent political entity (a Free City) within the Empire. The interpretative problem had arisen since in the initial act, the “kingdom” was not specified and therefore both Croatia and Hungary could claim their rights over the city. To this respect the production of memory that followed argued for the necessity that the city had to belong to a nation (alternatively the kingdoms of Hungary or Croatia or, later, Italy or Yugoslavia) or alternatively, to preserve the highest degree of political autonomy from any of them by actively using the contrasts between them in order to bargain better deals. The distinction with the municipal autonomists and the nationalists overlaps neatly with the rhetoric they employed: the former relied on the *interest* of the city to stay independent in order to have a better *bargaining* position while the latter *argued* for a legal *right* of a nation to it that imposed a *duty* to its inhabitants to it.

⁶¹ According to Liiah Greenfeld (1992; 2001;) Nationalism is a political innovation that is inherently democratic, egalitarian and based on popular sovereignty. However, these two principles can be interpreted in very different ways giving rise to sharply different political arrangements. The Nation can be conceived in *composite* or *unitary* terms while the criteria of belonging can be *civic* or *ethnic*. She distinguishes three stable and consistent types on nationalism: the individualist civic, the collectivist civic and the collectivist ethnic. These first Nationalistic authors definitely belong to what was known as the “original type of nationalism: the individualistic civic type”. The nation was defined as a composed entity of individuals the society is combined with the idea of nationality. It was because the individuals who compose the *nation* are regarded as equal and free that the *nation* is considered sovereign: it reflects the qualities of its members. The civic nationality in turn is equated with *citizenship* that is with the conscious acceptance of certain rights and obligations. Collectivist nationalism who consider the nation as possessing its own will - a collective individual, and who does not take the choices of individual into account, will develop much later. As we shall see, there will be a shift from civic individualism to collectivism in Fiuman ideologies but not for the reasons she identifies.

⁶² For some contemporary political philosophers dealing with issues of nationalism, irredentism or secession J Buchanan, *Secession*, W Kimlicka *Liberal Nationalism*, and also Mišćević, Nenad. *Nationalism and beyond*, Central European University Press, 2001.

Memorialistic writing in Fiume started already in the late XVIII century and (remarkably enough) it immediately and essentially collimated with current tactical political purposes - a tendency which will persist up to the present day. Although books and articles written later (still under the Habsburg rule) had to be more respectful to the national questions, already in the works from the 1860s, there are authors who consider the City as being exclusively Croatian, Hungarian or Italian in its cultural or ethnical and therefore political terms as well. Historiography and arguments drawn from history played an essential role in the development of a nationalist discourse which later translated into political practice. Nationalism raised new problems by reducing the available political options to the citizens that were frequently mobilised in modern times. Indeed, all political options that produced their myths, built a tradition of historiography and political ideology in Fiume.

Most of the historiography can therefore, be subdivided with respect to what later become “the national question” The claimed constitutional asset of Fiume was related to the nature of the sources of political legitimacy and the arguments employed to support it varied considerably. What constituted the *nation* - the supreme modern political source of legitimisation and authority in the case of Fiume, could have been (in terms of territory) the Habsburg Empire, the Hungarian Kingdom, the Kingdom of Croatia, or, rather, the City itself. In social terms it could (and should) have included most of the population or, alternatively, only a small elite. Finally, the “nation” could have been conceived in civic or ethnic terms and as well as collectivist as opposed to an individualist conception.

It was through the interpretation of the past that all the political ideologies tried to claim their rights over Fiume. This is hardly surprising: modern historiography emerged during the nineteenth century mostly as a tool for nationalistic ideologies. Its purpose has been to narrate and reconstruct the historical continuity (and therefore, political legitimacy) of nations. The re-enactment of the past created a powerful continuum with the world to which they belonged: there was no substantial difference between say, the middle ages and the late nineteenth century, for example.

A tradition once started was remarkably *resilient*. The original parts were never changed or replaced, only new material was added. If a major break happened it led to a new tradition usually associated with an alternative state building program – another nation. What changed was the *evaluation* of past events not the tradition (in terms of a precise sequence of a set of selected events) itself.

The Autonomist Interpretation

After the compromise of 1868 and the *provisorium* of 1870, the status of the City as a *corpus separatum* was secured to Hungary and Croatians progressively will be spoilt of all their institutions in the City, the last being the gymnasium in 1896. It is in this period that the first historical monographs on the Italian speaking Fiumans were published. In 1869 Emidio Mohovich published *Fiume negli anni 1867-1868*. Clearly, the purpose was to document the struggle of the representatives of Fiume at the negotiations with their counterparts from Zagreb and Budapest, but the work since it is a chronicle of events does not ignore the cleavages within the Fiumani, torn between the supporters of Kossuth and those of Deak. In the same year, in 1869 a *Topografia storico-naturale statistica e sanitaria della città e del circondario di Fiume*, was printed in Vienna for the XIV congress of Hungarian medicine and natural history. It expressed the official although sketchy outline of its history, geographic position and its future perspectives. The annexation of Fiume in 1776 to Hungary through Croatia with the first diploma of Maria Theresa caused the protest of the body of patricians, but in a 3 year time cut of this kingdom and reunited to Hungary to which it belonged until 1809. After the French occupation, after 1814 the Habsburg and in 1822 was returned by Emperor Francis to Hungary. United with it until 1848, she waited hopeful her “*sorti propizie*”: than the narration suddenly stops. After a description of the industrial potentials of the City the anonymous author notes that “despite all the development and its potential good deal of

Fiuman active population is forced to leave the Adriatic and find a job at the Channel because the City doesn't offer enough."⁶³ To this extremely exceptional situation will be ended only after the neighbouring continental lands will be connected with the Danube and the Quarnero.⁶⁴

The importance of the City of Fiume was that being the second port of the empire it was to be considered to be the prime port for the agricultural exports which were "far more important and advantageous" than the industrial ones (!?) that find their natural way through Trieste.

Although it still awaits the construction of the railway, Trieste will never be in such a good position as Fiume. The vicinity of forests made the shipbuilding much cheaper in Fiume than any other part of the Empire, Trieste included. In times of great sudden demand for shipbuilding such as that during the Crimean War, Fiume was able to deliver more ships than all the other Habsburg ports taken together.⁶⁵

A very interesting part is the evaluation of Fiume as a military port and the risks it faced in a case of war. Fiume had to be defended because it was at a crossroad which made it vulnerable. In a case of an insurrection "in Italian sense", the enemy will easily achieve the alliance of the party of Istrians. If the insurrection was of the southern Slavs they had to conquer two roads at the same time, thus they could reach Hungary only through the City. Its natural characteristics made of it an ideal port for a fleet that wants to be protected and hidden in the case of war. So for both commercial and military reasons it was important to invest in Fiume. Fiume had to achieve parity with the "German maritime City" - Trieste since its fidelity was questionable and there is a need for an equilibrium between the parts of the Empire.⁶⁶

In 1886 Vincenzo Tomsich, a school teacher, published the first comprehensive monograph of the history of Fiume. It was though a ready-made collection of information picked up from the press, along with some documents.⁶⁷ However, the whole book is permeated with Hungarian patriotism as reflected by the antagonistic tone by which the Croatian attempts to seize the city is described.⁶⁸ Commenting the first Croatian reclamation of the city, in 1791 Tomsich gives this explanation:

*"Notisi che Fiume, città edificata su squallidi lidi, sorse e prosperò bella e ridente senza aiuti e risorse, tranne quelle dei propri mezzi e dell'industria singolare dei suoi abitanti, e finché si presentava povera e di minor conto, veniva poco curata dalle nazioni e dai governi che si avvicendavano nel suo dominio, sembrata più attraente e più prospera divenne oggetto di contese e dei reclami: ma inutilmente! Essa non poteva prosperare che coll'Ungheria, ed a questa rimase attaccatissima fino ai giorni nostri. E non a torto! I fiumani apprezzarono con molta avvedutezza l'importanza dell'unione della loro città natale coll'Ungheria, giusta la quale era predestinata a divenire lo scalo principale del commercio ungarico."*⁶⁹

By far the most influential author who published (albeit posthumously) a work of great success was Giovanni Kobler. He wrote the main work of history that is still a reference although it is more than

⁶³ Refers to the Suez channel.

⁶⁴ The reference is to the railway Budapest-Rijeka then under construction

⁶⁵ They could not forecast that in a few years the iron shipbuilding would have supplanted the carpenters. Trieste become in a short time the leader in naval construction.

⁶⁶ The reference was to 1848 in Trieste and the unfair policy of favoring Trieste as a German outpost at the expense of the others notably Rijeka and Hungarians which will provide a much more fair and balanced situation.

⁶⁷ Here is a glimpse on his method: *le memorie ed i documenti i più interessanti, fino a che sono chiusi entro la ristretta cerchia di privati e del municipio, sono come il tesoro nascosto. Portati alla luce giovano alla storia di una città o di una provincia intera, e, se anche mancanti in qualche parte, possono coadiuvare ad una storia completa. Per giovare poi alla storia di una data città, provincia o regione, non occorre essere letterati, basta solo a convertire in succo e sangue le vecchie tradizioni, le vecchie carte, ed, impedendone il deperimento, comunicarle ingenuamente ad altri; oppure pubblicarle mediante la stampa, ed allora si fa, credo, abbastanza il debito di buon patriotta.*, Tomsich, Vincenzo. 1886. *Notizie storiche sulla città di Fiume*. E. Mohovich, ed. Fiume, p.4.

⁶⁸ The chapter on 1848 is named "epoca di lutto patrio. - nuova arbitraria annessione di fiume alla Croazia (1848 - 1867)"

⁶⁹ Tomsich, Vincenzo. *Notizie storiche sulla città di Fiume*. E. Mohovich, ed. Fiume, 1886. pp. 259 - 260.

120 years old. The *Memorie per la storia della Liburnica città di Fiume* were published in 1896. Its broadness and impartiality make of it still a prime reference and a good starting point for anyone interested in the history of the city. Nevertheless, methodologically speaking, its sets within the tradition of erudite diplomatic history, no general social or cultural reflections are addressed.

The ideological (or metahistorical) goal of Kobler was to provide arguments for the claim of the City autonomy against the Croatian provincial estates. He started the effort in early 1840s but forced to interrupt he only went on after his retirement in the 1870s. in the Preface of his "Memorie"

"Nei primi anni che seguirono il 1840, al tempo del governatore Paolo Kiss, I Fiumani cominciarono a sentire il desiderio di avere una storia della loro città, con una ben fondata dissertazione sulla origine e sullo sviluppo della sua autonomia politica. Questa dissertazione mostravasi opportuna di fronte alla pretesa degli Stati provinciali croato-slavoni, che Fiume fosse parte costituiva del regno di Croazia; mentre in Fiume si sosteneva, che questa città col suo territorio dovesse considerarsi come Corpo isolato tra I paesi della Corona Ungarica. (...) Essendo io stato membro di questa Commissione, ebbi motivo di occuparmi a raccogliere materiali per la nostra storia e specialmente per dilucidare la questione dell'autonomia politica. A tal fine, e sin dal tempo del mio servizio come Giudice municipale, mi occupai a leggere atti e libri custoditi in quest'archivio e a percorrere le memorie storiche dei paesi vicini."⁷⁰

About the autonomous status of the City Kobler returns several times even providing a summary a sort of a *vademecum* on the origins and present status of the City with respect to its hinterland.

"L'autonomia municipale, che portò la città alla considerazione di provincia austriaca, si venne sviluppando dalla seconda metà del secolo XVI in poi. Avendo l'imperatore Ferdinando I diviso I suoi Stati ereditarii tra I figli, ed assegnato all'arciduca Carlo la Stiria la Carinzia, la Carniola, il goriziano, l'Istria austriaca, Trieste e Fiume con questi paesi fu composto uno stato principesco che dicevasi Austria interiore, concentrato per l'amministrazione in Graz, nel quale stato la città di Fiume col suo piccolo territorio era corpo separato."

Kobler didn't finish his book being not satisfied with the quality and amount of archival evidence. The work was published posthumously by Aladar Fest based upon a selection of Kobler manuscripts.⁷¹ Aladar Fest admittedly made a selection of the reputedly enormous mole of manuscripts and of course, we don't know with which criteria were employed by him for the selection.⁷²

After the resignation of the mayor who symbolised the alliance of the Fiuman liberal party with Hungary - G. Ciotta in year 1896, there is a deep political crisis in the City. A new party is formed – the Partito Autonomo which defeats the liberals at the elections in 1897. The discourses of older autonomism are resumed and this time directed against Hungarian intrusion into the affairs of the City. The conflict will persist until the end of First World War. It must be said that within this tradition no new historical works of significance were produced. Most of its activity was spent into influencing the public opinion. The arguments were those used already by Giacich almost 40 years before. Nevertheless, they succeeded in mobilising wider strata of the population. It was the first modern political party in the City and its pre-eminence lasted until the end of First World War.

⁷⁰ Kobler, Giovanni. 1896. *Memorie per la storia della liburnica città di Fiume*, vol I – III, p. 3.

⁷¹ Kobler, Giovanni. 1896. *Memorie per la storia della liburnica città di Fiume*, vol I – III, p. XVII.

⁷² Aladar Fest, professor of history at the Hungarian gymnasium in Fiume, will publish several works on the history of the City during the Napoleonic occupation and in the year's 1848/49. What appears clearly in his writings is again the irreducible contrast between the City peaceful and laborious way of life and the Croats from the countryside who wait for any opportunity (the French occupations, the 1848 etc.) to plunder it.

Instead of producing history it produced geography. In fact, since the autonomous status was achieved and *de facto* settled, the description of the physical environment of the region of Fiume appears as a logical consequence. The debate was mostly about details of the practice of the autonomy, not about its constitutional definition. The only author who has ever published extensively on the natural and physical features of the region of Fiume was Guido Depoli, and he was convinced of the importance of the geographical specificity for the historical development of the City. In this sense he made a very interesting attempt to define the *natural boundaries* of Fiume and its surrounding region – called Liburnia.⁷³ Although a representative of the Italian nationalists and, later, an irredentist, Depoli appears to be motivated by a genuine local patriotism as it was interpreted by Autonomism. His land - the land of Fiume and the surrounding region – had all the features of a *natural unity* provided with distinct climate and a specific natural history:

*La regione al cui centro sorge Fiume presenta, a chi ben la consideri, molteplici ed evidenti delimitazioni naturali, da cui le deriva carattere d'unità geografica. Alte catene montuose dalla cresta sempre superiore ai 1000 metri, interrotte da valichi di elevazione poco inferiore, la richiudono verso occidente e borea; solo all'angolo settentrionale e all'estremità sud – est s'aprono = quasi porte = valichi più pervii, I quali però non tolgono, anzi per forza di contrasto accrescono il carattere unitario della regione.*⁷⁴

Guido Depoli published a series of works on the *Coleoptera* (beetles) of Liburnia. He was an entomologist of international fame. Moreover, a high level of endemism among flowering plants and beetles that Depoli studied provided also an additional argument from biogeography). Fiume and its region (the Liburnia) were well separated both from both Italy and Croatia, ultimately being connected with the broader “Balcania”.⁷⁵ A fact confirmed by geography⁷⁶ and by history.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, the profound biological unity of the region contrasted with its historically fragmented condition:

*Anche oggi il confine politico fra Austria e Ungheria corre in massima lungo il vallo romano; la parte occidentale è ascrivita al “Marchesato d'Istria”, l'orientale è “Regno di Croazia”. In mezzo sta il piccolo cuneo di “Fiume e suo distretto”. Ma questa divisione politica se ha l'indiscutibile vantaggio di attuare I vivissimi attriti nazionali, non è capace di obliterare la naturale unità della regione. Fiume, come lo fu fra le vicende dei secoli passati, resta la capitale naturale e il centro vivificatore.*⁷⁸

Guido Depoli in the *Guida di Fiume e dei suoi monti* presented a synthetic presentation of the formation of its ethnic structure:

Appena nel secolo XVIII, coll'unione di Fiume all'Ungheria e l'apertura di grandi strade trasversali all'andamento del Carso liburnico, avviene un graduale ma profondo rivolgimento etnico. Fiume assurge ad emporio e il suo rapido sviluppo genera il fenomeno dell'urbanismo: a

⁷³ Guido Depoli. *Guida di Fiume e dei suoi monti*, Fiume, 1912.

⁷⁴ Guido Depoli. *Guida di Fiume e dei suoi monti*, p. 3.

⁷⁵ *A tanta unità geografica corrisponde una spiccata individualità biologica. Il limite naturale fra I bacini del Quarnero e dell'Adriatico è origine di profonde differenze biogeografiche fra questi, rispettivamente fra la nostra regione e l'italica. Altri fatti, meno pronunciati forse, ma pur sufficienti, individuano la regione fiumana anche di fronte alla Balcania, della quale in ultima analisi fa parte Guida di Fiume e dei suoi monti*, p.4

⁷⁶ Né costituendo tale unità, la quale = contro un dubbio di G. Marinelli = è fuori dei limiti dell'Italia geografica, si viene a smentire Dante, ché anche così il Quarnero = sebben non nel senso ristretto e speciale che in questo lavoro gli si attribuisce = bagna I termini d'Italia.

⁷⁷ Alle risultanze dell'analisi geografica, secondo le quali la regione fiumana non fa parte dell'Italia geografica, fa riscontro il fatto storico, che essa mai fu unita agli organismi politici formati sulla Penisola . p.5

⁷⁸ Guido Depoli. *Guida di Fiume e dei suoi monti*, Fiume, 1912, p.7

*subirne l'attrazione sono i vicini prossimi, carniolini, croati, dalmati, stiriani. La rapidità dell'aumento esclude però un'assimilazione graduale e pacifica, come verificatasi nei secoli scorsi; ad acuire il conflitto, che è lotta di tutti i giorni, concorre lo svilupparsi del sentimento nazionale dapprima, e poi competizione economica.*⁷⁹

How was Fiume ethnically defined? Who are the “Illyrians” ?

*Ma già nel secolo VII cominciano le invasioni degli Slavi, che dilagano per le campagne e costringono i latini (ossia i discendenti romanizzati dei Giapidi) a rinserrarsi in luoghi murati. Neppur questi riescono a resistere sempre: molte città per esempio Tarsatica, spariscono allora dalla storia, e nelle altre, meglio difese dal confine naturale della Recina e dal baluardo del vallo romano che da Fiume arrivava a Prezid, avviene una penetrazione lenta per qui gli slavi subiscono la supremazia del volgare italiano che persiste come persistono le antiche forme municipali.*⁸⁰

*Mentre l'eredità di Carlo Magno si smembra in contee, marche, signorie e de là dalla Recina va formandosi il regno di Croazia, Fiume sfrutta la sua felice posizione geografica, divenendo un importante centro commerciale, che attira a sé i commercianti della spiaggia marchigiana. Questi rafforzano con nuove energie l'italianità di Fiume, che con la strapotenza di una coltura superiore contribuisce a snazionalizzare gli Slavi immigrati fra le sue mura, ai quali s'impone non solo intellettualmente, ma anche economicamente. Così se anche i discendenti diretti dei prischi abitatori siano venuti estinguendosi, gli stressi immigrati, italianizzati oramai, perpetuano l'italianità, la quale s'impone anche – se pure in minore grado alla campagna. Gli abitanti di questa infatti, per l'isolamento dal loro ceppo nazionale derivante dalle condizioni topografiche, vengono formandosi in un tipo etnico speciale che si usa chiamare illirico, naturalmente senza nesso alcuno cogli Illiri preromani.*⁸¹

But still the little region was a heart of the much broader and bigger fault line the city was on the border land of the West and the East.⁸²

Later on, Depoli compiled two more accounts about the geography of the region, claiming the geographical unity of the Liburnia. Nevertheless, the political boundaries of the surroundings of the City changed dramatically first after 1918 then in 1924 after the annexation to Italy.

The Italian Irredentist interpretation

Riccardo Gigante, a member of the irredentist group “Giovine Fiume”⁸³ wrote several works on fiuman history.⁸⁴ His *Storia del Comune di Fiume* is an overview of the history of the City made in

⁷⁹ Guido Depoli. *Guida di Fiume e dei suoi monti*, Fiume, 1912, p. 47

⁸⁰ Guido Depoli. *Guida di Fiume e dei suoi monti*, Fiume, 1912, 46

⁸¹ Guido Depoli. *Guida di Fiume e dei suoi monti*, Fiume, 1912, p. 46

⁸² *Tre sono gli elementi che vengono ad urtarsi sul Quarnero: Italiani, Croati ed Ungheresi, e tre i fini principali della lotta: prevalenza economica, predominio politico, assimilazione linguistica.*

Il grande duello si combatte però fra Italiani e Croati. I primi raccolti nelle città, estreme vedette della civiltà irradiata dalla Penisola nel corso dei secoli, armati di diritto storico e del predominio della cultura; gli altri, spinti da una forza centrifuga causata dalla povertà economica della madrepatria e alimentata di sogni di grandezza ancora nebulosamente indistinti, rinnovano su queste rive il fatale e secolare cozzo fra Occidente ed Oriente. Guido Depoli. *Guida di Fiume e dei suoi monti*, p. 7?

⁸³ The first irredentist organization in the City, founded in 1905. In 1910 they were defeated at the only municipal elections they participated.

⁸⁴ He also translated several Hungarian novels into Italian. This will prove to be one of the long lasting legacies of the encounter of these two cultures in the City the Italian and Hungarian. Eventually Hungarian literature became known in Italy principally thanks to translations that Fiuman authors such as Riccardo Gigante, Aladar Fest, Duilio Susmel. see Ilona Fried, *Fiume. Città della memoria 1868/1945*, Del Bianco Editore, Udine, 2005.

a nationalist fashion and directed against the Croats but especially against the freshly defeated autonomists (notably Zanella) to whom he heaped scorn.

Edoardo Susmel wrote several books on the history of the City both in Italian and Hungarian.⁸⁵ His works on Fiume are best described as the received view of the Italian irredentist fascist stance on Fiuman history.⁸⁶ After a series of shorter works from 1917 to 1922⁸⁷ in 1933 he wrote *Antonio Grossich nella vita del suo tempo*.⁸⁸ This work had to provide legitimisation of Fiuman Italian irredentist political development from the Hungarian domination to the annexation to Italy. Many of the political protagonists involved were still alive and still influential, on the other hand the most known and popular Fiuman political leaders can hardly be described as Italian irredentist therefore Susmel had to show their political maturation from municipalism to Autonomism and irredentism was indeed linear coherent and teleological. In order to do this he also needed to highlight a leader that of the Fiuman surgeon Grossich inventor of the yodium tincture who has been actively involved in political life since the late XIX c. Nevertheless, Grossich remained a marginal figure in Fiuman politics until late 1918. To portray him as a hero of irredentism was an easier task, since he was less compromised with the Hungarian government. Susmel mixes concepts and takes them out of the context so he can easily demonstrate that the autonomist fervour of early XXc was in fact genuine irredentism quoting authors who had the same interest and who find themselves in a totally different context after 1918. By defending their commune “they defended not only the rights of Fiume but the rights of Italy”. Although heavily biased, Susmel’s writings as well as those of R. Gigante remained influential and still most of the Italian literature on Fiume shows that some of their interpretations are accepted as hard facts.⁸⁹

The beginning of “the Fiuman irredentist tradition” (sic) is the year 1806 when the napoleonic “Regno Italico” claimed the territories of Trieste and Fiume. The first Italian irredentist in Fiume according to Susmel, was Luigi Peretti, municipal attorney and patrician. The contacts he had with Ercole Rezza who started a publishing business in Fiume (probably financed by Cavour) helped him to circulate books which were secretly imported through Italian ports such as Ancona, Livorno, and Genova to Fiume. Irredentism was therefore a result of a long-lasting continuous development. There were of course, some deviations from the path, but they were caused by lack of courage and imagination by the old municipalists who carried on compromising with the central government.

The resistance of Fiumans to organised pressures coming both from Hungarian state bureaucracy or Croatian demographic and economic expansion was shared by the whole population: the appeal to municipal and autonomist slogans was only a tactical measure aimed at hiding Italian nationalism and irredentism during “the dangerous days of Magyar political domination and oppression”.

The chapter devoted to the beginnings of the political career of Grossich in 1898, an important year since the conflict of the new autonomist party and the government was at its height. The enemy – the Hungarians and the Croats were well organised. The Hungarian government with its plan of magyarization mobilised a “whole army” of clerks, opened schools of all sorts, set a “plantation of offices”, launched against the municipal government “a plethora of laws, and ordinances”. The Croats by creating new financial institutes, banks consortiums, trade houses had the purpose to enslave the citizens. The Hungarian government had a piecemeal approach tuned according to the political moment and its opportunities. The Croats with a broad political program of economic oppression. Its phases could be easily synthesised in the resolution of Fiume of 4 October 1905, the Zadar conference 17 October 1905 and the Abbazia (Opatija) meeting from 1913.⁹⁰ The goal was

⁸⁵ Later on, in the thirties, he wrote two books on Mussolini and the Italian Fascism in Hungarian and then, with his brother, Duilio Susmel will eventually publish the *opera omnia* of Mussolini.

⁸⁶ *Fiume tortente* (A history of Fiume) published in Budapest in 1916 constitutes an exception, since it was written before the end of First World War.

⁸⁷ *Disegno storico della città di Fiume*, 1917; *Fiume Italiana*, Roma 1919; *il diritto italico di Fiume*, Bologna 1919; *Fiume attraverso la storia*, Milano, 1919; *La città di passione*, Milano 1921;

⁸⁸ Susmel, Edoardo. 1933. *Antonio Grossich nella vita del suo tempo*, Milano, Treves.

⁸⁹ See, for example, the works of F. Perfetti, G. Parlato, C. Ghisalberti, E. Capuzzo.

⁹⁰ These were the most important initiatives of the group around F. Supilo and his Croatian – Serbian coalition.

the unification of all south Slavs into a single state. The district of Susak (out of the *corpus separatum*, and thus a part of Croatia) became the “testa di ponte” (bridgehead) there were schools offices companies but no hospital first aid street lights water supply for which they went to Fiume. Every factor was mobilized the Church, among others, was “ferociously against the Italian spirit”⁹¹ Between these two forces Fiume stood “come un vaso di coccio tra due di bronzo”⁹² The Hungarian economic policy provided some benefit for the City, but this was not its primary purpose. The autonomist mobilisation of the population was the only policy capable of rescuing the soul of the City for the great event of liberation. But this subtle logic so typical of the irredentism of the Italian communes subject to Hapsburg rule was completely neglected by the “official Italy and its parties”. Susmel recognised that the autonomist party created a political organisation, a political mentality of national defence and found itself “on the top of this political construction that conquered all the branches of City life from politics to schools from municipal institutions to the people” thanks to which Fiume started to take shape of a City - state. So Autonomism was only a mere institutional reflection of a national movement generated spontaneously within the City.

M. Maylender was another expression of this will and in 1897 – 1898 after the split within the Liberal party here enters Grossich, “He entered the struggle for the defence of the “italianità” of the City.” Susmel has no doubts.⁹³

In 1911 the City was divided in two parties thanks to the intestine conflicts that the government introduced. This was a sad sight since the citizens divided in two parties were all fighting for the same thing: for the “defence of the autonomy” the reference is to the formation of the “Lega autonoma” of Zanella which was less accommodating than the “partito autonomo” towards Hungary.

Then he proceeds to reconstruct (or construct) a history of the national and political development in Fiume. The first phase of the period of the *corpus separatum* from 1868 to 1896 it wasn't a politic made by parties but by single persons who defined themselves as “liberals”. Their policies were oriented towards the preservation of the vital development of culture and the vital commercial interests of the City. In this first phase it is the communal school system that prevents the City to be magyarized or croatized. The most important representative was the Mayor of the years from 1872 to 1896 Giovanni Ciotta.⁹⁴

The autonomist period it followed after the elections of 1897 is a clear stage in the path of national development awaking that was taking up in Fiume. Moreover, Fiuman resisted against a powerful empire because it gave to the people the unity of intentions and needs, without forgetting “the sense of hierarchy and the cult of obedience”.⁹⁵

To conclude, it seems that an opposing rhetoric between the rational interest and duty seems to pervade the interpretations of the past of the fiumani, and by that it divides neatly in two camps: that of the autonomists and that of nationalists.

The city itself managed to remain outside a homogenous polity during most of its history, and this could also explain the relative conservation of the mediaeval autonomist ideal.

⁹¹ Susmel, Edoardo. 1933. *Antonio Grossich nella vita del suo tempo*, Milano, Treves, p. 38

⁹² Later, a frequently evoked image, used to depict the fragility of the planned Free City between Italy and Jugoslavia, *ibid.* p. 40;

⁹³ Susmel, Edoardo. 1933. *Antonio Grossich nella vita del suo tempo*, Milano, Treves, p. 36;

⁹⁴ Susmel, Edoardo. 1933. *Antonio Grossich nella vita del suo tempo*, Milano, pp. 59 -64

⁹⁵ “Senso della gerarchia e il culto dell'obbedienza”. *ibid.* p. 47.

CHAPTER 2: THE NATION AND THE CITY

A CITY ON THE FRONTIER

The topic of this (and the following) chapter is to reconstruct how a City negotiated its status within a nation. In the case of Fiume the negotiation happened several times and concerned several nations. A salient feature of the city, is that it was at least since the 12th century sited on a border.⁹⁶ Fiume is sited on a steep rocky and barren Karst landscape where its river (the Rečina or Eneo) is the only natural stream for more than a hundred miles of shoreline on the west (the Mirna or Quieto in Istria) and more than 150 miles to the east (the Zrmanja in Dalmatia). The river and its mouth provided not only shelter and freshwater supply for shipping but it also conveniently marked a natural frontier and ultimately gave the name to the city: Fiume or Rijeka means simply “river”, and the name seems to stress that the river was more important than the town itself.

Tharsatica built by the Romans upon a previous settlement of the Liburni, an Illyrian tribe, soon became a border place: the so called *Claustra Alpium Juliarum* starts at Fiume-Tharsatica.⁹⁷ Tharsatica preserved the name after the Great Migrations as attested by Einhard, who reports that in 799, the duke of Friuli, Eric was killed at “Tarsatch” in Liburnia⁹⁸ “by the treachery of its inhabitants”. The site was then reportedly destroyed by the Carolingians.

In the period of the Great Migrations, the majority of Barbarians who invaded the lands from east to west travelled along the Roman roads which crossed this area. The 6th and 7th centuries saw the establishment of the Slavs. Along the northern Adriatic coast we come across evidence of the Langobards and Byzantines, who held full control until the arrival of the Franks in the second half of the 8th century. Under their administration, feudalism was established, and originally all the power was in the hands of the Aquileia patriarchs. In the 9th century, the coast was threatened by Dalmatian and Arab pirates and by the forming Venetian Republic. After a devastating attack by the Hungarians, who also devastated Karst settlements, the 10th century witnessed the gradual emergence of the Aquileia patriarchs, who were later joined later by the Counts of Gorizia/Gorica and the Lords of Duino/Devin.

The surroundings were colonized by Croats since the early middle ages, on the remnants of the presumably destroyed Roman *municipium* of Tarsatica, its name was preserved by the still existing fortified village of Trsat - situated on the eastern shore of the stream, sited in territory settled by the Croats.⁹⁹ The first mention of the name is the Croatian locution *Richa* in a document from the years 1230-32, (later always mentioned as *Reka*)¹⁰⁰, later followed by Latin *Flumen sancti Viti* (from

⁹⁶See for example: Nada Klaić, *Vinodol od antičkih vremena do knezova krčkih i Vinodolskog zakona*, Pazin-Rijeka 1988 and Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb, Globus: 1990. and Margetić, Lujo. „Kada je Hrvatskoj oteta Brseština“, *Liburnijske teme*, Opatija 1994, p. 33.

⁹⁷ Italy remained substantially undefended up to the 3rd century at the time of Alamannic invasions. The 50 years of military anarchy that followed forced the imperial authority to initiate a set of fortifications of the alpine ranges. The *Tractus Italiae circa Alpes*, was ultimate during Onorio and Costanzo III (end 4th beginning of the 5th century). The complex was not properly a *limes* since the Alps are already a powerful natural barrier. The intervention concentrated upon the lower valleys where the access was easier towards Italian peninsula. These lines survived used also as a toll stations well up to the Carolingian times. It comprised all the alpine range where cities were founded and was attoreined by minor *castra*, where the name of Castua - a town eastwards from Fiume stems. In the oriental part exposed to far grater dangers, the so-called *Claustra Alpium Juliarum*, were built used well up to the Carolingian times. The walls interrupted where they encountered natural barriers. The system started in Fiume-Tharsatica and continued to *Longaticum* and *Nauportus*, finishing more or less in Cividale del Friuli.

⁹⁸ *Liburnia* is the historical name of the region of the Quarnero, but initially it compised also all the coast up to northern *Dalmatia*.

⁹⁹ It has been suggested that the original settlement was sited in the hill of Trsat on the hill of the eastern shore of the Rečina.

¹⁰⁰ Klen, Danilo, et al. *Povijest Rijeke*, Izdavački Centar Rijeka, 1988, pp. 72-75.

1281), and the German version *St. Veit am Flaum* (or *Pflaumb*). In mediaeval time the City was small and relatively unimportant given that most chroniclers seldom mention it at all.¹⁰¹ According to the 10th century *De Administrando Imperio*, still the main source for early mediaeval Croatian history written by the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus mentions that the “Land of the Croats” stretches up to the city of Fianona in Istria and that in its mountainous part goes beyond the Istrian province.¹⁰² The Croats did not establish in the area an organised state structure, in what for them was the westernmost periphery of their area of settlement. The area of the Quarnero gulf, was named *Krajina*, the Croat equivalent of Mark or march.¹⁰³

The next description is from the mid 12th century by the Arab geographer Idrisi.¹⁰⁴ He states that the last port that belongs to the Patriarch in Aquileia¹⁰⁵ is Laurana, while Croatia starts with Buccari. Fiume (that lies in between) is completely omitted.

Gradually, the area of the bay of Fiume, known as Quarnero gulf (Kvarner) becomes a *triple frontier* first between Carniola, Istria and Friuli and later the Venetians, the German feudal lords and the Croatian-Hungarian Kingdom. The Patriarch in Aquileia and since 1093 its subordinate the bishop of Pola enlarged their control to these lands.¹⁰⁶

In this way also in ecclesiastical matters Fiume became sited on the border: since at least the 12th century Fiume marks the border between episcopate of Pola under the authority of the patriarch of Aquileia) that used the Latin liturgy, while eastwards from the Rječina pertains to the newly founded episcopate of Corbavia (Krbava), later Corbavia-Modrussa¹⁰⁷ under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Spalato (Split), that was of Croatian rite.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ Klen, Danilo, et al. *Povijest Rijeke*, Izdavački Centar Rijeka, 1988, p. 74.

¹⁰² *De Administrando Imperio* is the commonly used Latin title of a scholarly work written in Greek by the 10th-century Byzantine emperor Constantine VII. It states that the Croat tribes migrated first around or before year 600 from the region that is now (roughly) Galicia and areas of the Pannonian plain, led by the Turkic Avars, to the province of Dalmatia ruled by the Roman Empire. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R.J.H. Jenkins, rev. ed., Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967.

¹⁰³ The Croat tribes eventually settled in the area between the Drava river and the Adriatic sea, the western Roman provinces Pannonia and Dalmatia; western Balkans in modern usage. The Croat tribes had been organized into two dukedoms; the Pannonian duchy in the north and the Dalmatian duchy in the south.

¹⁰⁴ Abu Abd Allah Muhammad al-Idrisi (Arabic: أبو عبد الله محمد الإدريسي; b.1100-d.1165 or 1166) was an Arab cartographer, geographer and traveller who lived in Sicily, at the court of King Roger II. Muhammad al-Idrisi was born in Sabtah, then belonging to the Almoravid Empire (nowadays Ceuta, Spain) and died in Sicily, or maybe in Sabtah. Al Idrisi claimed that he was a direct descendant of the prophet Muhammad. Croatia is mentioned under the name GUARUASIA, or G.RWSIAH, and it is next to the region of Aquileia called DALMASIAH it ended with Ragusa "last city in Croatia.

¹⁰⁵ The Patriarchate of Aquileia was an historical state and Episcopal see in north Eastern Italy, centred on the ancient city of Aquileia situated at the head of the Adriatic, on what is now the Italian sea-coast, at the confluence of the Anse and the Torre. For many centuries, and as such played an important part in history, particularly in that of the Holy See and Northern Italy. In 1077 the patriarchs received the ducal title over Friuli by emperor Henry IV, an act traditionally regarded as the birth of the state of Aquileia. The Patriarchate subsequently extended their political control in the area: regions under Aquileian control in the following centuries included Trieste, Carinthia, Styria, Cadore and the central part of Istria. At its maximum height, the Patriarchate of Aquileia was one of the largest states in Italy.

¹⁰⁶ Margetić, Lujko. “Kada je Hrvatskoj oteta Brseština”, *Liburnijske teme*, 8, Opatija, 1994, p. 37.

¹⁰⁷ Krbava (Latin: Corbavia) is a region of mountainous Croatia. It can be considered either located east of Lika, or indeed as the eastern part of Lika. The town of Udbina is the central settlement of the Krbava karst field.

¹⁰⁸ A 18th century chronicle (Francol Giov. Batt. Canonico, *L'Istria riconosciuta* (manoscritto autografo del civico archivio diplomatico di Trieste pubblicato per cura di Don Pietro Tomasin),) edited in Trieste 1888 reports some acts from the 12th and 14th centuries, where it was stated that “Fiume, detta San Vito, era diocesi di Pola. Al canale del Quarnero terminava la diocesi di Pola e il rito latino ed avevano inizio le croate diocesi di Modrussa e il rito slavo”. In Luksic-Jamini, Antonio. Il problema dell'uso del glagolitico a Fiume (a proposito di un recente saggio), *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno XI, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1964, p. 34.

Also Dante in his *Inferno* mentions the Quarnero gulf as marking the natural border of Italy.¹⁰⁹ But the border is on the city of Pola sited on the southern tip of Istria and not to Fiume:

Si come ad Arli, ove Rodano stagna,
sì com' a Pola, presso del Carnaro
ch'Italia chiude e suoi termini bagna,

Therefore, giving the obscurity, the Italian authors argue that it was under the bishop of Pola, while the Croats prefer to consider it at the time still under the sovereignty of the Croatian kingdom, that was after the end of the national dynasties losing its territory on its westernmost march. In fact, the bishops tried on several occasions to receive such a confirmation from the counts of Duino, but they refused. Another body of evidence is provided by the widespread of Slavic liturgy in the whole Quarnero marks the area where there is the greatest density of liturgy and inscriptions in the Glagolitic alphabet,¹¹⁰ and the municipal statutes in the whole area (including that of Fiume, as late as 1530) bear the mark of medieval Croat institutions.¹¹¹

The region of Quarnero (Fiume was still not mentioned) fell within the Holy Roman Empire, with the acquisition of the titles of Margraves of Istria and Dukes of Merania of the Andechs family. The possession was called Merania, from German Meer - sea and was thus meaning littoral or Küstenland. These are the origins of the first feudal possession that included all of Quarnero, later named "Quarnero fief" or "Feudo al Quarnero" by Italian authors.¹¹²

The counts of Duino (Tibein), were the first feudal lords of Fiume, from early 12th century until 1337.¹¹³ As *ministeriales*¹¹⁴ of the Patriarch in Aquileia, the family proved crucial in extending

¹⁰⁹ Dante, *Inf.* IX. 112 Nevertheless, the argument was used extensively for arguing that the Italian eastern border had to comprise the whole Istria and Fiume although Pola is sited some 100 km on the southwest from Fiume. See for example the work by Attilio Tamaro *La Vénétie Julienne et la Dalmatie. Histoire de la nation italienne sur ses frontières orientales* (1918-19).

¹¹⁰ Rastislav, the Knyaz (Prince) of Great Moravia, wanted to weaken the dependence of his Slavic empire on East Frankish priests, so in 862 he had the Byzantine emperor send two missionaries, Saints Cyril and Methodius, to Great Moravia. Cyril created a new alphabet for that purpose: the Glagolitic. From there, the students traveled to various other places and spread the use of their alphabet. Some went to Croatia (into Dalmatia), where the squared variant arose and where the Glagolitic remained in use for a long time. In 1248, Pope Innocent IV gave the Croats of southern Dalmatia the unique privilege of using their own language and this script in the Roman Rite liturgy. Formally given to bishop Philip of Senj, the permission to use the Glagolitic liturgy (the Roman Rite conducted in Slavic language instead of Latin, not the Byzantine rite), actually extended to all Croatian lands, mostly along the Adriatic coast.

¹¹¹ Ivan Beuc, *Povijest institucija državne vlasti u Hrvatskoj (1527. - 1945.)*. Zagreb 1969, pp. 260-273. Typical are the *Satnicus* (Satnik, the Croatian equivalent for centurion), and the *Poljar*, a kind of land police, etc.

¹¹² According to Andrej Komac, the Andechs' acquisition of the titles of Margraves of Istria and Dukes of Merania, in 1173 and 1180, respectively, must be viewed as a result of the close alliance between Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the family of the Counts of Andechs from Tyrol. The declining situation in northern Italy, the strengthening role of Pope Alexander III, the weakening power of the traditional allies on the Adriatic and in the Eastern Alps, and the increasing Byzantine influence in Hungary threatened the positions of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in today's Slovene territory, which was crossed by a significant traffic route between Hungary and Italy. In addition to Tyrol, where they were guarding the Alpine passes, he could count on the loyal Andechs along the southeastern state border, as well. In Andrej Komac, "Utrditev grofov Andeških na jugovzhodu cesarstva v 12. stoletju : Cesar Friderik Barbarossa, velika shizma (1161-1177) in pridobitev naslovov mejnih grofov Istre in vojvod Meranije s strani Andeških", *Annales* (Koper) 13, št. 2 (2003), 283-294; see also Benussi, Bernardo. *L'Istria nei suoi due millenni di storia*, Venezia : Marsilio, 1997. - Ripr. facs. dell'ed.: Trieste : Stab. Art. Tipografico G. Caprin, 1924, p. 128.

¹¹³ According to Lujo Margetić, Ulrich of Eppenstein (patriarch from 1086 to 1121) strong ally of the German emperors Henry IV and his son Henry V decided to attack Croatia part of Hungary somewhere after 1117 enlarging their possessions to eastern Istria up to Fiume. Margetić, Lujo. "Kada je Hrvatskoj oteta Brseština", *Liburnijske teme*, 8, Opatija, 1994, p. 33.

¹¹⁴ *Ministerialis* (plural *ministeriales*); a post-classical Latin word, used in English, meaning originally servitor, agent, in a broad range of senses. In Germany, in the High Middle Ages, the word and its German translations, *Ministeriale(n)* and *Dienstmann*, came to describe those unfree knights who made up a large majority of German knighthood during that time.

German control preventing further Venetian expansion on the northernmost Adriatic.¹¹⁵ The counts of Duino included the city into a comparatively good road network, which were in operation on the routes leading towards the sea. The Fiuman *Terra* was their most important fief, that with its possession controlled a good road network from the river Timavo to the Quarnero gulf.¹¹⁶ Along these roads, marked by several castles and outposts (Senožeče, Gotnik and Prem) guarding the land communications from the Quarnero towards Carniola, the contemporary Slovenia.¹¹⁷ Traders are reported from Villach, Lubljana (Laibach) and Ptuj (Pettau) in Carniola, but also from the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire. The trade of Fiume develops in linking the German lands with central Italian ports. In Fiume most toponyms are Croatian - suggesting a predominantly Slavic settlement of the city as of its surroundings.¹¹⁸ Italians came from the sea, usually as craftsmen and traders, from the central Italian Adriatic ports, such as Fermo, Ancona, Senigallia, along with Venice.

In 1399, the territory fell into the hands of the German family of Wallsee, the last of whom sold the territory to the Habsburgs in 1465.¹¹⁹ From this family we have the first *urbarium* where the extent of the feudal tributes is annotated.¹²⁰ According to this document the "Quarnero Possessions" (Feudo al Quarnaro) were composed of Fiume/St. Veit am Pflaum on the Riječina, Castua/Khestau (Kastav) (with the ports in Preluk and Volosko) Veprinaz/Vaprinaz, Laurana/Lauran (until the middle of the 15th century), Moschiena/Moschanitz (Mošćenice) and Bersezio/Berschetz (Brseč) (to

¹¹⁵ They influenced also the submission of Trieste to the Duke of Hapsburg. Benussi, Bernardo. *L'Istria nei suoi due millenni di storia*, Venezia : Marsilio, 1997. - Ripr. facs. dell'ed.: Trieste : Stab. Art. Tipografico G. Caprin, 1924, p. 136.

¹¹⁶ Gigante, Silvino. *Storia del comune di Fiume*, Bemporad, Firenze, 1928, pp. 19-20.

¹¹⁷ Carniola (Slovenian: Kranjska; German: Krain) is a traditional and historical region of present-day Slovenia. Carniola was governed by the Franks about the year 788. When Charlemagne established the margraviate of Friuli, he added to it a part of Carniola. After the division of Friuli, it became an independent margraviate, having its own Slavic margrave residing at Kranj, subject to the governor of Bavaria at first, and after 876 to the Dukes of Carinthia. Henry IV gave it to the Patriarch of Aquileia (1071). Finally Carniola was given in fief with the consent of the patriarch to Frederick II of Austria, who obtained the title of duke in 1245. Frederick was succeeded by Ulrich III, Duke of Carinthia, who married a relative of the patriarch and endowed the churches and monasteries, established the government mint at the city of Kostanjevica, and finally (1268) willed to Ottokar II, King of Bohemia, all his possessions and the government of Carinthia and Carniola. Ottokar was defeated by Rudolf II of Hapsburg, and at the meeting at Augsburg in 1282, he gave in fief to his sons Albrecht and Rudolf the province of Carniola, but it was leased to Count Majnhardt. Duke Henry of Carinthia claimed Carniola; and the Dukes of Austria asserted their claim as successors to the Bohemian kingdom. When Henry died 1335 Jan, King of Bohemia, renounced his claims, and Albrecht, Duke of Austria, got Carniola; it was proclaimed a duchy by Rudolf IV, in 1364. Emperor Frederick IV united Upper, Lower, and Central Carniola as Metlika and Pivka into one duchy. The union of the dismembered parts was completed by 1607, when also the all of Hapsburg Istria (Grafschaft Mitterburg) was included. As part of Austria-Hungary, the region was a crown land officially known as the Duchy of Carniola (Vojvodina Kranjska/ Herzogtum Krain) until 1918.

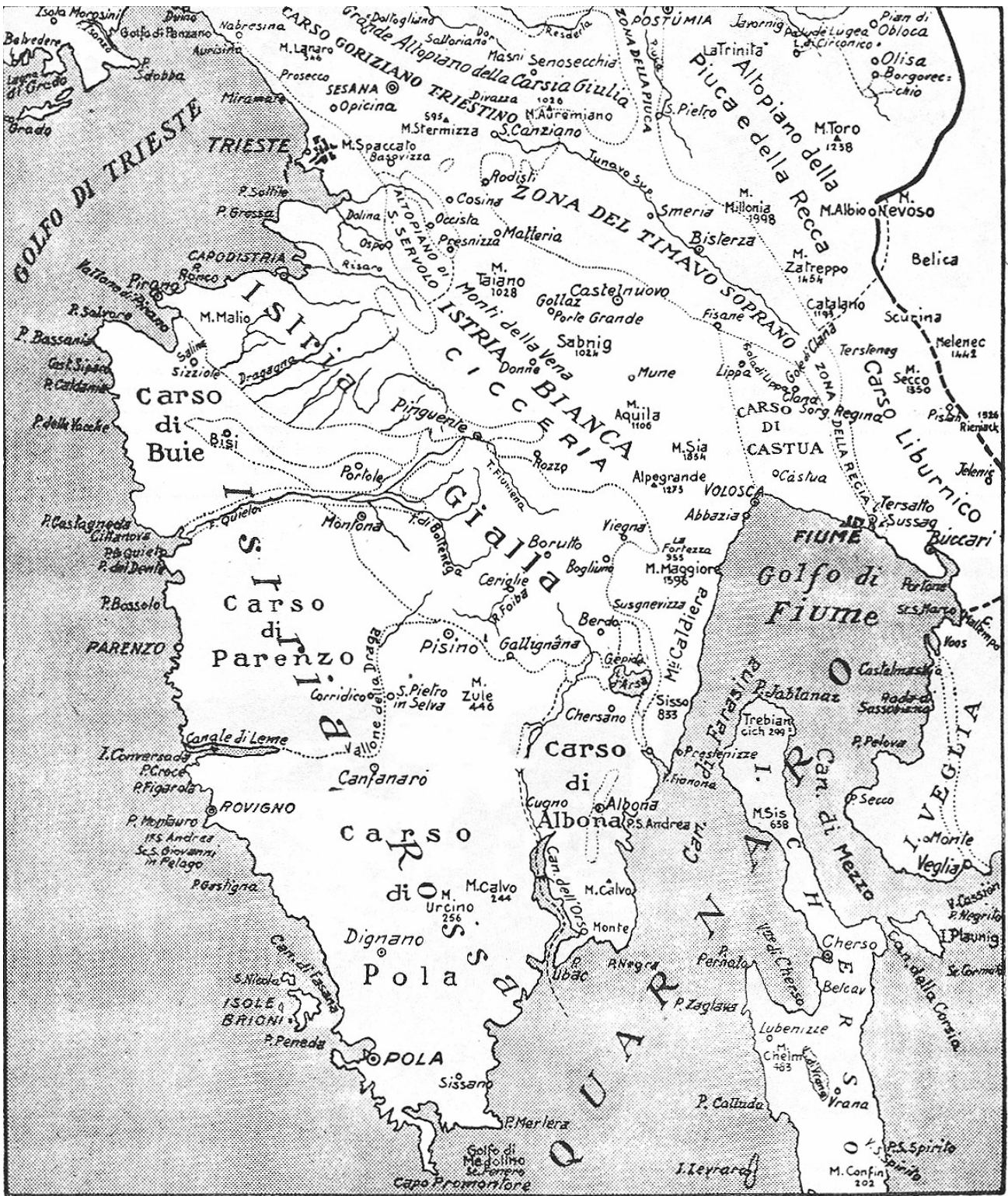
¹¹⁸ All the parts of the old city, the surrounding boroughs, the name of the towers etc.

¹¹⁹ In Darinko Munić, "Skica za portret istočnoistarskih kvarnerskih srednjovjekovnih komuna od XV. do XVII. stoljeća", *Acta Histriae*, III, 1994, pp. 83-96. Die Herren von Walsee (auch von Wallsee, urspr. von Waldsee, italienisch Valsa) stammten aus Schwaben. Mit Heinrich von Walsee, einem Gefolgsmann des Grafen Rudolf von Habsburg, des späteren Deutschen Königs, schlug das Geschlecht auch im Südosten Wurzeln. Im Jahre 1331 verkauften die Walseer ihren schwäbischen Stammsitz Waldsee an die Habsburger und knüpften zu ihnen enge Verbindungen. Insgesamt fünf Linien der Familie kamen binnen kurzer Zeit zu großem Reichtum: Die Grazer Linie (1362 ausgestorben), die Drosendorfer Linie (1392 ausgestorben), die Linie Walsee-Dachsberg sowie die Linzer Linie (1400 ausgestorben) und die Ennsler Linie. Bald nahmen sie in Österreich einflussreiche Stellungen ein. Eine Linie erwarb das Erbmarschallamt und eine andere das Erbkämmereramt in Österreich. Nach dem Erlöschen der Emmerberger waren sie Erbtruchsesse in der Steiermark. Durch Heirat, Erbschaft und landesfürstliche Schenkungen kam an sie großer Besitz in Nieder- und Oberösterreich, in der Steiermark, in Kärnten, in Krain und in Istrien. Die Herren von Walsee waren Verwandte der Herren von Duino und deren Haupterben.

¹²⁰ Ein Urbar bezeichnet ein Verzeichnis über Besitzrechte eines Grundherrn und Leistungen seiner Grunduntertanen (Grundholden) im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Auch für Gült- und Lagerbücher wird der Ausdruck verwendet. In vielen Regionen sind für diese Verzeichnisse auch die Bezeichnungen Salbuch, Berain, Heberregister, Erdbuch und Zinströdel geläufig.

the middle of the 15th century as well).¹²¹ After the extinction of the house of the Walsee in 1465, the possessions were inherited by the Habsburg family that owned it from 1466 to 1776.

¹²¹ Benussi, Bernardo. *L'Istria nei suoi due millenni di storia*, Venezia : Marsilio, 1997. - Ripr. facs. dell'ed.: Trieste : Stab. Art. Tipografico G. Caprin, 1924. also Valvasor quotes: "Anno MCCCC male extinctis D. D. de Tybein, seu de Duino, investitur Reinpertus de Walsee de bonis eorum Duino, Senoseza, Gueteneg, Flumine, Castum, Vaprinitz & Moscheniza, de quibus ultimis, olim spectantibus ad Polensem Episcopum investitus fuit ab Episcopo ea lege, ut quemquis novum Praesulem nova donatione honoraret duorum canum venaticorum unius Asturis & pulli eleganter ornati" Valvasor „Die Ehre des Herzogtums Krain“ (XI. Buch, S. 470-9)



L'Istria; gli altipiani della Carsia (da rilievi del prof. dott. M. Baratta).

A map of the region from the early 1920s.¹²²

¹²² From: L'Istria - città, borgate e castelli, from the series Le cento città d'Italia illustrate, Sonzogno, editor, Milano, 1920.

Retrieved from: http://www.istrianet.org/istria/maps/vintage/1920_istria.htm

The late mediaeval Commune was ruled according to the Statute from 1530 but this chart formally lasted until 1850. The first codified statute of Fiume from 1530 preserves some features of the mediaeval Croatian statutes, still with a preponderance of Italian and Venetian institutions.¹²³ According to the Statute, the executive power was in the hand of the “Gran Consiglio” with 50 members and the “Piccolo Consiglio” of 25 patricians. The Captain was the representative of the feudal lord (from 1466 the Habsburg archduke).¹²⁴ The local executives (called justice rectors – *giudici rettori*) have to obey only the lord – from 1466 the duke (later Emperor) of the House of Habsburg. The Habsburgs granted Fiume with the status of a free city, and included in the Duchy of Carniola. In 1599 Fiume is emancipated from the Duchy of Carniola and *de facto* becomes an independent City commune, but the Carniolan estates will continue (unsuccessfully) to claim their rights upon the city - right up to their cessation in 1809.¹²⁵ Thus, in its local corporate representation Fiume was a mixture between the self government tradition of the Italian communes and the *Reichsfreiheit* or *Reichsunmittelbarkeit* of the cities of the Holy Roman Empire.¹²⁶

EMPIRE AND THE SEA: ORIGINS OF THE “LITTORAL”

Fiume by the nineteenth century had arisen as the most important port for the eastern half of the Habsburg empire, but this wasn't clear from its beginnings: at the dawn of the modern age it was a small port city, with less than 5000 inhabitants.

Until the late 17th century, the Habsburg monarchy was essentially a landlocked territory, trade and traffic had followed the commercial routes to the North and Northwest, and Hamburg was the main port for Austrian products. These routes became increasingly blocked by the growing Prussian state. This made it reasonable to turn towards the southern possessions of the Monarchy. The trade of the City still languished since the the Habsburgs retraced to Trieste all the Austrian exports, also because of the insecurity of land communications thorough Fiume.¹²⁷

The repeated attempts of Habsburg emperors to expand and enlarge the tiny fishing villages of the northern Adriatic into functioning ports had previously failed because of the domination of Venice that controlled the entire Adriatic and fiercely opposed the development of the Habsburg ports. Even that did not prevent a series of Venetian occupations and destructions of Fiume, from 1508 to 1512, 1530, 1599 and, finally, in 1612. The traffic was reduced to cabotage trade since the *Serenissima* controlled all ships leaving the ports. Habsburg emperors successfully tried to break this domination of the sea, claiming free shipping for all and formulating it in treaties and diplomatic agreements. The second factor was the threat from the Ottoman Empire which kept the monarchy engaged in permanent military actions and in concluding coalitions with Christian allies: Venice was one of these. Turkish attacks and intrusion in Croatia and the surroundings of Fiume,

¹²³ Kobler, II, p. 163.

¹²⁴ From this communal period the archival files of the “Comune di Fiume” are the main source, preserved in the State archive in Rijeka. On the other hand, the City captain represented the feudal lord, which from 1466 were the Habsburg so it is probable and plausible that the Austrian (Viennese or Graz) archives should have sources.

¹²⁵ Under the Treaty of Vienna, Carniola became part of the Illyrian provinces of France (1809–1814), with Ljubljana as its capital, and Carniola formed a part of the new territory from 1809 to 1813. Fiume was included, and this state remained after the defeat of Napoleon restored Carniola to Austrian Emperor Francis I, with larger boundaries, as the Illyrian Kingdom Carniola was confined to the limits outlined at the Congress of Vienna, 1815.

¹²⁶ A privileged feudal and political status, a form of statehood, which a city, religious entity or feudal principality of minor lordship could attain within the Holy Roman Empire. It is translated as imperial immediacy. A reichsfrei city, abbey or territory was under the direct authority of the Holy Roman Emperor and the Imperial Diet, without any intermediary Liege lord(s). Advantages were that reichsfrei regions had the right to collect taxes and tolls themselves, and held juridical rights (including the Blutgericht, 'high' justice including capital punishment) themselves. *De facto* Reichsfreiheit corresponded to a semi-independence with a far-reaching autonomy. Also the cities in Croatia were modelled upon the German model. See Antoljak, Stjepan. *Pregled hrvatske povijesti* (2nd ed.), Split, Orbis/Laus, 1994, p. 85.

¹²⁷ The Habsburgs were involved in a longstanding war with the Hungarian king Mathias Korvin and, the frequent Turkish intrusions arrived in the hinterland of Fiume.

were particularly frequent from 1469 to 1502, helped by the near absence of any organised defence.¹²⁸

The Kingdom of Croatia, with whom the city bordered along the eastern shores of its river, merged with the Kingdom of Hungary after the disaster of Mohács in 1525. Both kingdoms accepted the sovereignty of the Hapsburgs to defend from the Turkish conquests.¹²⁹ Following 1526, the stretch of territory south of Fiume and north of the Zrmanja river (called the Littoral) was held by the House of Austria - inheritor of the Crowns of Croatia and Hungary. Southwards, Venetian Dalmatia spread up to Cattaro. As such these lands were permanently put on a frontline, intended to bring to a halt the Ottoman advance that stopped short of the gulf of Quarnero.

The northern Adriatic thus functioned as something as a Ottoman, Venetian, and Habsburg borderland's littoral. The border itself was a very fuzzy and mobile concept in the region for centuries. This Croatian Littoral and its hinterland was an integrated part of the Habsburg Military Frontier which was more than a defensive institution and marked all the stages of societal development in the area. Its principal characteristic was that the various fortresses were manned with regular and irregular troops for a permanent low intensity warfare which included raiding as its main source of revenues.

Probably no phenomenon describes the turbulent events in the area better than the rise of the Uskok's piracy and banditry in the northern Adriatic.¹³⁰ Incursions of armed bands both from the ottoman side the irregular Hajduks and Uskoks as well as the local Military Frontier troops (Grenzer) were conducted on a daily basis. Uskoks served as irregulars in the Habsburg border garrison of Senj for a century. The Habsburg and the Pope celebrated their role as bulwark of Christendom, while for the Venetians (laics and priests alike) they were "bandits and pirates worse than the Turks and responsible for innumerable atrocities".¹³¹ The context on which the uskoks operated in their bases in Senj was the very same that of Fiume. Senj is a port that shared a comparatively similar history to that of Fiume. And as for Fiume - Senj's origins are obscure. Fiume's history is very much that of the Uskoks for much of the sixteenth century. In fact the City survived as a port of trade principally thanks to afflux of the merchandize they robbed.¹³² It was a world of precarious life and insecurity where trade degenerated into a raiding economy. Venetia, knowing that the Uskoks had Fiume as their main "emporium", sacked and burned the City in 1530 in a punitive expedition. Uskok piracy aroused as a serious diplomatic problem between Austria and Venetia and was settled in 1612 with the Treaty of Vienna with whom the Emperor refused any support to the Uskoks.¹³³

¹²⁸ Sablich, Vittorio. "Storia di Fiume nel secolo XVI", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno VI, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1958, p.35.

¹²⁹ The Battle of Mohács was fought on August 29, 1526 near Mohács, Hungary. In the battle, forces of the Kingdom of Hungary led by King Louis II were defeated by forces of the Ottoman Empire led by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. The Ottoman victory led to Hungary being partitioned over the following decades between the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Monarchy of Austria, and the Principality of Transylvania.

¹³⁰ Bracewell, Catherine Wendy. *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic*. Cornell University Press, 1992.

¹³¹ Bracewell, Catherine Wendy. *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic*. Cornell University Press, 1992.

¹³² Klen, et al.

¹³³ The last Uskok intrusions in Fiume were reported in 1620. in Sablich, Vittorio. "Storia di Fiume nel secolo XVI", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno VIII, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1960, pp.174-175.



Istria and surrounds 17th cent. Fiume is called St. Veit am Pflaum. - unknown origin;

The origins of the emporium are to be located in the late XVII century when in the Habsburg lands a mercantilist program starts to find its way into the polity. Already in year 1666, under Emperor Leopold I, in Vienna the *Commerzcollegium* was founded, with the main function of initiating the reforms and control of their execution. Based upon mercantilistic principles, a homogeneous littoral district was to be created along the Adriatic coast.

Besides the local and, up to that time, unimportant ports of Trieste and Fiume, the plan also encompassed the integration of Croatian territories, which had been seized and reconquered from the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the 17th century: the Gulf of Bakar, Senj and Karlobag where the Habsburgs met the competition of the local landlords such as the Zrinski (Zrinyi) and the Frankapan (Frangipane). They owned some coastal towns which started to develop as ports: Bakar (Buccari) and Kraljevica (Portorè). The Zriny family owned and developed the port of Buccari. They were the most powerful landowners in Croatia and most of the land that surrounded Fiume (as well as the city of Buccari) was in their hands. It was thus comparatively well connected with the hinterland and moreover it was the best natural harbour in the area. Then they will even try to gain support from Venice, the *lazaretto* was founded by a Venetian company and the rise in traffic vastly outnumbered that of Fiume. Probably, alliance with Venice and much lower taxes suffice to explain the success of Buccari, but it all came to an abrupt end with the Zrinski-Frankopan conspiracy.¹³⁴ After the end of the rebellion in 1673, that resulted in their defeat all these possessions were confiscated and put under the control of the Hungarian Aulic Chamber, soon transferred to the Imperial Chamber of Inner Austria. The destruction of the most powerful feudal families and their economic might ensured that no similar event would take place during the feudal era.¹³⁵ Between Vienna and the Adriatic ports there were no feudal lords capable of competing or disturbing the plans of economic development.

Only with the pacification of the Turks, which seemed realisable for the first time at the end of the 17th century, could new attempts be undertaken. At the end of the XVII century the Ottomans are defeated and with the Peace of Karlovitz (1699) the Empire regains control over the vast plains of Voivodina and Banat promptly put under the direct control of the Imperial Chamber of Inner Austria with seat in Graz as the Imperial Regency. (Kaiserliche Hofkammer), to finance the military needs against the Turks.¹³⁶

The Littoral emerged gradually as a patchwork of lands on the northern Adriatic coast under the direct supervision of the Viennese financial authorities. The next step will be the identification of the best locations where to start industrialisation and where to establish ports.¹³⁷ In the Littoral the effect of these trends was felt soon. In 1705 in all the Austrian lands Commercial Deputations for the advancement of trade are founded. One of the big obstacles for the implementation of these policies was the Venetian monopoly on the Adriatic which effectively prevented ships from other countries to fare freely on this closed sea at the time known also as the “Gulf of Venice”.

Success was achieved under Charles VI. In 1717 after another victorious campaign against the Ottomans (but this time with Venice as its ally) the Adriatic sea was promptly declared free for trade, with Venice no longer opposing it; in 1718 peace was concluded with the Ottoman Empire

¹³⁴ The Zrinski-Frankopan conspiracy (Croatian: urota zrinsko-frankopanska; 1664-1670) was a movement in which the Croatian noblemen of the Zrinski and Frankopan families rebelled against their ruler, King Leopold I of the Habsburg family. They felt he disregarded the treaty that he was bound to upon being crowned as the king of the Lands of the Crown of St. Stephen, especially after the Vasvár Peace in 1664.

¹³⁵ The rebellion of these powerful families was caused by the erosion of their power by the new *indigineae* nobility made up by first generation foreigners who were awarded Hungarian citizenship. After their rebellion, the old families will be exterminated and will lose their titles and estates. Thus after Mohacs and the Nadasdy rebellion all the Hungarian aristocracy will be appointed by the Hapsburgs.

¹³⁶ Klen et al. p 133. In this period modern ways of agricultural production enabled capital accumulation.

¹³⁷ Edmund Halley, invited by the Aulic Chamber executed the measurements. He deemed Portorè (Kraljevica) appeared as the best candidate, though it was smaller than Buccari, Fiume was only at the third place. Trieste will take the lead soon and experience the greatest pace of development.

and a commercial treaty brought important commercial liberties to the Ottoman and Habsburg subjects; in 1719 Trieste and Fiume were declared Free Ports of the Empire of the Habsburgs.

Initially, the whole area of the Littoral functioned as a fragmented periphery with no attempts of territorial or administrative integration. The two cities of Trieste and Fiume were not promoted by the monarchy before the 18th century. They were governed as separate administrative units and were able to maintain their autonomous city governments for almost 300 years and stayed more oriented to maritime trade than to their hinterland, given the difficulties of the internal land communications and the barren Karst *plateau* that surrounded them that will prevent capital accumulation based on land production. With the increasing importance of the Fiume, the weight of the local power was subject to decline. Progressively, Fiume will be included in broader institutional frameworks aimed at economic development of the whole empire and especially its Hungarian part. Before that the imperial state was a fading presence: the City was free of taxes and of military obligations and the economic life was entirely in the hand of local merchants.¹³⁸

In administration the centralisation proceeded gradually - by trial and error. The general administration in the crown lands was improved and the representations and chambers after 1762 referred to as *Gubernia*. They were in charge of political military and financial affairs and were under the supervision and direction of the Court Chancery in Vienna. The chief motivation for their instituting was in a greater efficiency of government, but also protection of the underprivileged. Since the *Gubernia* were to supervise town administration also the prerogatives of the towns were diminished and their judicial autonomy was restricted. Circle offices called *Kreisamter* subordinated to the *Gubernia* now controlled the working of urban institutions.¹³⁹ In 1723 the “Gran Consiglio” of the Fiuman commune was put under the Circle of Inner Austria with the seat in Graz. The Captain as a representative of the Emperor still holds the executive power for the governmental economic policy.

Fiume in 1723 as a Free City accepted the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the Emperor Charles VI., in default of his leaving male heirs, settled the succession to his hereditary dominions on his daughter Maria Theresa and her heirs. This act of political subjectivity, was later used extensively as a proof that the city had an autonomy status such as those of the Austrian hereditary provinces and the kingdoms of Hungary and Croatia.

With Maria Theresa many institutions changes followed. First, in 1741 in Vienna is formed the *Comercien Ober Directorium* upon which all the commercial affairs of the empire is centred. Its action oriented by mercantilist and populationist doctrines.¹⁴⁰ In 1745 she united the administrations of all the ports in an order called *Oberste Commerz-Intendenza* (High Commercial Intendancy), which was originally established by her father in 1731. The formerly independent and self-governing possessions on the Austrian and Croatian coast now came to be integrated into and governed by a central authority, the Intendancy in Trieste, instituted in 1730, that in 1747 extended its authority over Fiume. Finally, in 1748 Fiume entered the Austrian “Provincia Mercantile del Litorale”.

¹³⁸ In the same year (1719) a new company was founded its offices are in Vienna and Trieste, but it has important assets in Rijeka as well. It is the *Privilegiata Compagnia Orientale*. It was the first attempt of an organized action intervention on a state level in the field of economic activities in the area. Nevertheless, the company was an failure. Inexperience, competition from Venice, and internal opposition made it difficult for the company. In 1742 it went bankrupt. Nevertheless, its presence gave a powerful impetus to local economic initiatives. After the liquidation of the company indeed all the plants were sold and bought by local entrepreneur. Another company this, time under the supervision of Antwerp merchants, quickly become the largest sugar refining plant of the Empire.

¹³⁹ The **Kreisamter** (Circle offices) were first instituted in Bohemia after the end of the 17th century, with primarily military functions, they gradually had more and more administrative competencies and become the first state provincial administrative organs of the empire. In fact their introduction was met with history in all the feudal regions notably Hungary where it was never achieved since Hungary retained its *comitatus* system based on the assemblies from the feudal estates.

¹⁴⁰ According to these theories, Advocated by Joseph von Sonnenfels, the wealth of the State rested primarily in skilled labour force. Skilled labour was now considered a resource as precious as previously bullion.

The “Direzione Superiore Commerciale” (Kommerzassessorium), part of the “Cesarea Regia Intendenza Commerciale per il Litorale in Trieste” (1748 – 1776), was seated in Trieste and ruled and administered the City until 1776, under the name of “Cesarea Regia Luogotenenza Governale del Capitanato di Fiume, Tersatto e Buccari.” This was the first provincial imperial institution in this area based in Trieste. The Fiuman “Luogotenente” had also the role of the previous captain, and his jurisdiction is extended and goes from Moschienizze to Carlopago. With the placing of the government in Trieste, this harbour step by step became the main seaport of the Monarchy. With her *Haupt Resolution* (1749) the civil and military Capitan of Trieste is put under the control of the *Comercien Ober Directorium* seated in Vienna. All the region of the Littoral in fact becomes a territorial dependency of this new institution, specifically oriented to the development of commerce and thus very different from the other still feudal provinces. From 1753 Imperiale Regia Intendenza Capitanale di Fiume Tersatto e Buccari, executes the orders from the head office in Trieste. The *Intendenza* transmits the orders to the Justice Rectors in Fiume. Thereby the autonomy of the local institutions (the Justice Rectors previously were at the top of the communal administration) was gradually reduced.

Trade in Fiume progressed slowly, and for several reasons: insufficiency of capital investments, with the related lack of entrepreneurial spirit, and most of all for the virtual absence of port and land infrastructures. Apart from fiscal exemptions, emperor Charles also founded a “privileged company” in Fiume. The purpose of these measures was to attract foreign investments, but the first companies were controlled from the chamber in Vienna and went bankrupt.¹⁴¹ The turn came in 1750, with the foundation of the Urban Arnold & comp. company, with the seat in Antwerp. Initially it dealt with the refinement of sugar, and the production of potash and tallow candles. It also possessed its own port basin and the number of its sugar refining plants grew from one to five. Soon, already in 1754, the Company supplies the whole monarchy with sugar that becomes its main traded article.¹⁴² The company was bigger than anything Fiume had previously seen. It employed more than 1000 workers and employees in a time when the city had little more than 5000 inhabitants. Apart from sugar the company produced salted meat. The company brought new life to Fiuman economy and started many spin-offs (candle and rope factories, etc.)

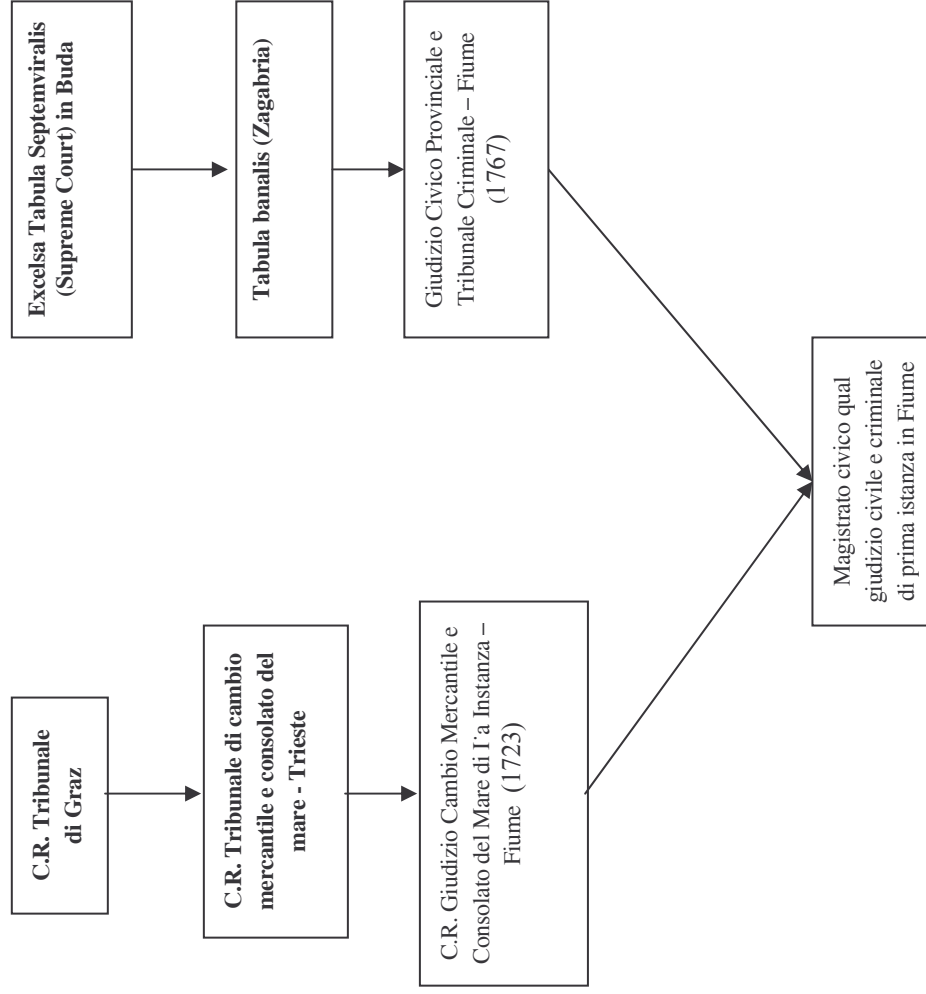
Industrial production in the city rose rapidly: in 1771 it was valued at 802,582 guildens, in 1780 2,278,000. the value of imports in 1771 was 1,187,000 guildens, in 1780 2,781,000 guildens. Exports value in 1771 was 496,000 guildens, in 1780 1,340,000 guildens, but probably they were even higher: according to the Ragusan diplomat Lukša Sorkočević who in 1782 stayed in Fiume in his private diary noted that the added value of the Fiuman economy (based on the value of its exported goods) was at 2,5 million guildens.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ The *Compagnia Privilegiata Orientale* was founded already in 1719, was seated in Trieste. Although full of privileges (it could build ships longer than 60 feet, it held the monopoly with the trade with the Levant, produced candles – that is the Ottoman Empire - it went bankrupt in 1731 and was sold out in 1741. a second privileged company named *Compania di Temesvar*, was instituted by the Empress Maria Theresa in 1759. its purpose was to sell the grain from the Banat newly liberated land from the Ottomans, that was starting a period of colonisation and extensive cultivation, providing the Aulic Chamber that owned the land and managed its trade with an unprecedented cash flow. After a series of problems and also this company went to liquidation in 1771. In Klen, Danilo, et al. *Povijest Rijeke*, Izdavački Centar Rijeka, 1988, pp. 136-139, and for Temesvar pp. 142-145.

¹⁴² In 1755 it was reorganised with a new name Arnoldt, Kennedy and Wellens and the Dutch preponderance became manifest. In Klen, Danilo, et al. *Povijest Rijeke*, Izdavački Centar Rijeka, 1988, pp. 143.

¹⁴³ Klen et al. p 144.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM – FIUME (1760s)



THE “ HUNGARIAN LITTORAL ” 1776 - 1809

The Crown of St. Stephen, as it emerged from the Turkish wars, was composed of three *Orszag*: Hungary, Croatia – Slavonia, and *Siebenburgen*.¹⁴⁴ Thus the polity - "the crown" - was divided into three *orszag* each of them subdivided into the counties which were the constitutive territorial units of consuetudinary law.¹⁴⁵ The *comitatus* (county) was the basic unit that composed the *Orszag* (meaning Land, later Kingdom, Nation or State). They had an extensive degree of administrative autonomy and with their own common law. This means that any decision taken from the crown or the court could have been ineffective if not applied by the counties. The *comitatus* was the largest administrative unit. They were a kind of "little cantonal republics" since the committal assembly was practically sovereign.¹⁴⁶ An outline of the Hungarian *comitatus* shows clearly that Fiume, in its administrative structure, was framed along this lines.

The committees acted as a bulwark for the Hungarian nobility against Hapsburg dominion, and for this fact the introduction of a central government in Hungary was extremely delayed, compared to other states or provinces. The county authorities were very powerful and administered all spheres of public life. They were responsible for all inhabitants of the county, except for inhabitants of free royal towns (*liberae regiae civitate*), mining towns, free districts.

The *comitatus* was an autonomous (self-governing) entity of lower gentry. It was led by the county head (*comes*), appointed by the king, and by his deputy, appointed by the county head. These two persons were the link between the king and the nobility.

From the 13th-14th century onwards, the deputy county heads, and not the county head himself, were the real administrators of the county. This development was emphasised by the fact that the county heads were also higher dignitaries of the state or of the court at the same time (palatine, treasurer,

¹⁴⁴ *Siebenburgen* is contemporary Transylvania, today in Romania.

¹⁴⁵ The *Orszag* could be translated as "Land" or "Kingdom", but also "Nation". It had primarily a symbolic meaning, since it was without an the administration of its own which stopped at the level of the committee (*comitatus*). Its original meaning was the community of those that can ride a horse therefore the nobility. See the excellent contribution of Peter, Laszlo. 2000. „Die Verfassungsentwicklung Ungarns“, in *Die Habsburgermonarchie, vol VII band 2, Verfassung und Parlamentarismus*, Wien. Hereby I express my gratitude to professor Peter, who helped me a lot regarding the comprehension of this crucial political term during my stay in London in spring 2004.

¹⁴⁶ The county was a self-governing (autonomous) entity of lower gentry. It was led by the county head (*comes*), appointed by the king, and by his deputy, appointed by the county head. These two persons were the link between the king and the nobility. As a rule, the county heads (from the 15th/16th century onwards called main county head) were the supreme feudal lords of the county. From the beginning of the 14th century, the county head was at the same time the castellan of the respective county castle in 13 counties. People became county heads for a limited period of time and could be recalled by the king, but a number of prelates (from the 15th century also seculars) received the "eternal county leadership" of their diocese.

The county authorities were very powerful and administered all spheres of public life. They were responsible for all inhabitants of the county, except for inhabitants of free royal towns (*liberae regiae civitate*), mining towns, free districts, and at the time of the Anjou kings also of royal castle domains. Until 1486, some members of the supreme nobility were exempt from the jurisdiction of the county, too.

The most important body of self-government of the county was the *congregatio generalis*, i. e. the county assembly convened and led by the county head. Originally, this body was created and served only as a judicial body, which comprised the judge, the *sedria* members and 8 elected noble jurors, and which was usually convened once a year. At the same time, the *inquisitio communis* (hearing of a witness) enabled the nobles to influence the proceedings conducted at the royal *curia*. Gradually, judicial affairs were excluded from the meetings of the *congregatio generalis*, which thus turned from a judicial body into an administrative body. All nobles of the county participated in person in the meetings of the *congregatio* and the *congregatio* decided on all important political, military and economic affairs.

As from the beginning of the 15th century, the territory of each county was divided into processuses each of which was administered by one of the noble judges (there were therefore usually four in each county). The aim was to simplify the administration. The number of processuses was increasing from the 18th century onwards, because the functions of the counties were increasing too. The processuses, in turn, consisted of 2 to 6 circuits (Latin: *circuli*), each of which was the responsibility of a deputy noble judge. Until the 1840s (with an exception in 1785-1790), the official language of county administration was Latin. From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia in: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comitatus_\(Kingdom_of_Hungary\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comitatus_(Kingdom_of_Hungary))

etc.), so that they did not have much time for the management of the county. The deputy county head's role was to administer the county during the county head's absence. Initially, in the 13th century, influence of nobles made itself felt only in the judicial sphere. The judges of the *servientes regis* - the so-called *iudices servientium* - developed into the noble judges, and the courts of the *servientes regis* - the so-called *sedes iudiciaria* or *sedria* - developed into the county court (the Latin name remained *sedria*). From the beginning of their existence, the noble judges were the real representatives of county autonomy. They were elected by the *congregatio generalis* and were not only judges, but also political administrators of their respective processus districts.

Later, the counties even turned to political entities representing the noble autonomy (noble self-government). This evolution started especially under the kings Charles Robert and Louis I. From 1385 onwards, the counties were sending representatives to meetings of the Diet of the Kingdom of Hungary and they played a role in the collection and setting of taxes. But only in the early 15th century, the nobles managed to put through a rule that only a noble from the same county can become the deputy county head and a co-judge. From 1504 onwards the deputy county head's appointment had to be approved by the nobles (*congregatio generalis*), so that the deputy county head definitively became the de-facto leader of the county. The county head, appointed by the king from the oligarchs (supreme nobility), was only the formal representative of the county.

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Obviously, such fragmented system posed problems to any effort of centralization initiated by the imperial government.¹⁴⁸ The system allowed thus reinterpretation of any legal document issued by the king on the sense of the *avita constitutio*.¹⁴⁹

The complexity of the Hungarian constitution is due to its gradual historical growth in terms of areas covered and internal depth. As elsewhere in Europe the constitution was a product of consuetudinary law, but already in the 16th century it went codified into the Verboczy's *Tripartitum*. The system of relationships of the crown with the king and to the *orszag* was complicated. The written acts the *decretum* were subordinate to consuetude.¹⁵⁰ The *iurisdictio* of the counties stems from the 13th century, the estates structure from the 15th, and the development of the three *regna* is

¹⁴⁷ The imperial statute of Fiume from 1530 was after the inclusion of the City in Hungary in 1779 compared to a committal statute.

¹⁴⁸ Horvat, Josip. 1979. *Gaj*, Novi Liber, Zagreb, p. 48.

¹⁴⁹ The force of the Hungarian constitution in preventing the king to impose his will to the nobility was often compared to a fortress.

¹⁵⁰ István Werbőczy, the "Hungarian Bracton" stated that the *decretum* of the King and the *consuetudo regni* had equal legal force. Laszlo Peter, *ibidem*, pp. 242 – 243.

from the time of the Turkish wars.¹⁵¹ The polarisation between the Diet (that represented the nation and was headed by the king) and the countys (that represented the regional landed estates) preceded the time of the Habsburg. After the inclusion into the Habsburg dynasty the *decreta regni* are the resultant product of joint legislation done by the King and the Diet. The King related to the nobility and the countys through the *dicasteria*.¹⁵² The *dicasteria* of the kingdom were in Vienna and controlled by the court. They constituted a kind of *noblesse de robe*.¹⁵³ The *populus politicus* - the political people was the *natio hungarica* organised into the diet or *orszaggyules*¹⁵⁴. The non nobles – the *plebs* were excluded from the estates and thus from all political life. The subject of the law was the *populus* - the nobility - divided into prelates, magnates, and the *bene possessionati* territorially organised into countys (*comitatus*).¹⁵⁵

The union of the crown to the Reich and the *orszag* towards the crown will be substantially reformulated and renegotiated during the nineteenth century. It has been said that the whole constitutional development of Hungary presents a long footnote to the law art. X/1790. It defined the position of the kingdom as *regnum liberum et independens*, meaning that they do not belong to any other *regnum*. As such it has its own traditions and a constitution that does not belong to any other *populus* but the *natio hungarica*. Ruled by a regularly crowned king and it has to be ruled according to its own norms and tradition and not to any other of any other land.

After the Turkish retreat Croatia progressively regained the lost ground. In 1743 the queen Maria Theresia (1740-1780) included Slavonia under the authority of the Croatian ban, leading in this way

¹⁵¹ Croatia joined the Crown after the defeat of Petrova gora. Similarly, the Crown of St. Stephen will be given to a Hapsburg after the defeat of Mohacs.

¹⁵² The houses of the diet had the *nuntium* and *renuntium* as their ambassadors at the court. They send to the king the *adresse* the king answers with the *rescript*. The official response to the rescript they respond contained the *contributio* and *subsidium*, *gravamina* and *postulata*. If an agreement was achieved, it produced the final document - the *concertatio*. The *concertatio* become official with the *approbatio* by the King and then it become operative through the committee's *promulgatio*. Laszlo Peter, pp. 254 – 255.

¹⁵³ Peter, Laszlo. 2000. „Die Verfassungsentwicklung Ungarns“, in *Die Habsburgermonarchie, vol VII band 2, Verfassung und Parlamentarismus*, Wien,

¹⁵⁴ The *Landtag* or Diet.

¹⁵⁵ The estates in Croatia and Hungary were still very strong during the whole XVIII century. The first estate were the prelates, which held the greatest power well into the eighteenth century. They controlled the life of the population in general and that of the serfs in particular. Furthermore, as the first estate of the kingdom, the prelates possessed political powers in the legislative branch of government as well as in the executive and judicial branches. Moreover, as landlords they held urban benefits from all the serfs of the kingdom Catholics orthodox and Protestants alike.¹⁵⁵ In the eighteenth century with the spread of enlightenment ideas in Hungary and the Josephine efforts to build and introduce a modern centralised state, the power of the prelates will be greatly reduced. They had to accept a role subordinated to that of the aristocrats who in turn had to accept second place behind the *bene possessionati*. As the greatest loser of the modernising reforms initiated by Vienna it should be no surprise that the first champions of anti centralist (and later national movements) in Croatia will for long time be drawn from the church.

The second estate was the aristocracy. After the disaster of Mohacs, where most of the old aristocracy of Hungary and Croatia was exterminated, the new one has been a gradual achievement and creation of the Habsburgs, and thus loyal to the dynasty. The practice spread with the Habsburgs who started systematically to connect the endowment of larger estates with the title of count. They also awarded that title to some members of the old landed aristocracy such as the Nadasdy, Zrinyi, Erdody, Frangepan, and Thurzo families.

The third estate will be the lesser nobility divided in *possessionati* and *bene possessionati*. The lesser nobility will comprise the most numerous estate and thus will constitute the bulk of the political nation. This is reflected by the fact that the lesser nobility will be the most influential in the shaping of the nationalist ideologies in Croatia and Hungary. In Fiume (as patricians) they will be crucial in shaping the collective identity of the city as well.

The fourth estate were the burghers of the towns and mining cities. It was a royal prerogative to grant the status of a royal free town to any settlement. The granting the status of a burgher was a privilege of town councils. And as a matter of fact non-burghers were numerous constituted the majority of the population in the royal free towns. Being scattered and few their power was weak in any term economical or social. Politically they were even weaker. All the towns had only one vote at the lower chamber of the diet. Moreover, the counties gradually seized powers over the affairs of the towns. The county administration was in the hands of the gentry. Than the *honoratori* or practitioners of the liberal arts. County offices were coveted positions for gentry's youngsters offering some prestige and influence.

Kiraly Bela. 1969. *Hungary in the Late Eighteenth Century*, Columbia University Press.

to the union of Slavonia with Croatia. Croatia was after the Turkish invasion reduced to three counties (Zagreb, Križevci and Varaždin), and the estates transferred also the committal administrative affairs to the Sabor in Zagreb. After the Turkish retreat to Croatia the three Slavonian counties are annexed (Požega, Virovitica and Srijem) and in 1776 also the newly established county of Severin. After this expansion the administration of the counties was not possible to handle in the Sabor and therefore in 1756 the queen Maria Theresia reorganised the Croatian counties according to the Hungarian model: the county was headed by the supreme count (*supremus comes*) who *de facto* ruled as a prefect being nominated by the King, and the county was divided in *circles* and *districts*, like the Austrian provinces.

The incorporation of Fiume into the Austrian littoral caused a widespread protest among the Croatian and Hungarian estates. They were claiming the restoration of the Vinodol county that had to be represented at the Hungarian diet.¹⁵⁶ Italian historians claim that it was the City that instrumentalized the issue to mobilise the Hungarian estates.¹⁵⁷ During the 1740s most of the trade from the Pannonian plain was starting to pass over Fiume and not Ragusa (Dubrovnik), which after the retreat of the Ottoman empire, never regained the lost ground.

In the long term the concept of unified seaports, acting together and realizing fixed goals failed. After a series of formal acts of protest of the Hungarian - Croatian estates, Joseph II decided the abolition of the 'Litorale Austriaco' during his journey through Croatia, the Litorale and Venice in 1775, which was carried out one year later. In 1776 the "Provincia Mercantile" was suspended. In 1776 the Croatian seaboard, which had previously been under the same administration as the rest of the Austrian coast, was annexed to Croatia.

With a charter given by Maria Theresa the City of Fiume and the surrounding littoral to Carlopago is annexed to the Kingdom of Croatia, that is a part of the Hungarian kingdom. The Empress donated these lands and possessions to Croatia – Hungary as a compensation since many of their lands were put under the direct imperial administration as the *osterreichische Militargrenze* (Military Frontier) against the Turks exclusively for defensive purposes. The loss of land was compensated with the inclusion of a good part of the "Austrian littoral" to Croatia and Hungary.¹⁵⁸

The territory was to form the new County of Severin that included also all the confiscated possessions of the Frangipane and Zrinski families that surrounded Fiume in the interior. Moreover Illyria – a restored archaic term for the eastern Adriatic coast was abolished in 1777. Although its authority was already limited, it is significant that the elimination was complied with the wishes of Magyar nobles.¹⁵⁹

Trieste now became the only harbour of the German hereditary lands, and a new government, the *Gubernium*, was responsible for the city and its territory; Fiume became the main harbour of Hungary, which meant excluding the city from the Holy Roman Empire, and here a *Gubernium* was installed too, while the other ports were annexed to Croatia.

The inclusion of Fiume into Croatia aroused a series of protests from the fiuman notables, promptly supported by the Hungarian estates. In fact already in 1776, when it was decreed to include Fiume to Hungary through Croatia, it was the count József Majláth, the Hungarian royal commissar, who took over the town from baron Ricci, the representative of the Intendancy from Trieste. Since the *corpus separatum* was serving the Hungarian expanding commercial interests and even more the Fiuman elites, they soon reached a consensus for common action.

¹⁵⁶ Klen et al. p 149.

¹⁵⁷ Since Fiume wasn't a part of the kingdom of Croatia nor Hungary - it was pointless for the City council to protest: it wanted to be independent from the littoral since it was visibly suffering the competition of the Austrian favourite, Trieste. In Depoli, Attilio. 1961. "Il distacco di Fiume dalla Croazia", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, n. 1-2, pp. 57-92.

¹⁵⁸ Kobler, III, pp. 2-3.

¹⁵⁹ From 1767 to 1777 Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia were collectively named Illyria, and governed from Vienna, but each of these divisions was subsequently declared a separate kingdom, with a separate administration, while the military frontier remained under military rule.

Shortly after that (with the rescript of the queen dated 23rd April 1779) the City is officially directly annexed to Hungary as a *corpus separatum* (i.e.: not as a part of Croatia which was in a personal union with Hungary). This act recognised the ‘ancient rights’ of the Hapsburgs (as Hungarian kings) towards Fiume, although earlier Fiume had never been a Hungarian town. Fiume becomes fully independent from Trieste in all-commercial, fiscal and administrative matters. The Croatian regnicular Deputation is informed only belatedly, and the Croatian diet protested only on the 27th October 1779.¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the territory of the County of Severin is now extended embracing also the port of Buccari (Bakar), where initially the statute of Fiume was extended in its validity also in Buccari, proclaimed a free city only in 1778.¹⁶¹ The commission who applied the decrees of the empress proposed the following solution: the City of Fiume and its district had to be considered as a *corpus separatum* annexed to the Holy Crown of Hungary, and it has to be independent from the district of Buccari defined as “always being a part of Croatia”.

After the royal rescript from the 23rd April 1779, the stage for all the political confrontations that will happen in Fiume was set for more than a century and a half. In a sense it can be said that all history that followed was a long footnote on how to interpret this two acts from 1776 and 1779.¹⁶² The act presented a *precedent* for the Hungarian constitutional praxis, since it was the first time that a part of the Holy Roman Empire (and a hereditary fief of the Hapsburgs) was given to the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom. Therefore, since the Croatian and Hungarian estates had widely diverging interests with respect to Fiume, they produced very different interpretations of the rescript.

The Hungarians (and most probably the Queen) wanted to grant the City with a similar degree of institutional autonomy as that enjoyed by Trieste since Fiume served a similar function, but for Hungary. According to the rescript from 1779, Fiume was considered to be a *corpus separatum* that is a political body with a greater autonomy than a free City, or a nobiliar county, but a territory comparable to the other *partes adnexae* constituting the Crown of the St. Stephen. Its position was thus comparable to those of the *regna*, as Trieste was considered to be a crown land of the imperial hereditary lands (*Erblande*) so Fiume was considered to be a *partes adnexa* to the crown.

The Croats refused to accept the Hungarian reading of the document - they denied that the City could have been excluded from the surrounding territory, that was already framed into a county – comitatus or zupanija. Since the Croatian estates never accepted this interpretation, the constitutional position of the City was always somehow imprecise. On the other hand, the change happened when the Croatian diet voted for the suspension of its Croatian Vice-regency Council in Vienna¹⁶³ whose prerogatives were now devolved to the Hungarian Vice-regency Council, that was from that time on the supreme administrative authority for Croatia as well.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, to transfer part of the old competencies of the Sabor to a *dicasterium* nominated by the court probably hurtled the autonomy of the Croatian assembly, and thus its popularity among the estates must have been very low.

¹⁶¹ Buccari was built probably upon the ruins of the roman Volcera. The territory, in the middle ages it was under the Vinodol county, that was since 1225 a fief of the Frangipane family counts of Veglia. The first mention is from 1288 in the Vinodolski zakon. In the 15th and 16th it changed owners and from 1550 it is a fief of the counts of the Zrinski family, and after their rebellion and extermination (1671) it was assigned to the Austrian Aulic Chamber. From 1749. Buccari, is a part of the Austrian littoral, and on the 13th of May 1778 it was proclaimed a free City. In 1882 it was annexed to Croatia, along with the rest of the Military Frontier.

¹⁶² The fact is not strange - it has been said that also all the Hungarian political history of the nineteenth century (as well as the Croatian one) was about the right interpretation of the constitution. It was a peculiarity of politics in the Hungarian kingdom and then by the reflection also in Croatia and Rijeka to be devoted mostly if not exclusively in constitutional issues rather than ideological or social ones. Similarly, political ideologies and factions that will develop in Rijeka will follow this path. The first movements acting outside the constitutional framework and much more concerned with ethnic or social issues will appear very late and will never gain massive popularity.

¹⁶³ Croatian historians have never provided an explanation for this self-defeating act, officially justified with economic reasons. To be represented within this all-Hungarian body meant saving money instead of holding representatives in Pressburg and Vienna.

¹⁶⁴ The Hungarian Vice-regency Council was a royal stadholdership, instituted by Ferdinand I. in 1528, was presided by the palatine count (at the time palatine was István Báthory) and composed of 22 counsellors, comprising also other noble representatives, which became a permanent institution headed by the palatine in 1549. The Vice-regency council

Fiume becomes the administrative centre for two administrative units: The Governorate of Fiume and the County of Severin (severinska županija), that is an integral part of Croatia.¹⁶⁵ The governor of Fiume is at the same time also the head of the Severin County. The Severin County was a peculiar administrative unity, since it did not refer to a historically constituted *comitatus* of nobles but it was created by direct sovereign intervention. It seems that the new county served a strictly technical function - its territory stretched all over the planned new road which had to connect Fiume and the littoral with the Pannonian hinterland - the *Via Lodovicea*.¹⁶⁶ In 1787 Joseph II dissolves the County of Severin confirming its transitory nature and introduces a new province: The “Hungarian Littoral” which now extends from Fiume to Senj. And in Fiume the “Cesareo Regio Governatorato per il Litorale in Fiume” governs the whole new province of the “Hungarian Littoral” (Litorale ungarico), thereby reducing the Croatian competencies in this stretch of land.¹⁶⁷

The *Gubernium* of Fiume is now under the direct Hungarian administration in terms of commercial and economic policies, but still the County of Zagreb retains competencies in judiciary and public education matters. The *Gubernium* acted as a Court of Appeal (“tribunale di seconda istanza”) of the “Tribunale di cambi e commerciale” and of the “Consolato di mare” in Fiume. Thus it had all the authority in commercial and maritime matters.

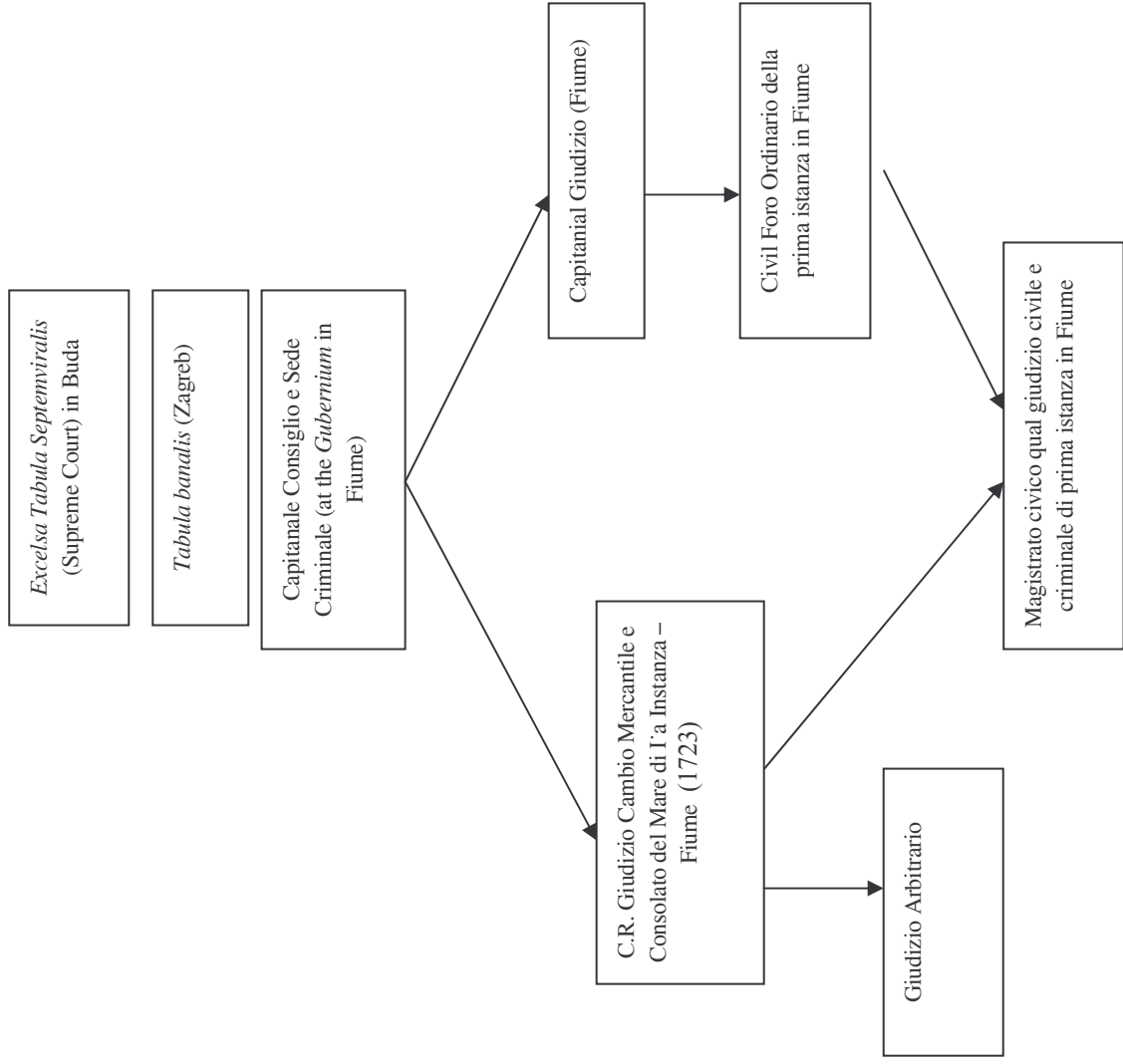
was abolished in 1673, the year after the Turkish invasion but it was renewed in 1723, transferred to Pressburg (Bratislava) where it stayed until 1783. The same centralizing tendency was shown in the administrative and judicial reforms taken in hand by the diet of 1722. A Hungarian court chancery was now established at Vienna, while the government of Hungary proper was committed to the Vice-regency Council at Pressburg. Both the chancery and the stadholdership were independent of the diet and responsible to the king alone, being, in fact, his executive instruments. The palatine became the official president of the council. After 1723, military and financial matters were transferred to another fore. Thus, in 1715, King Charles III.² persuaded the diet to consent to the establishment of a standing army, which - though the Diet reserved the right to fix the number of recruits and vote the necessary subsidies from time to time - was placed under the control of the Austrian council of war.

¹⁶⁵ Croatia at the time was considered by the Hungarians as a *partes adnexa* to the Hungarian crown. So it was not considered to be a kingdom but only a land, (province) a *partes*. Later on it will be defined as a kingdom, thereby reviving the memory of the mediaeval kingdom of Croatia. In depoli, p.

¹⁶⁶ Klen et al. p 149.

¹⁶⁷ It was a novelty since Hungary did not have provinces, but only committees.

JUDICIAL SYSTEM - FIUME (1790s)



The institutions of the State - first the Court in Vienna and its newly formed bureaucracy and then Hungarian and Croatian estates, will try to enhance their influence and control over the City. The tensions between the local patricians based in the *Piccolo consiglio* and the imperial institutions begin to emerge during this phase, although not to an extent as in Trieste. By the time the composition of the *Piccolo* and *Grande consiglio* also underwent change. The minimum number of present members to get the quorum is only 15, for both *consilia*. After the death of Maria Theresa 1782 some wealthy merchants members of the *grande consiglio* manage to get also two of their respective elected in the *Piccolo consiglio* which was by the time occupied by local patricians, whose charge was hereditary. Initiatives such as those to extend the political rights of the City to foreign people such as Hungarian or imperial aristocrats probably reflected the growing influence of the centre but also an attempt to secure some degree of autonomy against the centre, a new figure - the *consigliere onorario* was established as well as the *patrizio consigliere assente*. In this way the municipal authorities could extend their influence also abroad the City limits. Namely, several Hungarian magnates which had estates in the region were now part of the body politic of Fiume. The commercial interchange increased rapidly. The main source of Hungarian exports for many years to come were agricultural products, primary crops. Hungarian aristocrats engaged in exports of agricultural products from their huge estates were starting to make pressures to ensure a more direct influence in Fiume. Increasingly, the port of Trieste serves the needs of the Austrian lands and that of Fiume that of the Hungarian lands.

Already in 1790 Fiume urged that the city had to be put in the same footing as Trieste, as it was aimed for the same commercial function:

“Non Monopolia Tergestina, ut Adversarii exponunt, sed aliæ multo graviore Causæ quæ sub Mariæ Thereseiæ et Josephi II regimine divisionem Litoris Maritimi urebant, ac inter cæteras illa cuidem præcipua, quod Fluminensis Civitas uti propinguitate situs, ita etiam Naturali sua positione, ad Incolarum studiis peropportuna Videbatur promovendo Inclyti Regni Hungariæ Commercio; unde factum, ut *Tergestem* Austriaci, *Flumen* vero Hungarici Maritimi Commerci Emporium stabiliretur.”¹⁶⁸

The advantages of Hungarian trade will gradually won over local resistances. As soon as they were became part of the “Inclito Regno d’Ungheria”, the City immediately felt the positive effects to the City commerce and economic life. Fiume saw the construction of many new buildings and experienced a rise of the traffic:

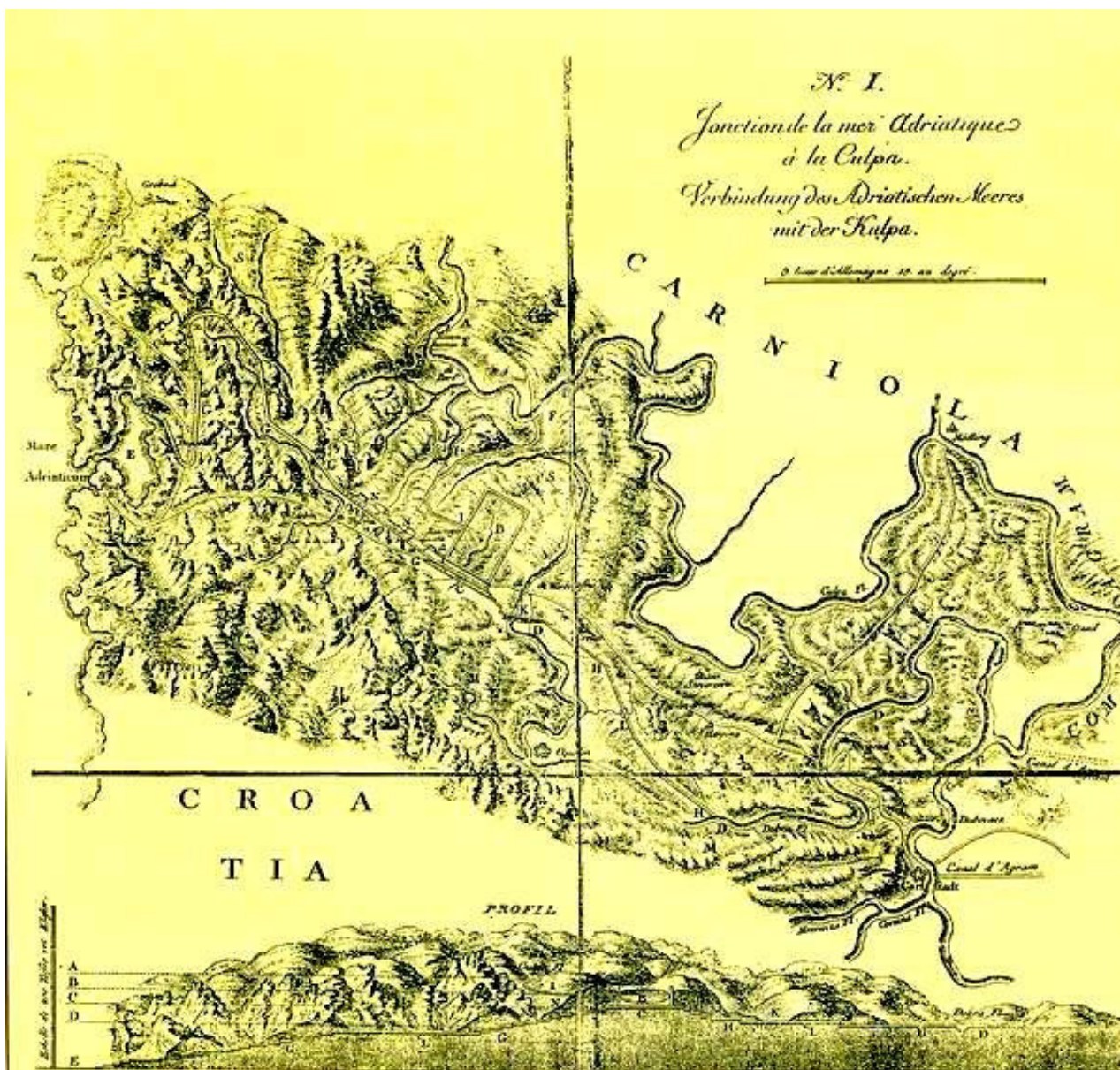
*L’essere Fiume incorporato all’Ungheria, e risentire i vantaggi, fù quasi un sol punto. Il suo commercio, che richiamò l’affluenza di varj esteri negozianti, che qui vennero a stabilirsi, andava giornalmente aumentando; si eressero nuove fabbriche, si edificarono molte case, si costruirono non pochi naviglj; in una parola: l’industria che in ogni parte cominciava a svilupparsi, godere faceva la popolazione, che sensibilmente accrescevasi di tutti questi vantaggi, che seco portare doveva un governo, le di cui incessanti solerti cure ad altro non tendevano, che alla pubblica prosperità.*¹⁶⁹

The geographical situation of the conglomerate of Habsburg lands has always been a very complicated one where travel was difficult. The watershed between the Black Sea and the Adriatic runs in the immediate vicinity of the Adriatic coast itself and no important river offers direct

¹⁶⁸ Anonymous. *Responsum civitatis Fluminensis ad libellum, cui titulus: "Littorale Hungaricum. Reflexiones i.i. statibus, & ordinibus regni Hungariae in Comitibus anno 1790. Budae congregatis propositae a nunciis urbis maritimae Segniensis."* ... Budae : Typis regiae Universitatis, 1790, p. 11.

¹⁶⁹ Anonymous, 1823. *La reincorporazione di Fiume all’inclito Regno d’Ungheria*. Memorie. Fiume Tipografia fratelli Karletzky, pp. 4-5

communication from the centre of Eastern Central Europe to the Mediterranean. Travelling from north to south, one was obliged to use the overland routes across barren mountain ranges. Fiume is separated from the back country by steep grades. On the high plateau the Karst or Carso surrounds the whole northeastern littoral. In these areas rivers and brooks often disappear suddenly and follow subterranean paths. Agriculture has therefore always been difficult. In former times the Karst was always described as unfertile, dreary and full of stones, as something you should cross as fast as possible. Seen from the Hungarian plains, the littoral was far away, situated behind high mountains and rugged roads. Therefore road building had to be one of the most important tasks of the government, but in Hungary there simply was no central government or administration.



Plans to connect the city with the hinterland had to cope with immense technical difficulties. Even a canal linking the river Kupa with the Adriatic sea was planned, but the works did not even start.

At the beginnings, the presence of the Hungarian administration is unobtrusive being exercised only through the office of the Governor who supervises the working of the local political and administrative institutions.

It will be in this period that for the first time two political bodies the Hungarian and the Croatian estates will claim their rights upon Fiume. Already in 1791 immediately after the incorporation of Fiume into the Hungarian littoral by Joseph II the Croatian Sabor claimed its sovereignty on the port since it was the on the extreme border of Croatia towards the Adriatic sea. The argument was that the City was from the earliest times a part of Croatia with its surroundings and that the City detached from Croatia was left with no possibilities of development. Second, if the port was intended to become capable to serve the Hungarian trade it needed also the ports of the littoral that were part of the “fiuman governorate”. It wasn’t clear to the Croatian Sabor why the Hungarian estates supported the direct annexation of Fiume to the Hungarian crown, since the loss of the other ports of the littoral should have damaged their trade interests.¹⁷⁰

Fiume was thus included into the Hungarian kingdom at the political, social, and economic level - it meant the progressive inclusion of the City into a Nation. The representatives of Fiume took part in the Hungarian parliament in 1790 for the first time, but in an unofficial way. Here they claimed the legalisation of the annexation to Hungary straight away, which were later postponed three times by the Hapsburg monarchs in 1790, 1802, and 1805. Finally, in 1807, Fiume became legally a part of Hungary.¹⁷¹ The Fiuman governor had a right to vote in the Chamber of Magnates of the royal Hungarian diet (*Orszaggyules*), while “the deputies of Fiume” (whose number was not specified with the law) had the right to vote in the *Stände und Orden*. Fiume become legally part of the Hungarian state.

¹⁷⁰ Reported in Racki, Franjo. 1867. *Rieka prama Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb, pp. 86 – 87.

¹⁷¹ The act (Articolo di legge IV 1807) in italian translation: La città ed il porto di Fiume sono inarticolati, e si concede seggio e voto al governatore di Fiume alla tavola degli magnati, e al deputato di Fiume alla tavola degli Ordini. Per non frapporre ulteriori indugi all’ardente desiderio degli Stati ed Ordini, la città e porto di Fiume, che già dall’augusta imperatrice e regina Maria Teresa furono mediante speciale diploma incorporati nel regno, con questo articolo di legge si dichiarano, assenziente Sua Maestà, appartenenti al regno; in pari tempo poi: § I. si concede seggio e voto al governatore di Fiume alla dieta, alla tavola dei magnati, come pure ai deputati di Fiume alla tavola degli Stati ed Ordini. *La Bilancia* 12 marzo 1881.

PROVINCES ILLYRIENNES (1809 – 1813)

The stability that should have followed the law from 1807 wasn't about to last long, and *de facto* the law was never applied. A decade after the French revolution will start a series of wars with which the Hapsburgs will always be involved. After two brief occupations in 1797 and 1805, a French government was introduced in 1809, with Fiume included in the "Illyrian provinces" with the seat in Ljubljana.¹⁷²

The Illyrian Provinces were created by the Treaty of Schönbrunn in 1809 when the Austrian Empire ceded the territories of Carinthia, Carniola, Croatia southwest of the river Sava, Gorizia and Gradisca, and Trieste to the French Empire after the Austrian defeat at the Battle of Wagram. These territories lying north and east of the Adriatic Sea were amalgamated into the Illyrian Provinces, technically part of France, the capital of which was established at Ljubljana, in modern Slovenia. The territory of the Republic of Ragusa, which was annexed to France in 1808, was also integrated into the Illyrian Provinces. The loss of the Austrian and Hungarian littoral to the French rule made the Habsburg Empire completely landlocked.

The 5th of April the "organic decree" settled the administration. The provinces initially consisted of seven provinces: Carinthia (capital Lienz), Istria (Trieste), Carniola (Ljubljana), Civil Croatia (Karlovac), Military Croatia (Senj), Dalmatia (Zadar), and the Ragusa and Kotor province (Dubrovnik). In 1811 Illyrian provinces saw an administrative reorganization. The seat of the Governor General was Ljubljana; the country was initially divided in 4 intendancies (Ljubljana, Karlovac, Trieste, Zadar) and 10 sub-intendancies. Later that year, the number of intendancies was extended to eight, with Villach, Gorizia, Rijeka and Dubrovnik being elevated to intendancy rank. The City constitutes a special "District of Fiume" within Civil Croatia with 3 districts Karlovac, Fiume, Senj with the seat in Karlovac.

A special commission of 5 patricians under the lead of the justice rectors had to deal principally with the problems of quartering of the French troops. In Fiume as elsewhere the Municipal Magistrate was substituted with a Maire with 4 adjutants, and assisted by the "Council" of 20 members, under the direct dependence of the central government in Ljubljana. Its representative was the general intendant of the finances. Two Chambers of Commerce were established, at Trieste and at Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and later also in Fiume, for the first time in Croatia.¹⁷³

The French were to make of the Illyrian provinces a bridge to the oriental traffic so there was a considerable rise of the land-based traffic with the Levant.¹⁷⁴

The British Navy imposed a blockade of the Adriatic Sea, effective since the Treaty of Tilsit (July 1807), which brought merchant shipping to a standstill, a measure most seriously affecting the economy of the Dalmatian port cities. An attempt by joint French and Italian forces to seize the British-held Dalmatian island of Vis failed on October 22, 1810.

Napoleon's exclusively land-based customs enforcers could not stop British smugglers, especially as these operated with the connivance of Napoleon's chosen rulers of Spain, Westphalia and other German states, who faced severe shortages of goods from the French colonies. The embargo encouraged British merchants to aggressively seek out new markets and to engage in smuggling with continental Europe.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² After the armistice at Znaim (Znojmo) Austria had to give up several territories. The eastern part was put under the French- Illyrian jurisdiction, with the able guide of Marshall Auguste Frederic Louis Marmont, the southern under French-Italian jurisdiction. The cessions pertained to the southern parts of Carinthia, Carniola, the Eastern Tyrolian Puster valley, Friuli, Trieste, Istria Dalmatia as well as Fiume (Fiume) and Western Croatia as Hungarian contributions to the surrender. in Kann p. 224

¹⁷³ After being suspended in 1814 a new one will be introduced - this time by the central Austrian administration in Vienna in 1851.

¹⁷⁴ Pivec-Stellè, *La vie économique des provinces illyriennes, 1809 – 1813*, Paris, Editions Bassard, 1930.

¹⁷⁵ Crouzet Francois. 1958. *L'économie britannique et le Blocus continental*, Economica, Paris. A modern study is Marzagalli, Silvia. 1999 *Les Boulevards de la Fraude. Le Négoce Maritime et le Blocus Continental, 1806 - 1813*. Presses Universitaires de Septentrion, Paris.

In Fiume they found Andrea Lodovico de Adamich, and the volume of his trade raised so successfully that by growth Fiume even surpassed Trieste. The English with their base on the island of Lissa.¹⁷⁶ A. L. Adamich became the wealthiest and most powerful merchant in Fiume. A remarkable figure who traded with the British, the French and the Austrians during the age of the blockade.¹⁷⁷ He will be very active in the political and cultural life of the City as well. His political and commercial connections constituted a wide network, very revealing of the position of Fiume and the surrounding region in the context of international relations. The enthusiasm he shows for the project of the "Illyrian kingdom" of the "reborn Illyrian nation" is nevertheless a remarkable statement and one of the very rare expressions of South Slav patriotism in the early nineteenth century.¹⁷⁸ It seems that the idea of an "Illyrian Nation" was actively fostered by the French and that it had a certain degree of popularity among the people.¹⁷⁹ Predictably, Adamich was not perceived as trustworthy to the police Austrian informants in Fiume.¹⁸⁰

The French administration, headed by a Governor-General, introduced civil law (Code civil) across the provinces. This was a major change to Croatian territories, which hitherto had been under Austrian Military Administration. August de Marmont was the first to be appointed as the Governor-General of the provinces on October 8, 1809, and held his post until January 1811.¹⁸¹

In August 1813, Austria declared war on France. Austrian troops led by General Franz Tomassich invaded the Illyrian provinces. Croat troops enrolled in the French army switched sides. Zadar surrendered to Austrian forces after a 34 day siege on December 6, 1813. At Dubrovnik an insurrection expelled the French and a provisional Ragusan administration was established, hoping for the restoration of the Republic. It was occupied by Austrian troops on September 20, 1813. The Gulf of Kotor and its environs were occupied in 1813 by Montenegrin forces, which held it until 1814, when the appearance of an Austrian force caused the Prince of Montenegro to turn over the

¹⁷⁶ Ivan Avakumovic, An Episode In The Continental System in the Illyrian Provinces, *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 14. No 3 (Summer, 1954), pp. 254-261.

¹⁷⁷ Ivan Avakumovic, An Episode In The Continental System in the Illyrian Provinces, *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 14. No 3 (Summer, 1954), pp. 254-261, also Crouzet Francois. 1958. *L'economie britannique et le Blocus continental*, Economica, Paris, pp. on Adamich, in english documents he is reported as Adamick.

¹⁷⁸ A letter from the police informer Andrea Dorotich to Vienna suggests the reception of Illyria in the hearts of local people: *Ho tenuto un lungo colloquio col sig. Andrea Adamich sopra diversi oggetti politici, per conoscere le tendenze di quel governo a cui egli serve. Fra le interessanti materie mi comunicò, che gl'officiali francesi li quali accostano il maresciallo Marmont riferirono a lui in più occasioni, che le province iliriche devono avere un sovrano particolare; che alle medesime dovranno aggregarsi tutta la Croazia la Slavonia, il Sirmio, una porzione del Banato, la Bosnia, ed una parte della Servia. Di tale partaggio, e della formazione del contemplato regno, pareva essere persuaso esso stesso sig Adamich, asserendo, che con uno sistema nuovo, che li francesi sapranno adottare alla nazione illirica, potrà questa risorgere, ed occupare il principale posto fra le nazioni europee. Già è deciso egli disse, della rigenerazione politica di tutte le nazioni. Li francesi sono tutti intenti ad effettuarla. Li sovrani dominanti l'Europa non sono più a tempo di poter arrestare le premeditate riforme.* Andrea Dorotich Agram li 19 Settembre 1810. In Verwaltungsarchiv Wien (AVA), Polizeihofstelle, Rote nr. 318 ex 1810.

¹⁷⁹ See Roksandić, Drago. 1987. "Francusko imperijalno iliristvo u ilirskim pokrajinama", *Jugoslavenski historijski časopis*, 3 (1987), pp. 17-35

¹⁸⁰ Agostino Danni in a letter from March 1813, before the arrival of the Austrian troops, gives such a description of the powerful Fiuman merchant A. L. Adamich: "*Il Andrea Lodovico Adamich in apparenza patriota zelante, ed in sostanza soggetto pericolosissimo per lo stato, poichè spronato dal suo interesse privato, macchina continuamente dell'impresе tendenti a distruggere li luoghi pii, per appropriarsi con poco o niente dei loro beni, eccita la popolazione al lusso, lochè forma un passione allo Stato; (...) (impo)ssibile il combinare l'essenza di buon francese con quella di buon austriaco, o se anche ... de d'esser quest'ultimo lo è per nuovo egoismo e per conseguenza come tale di non farsi ... il menomo conto, poichè offrendogli de' (...) gi da un partito sarà sicuramente a tradirne (...) altro; rimanendo altresì inalterabile ra (...) circa la fedeltà l'osservanza esatta della (...) propria religione; non potrà aspettarsi fedeltà quindi il principe da colui, il quale n'è infedele alla sua religione, come lo sono appunto tutti li qui da me descritti.*" in AVA Polizihofstelle, nr. 103. The letters were damaged in the 1927 fire of the Justizpalast.

¹⁸¹ On April 9 the same year, Henri-Gratien Bertrand was appointed, who held this post until February 1812, when, on February 21, he was succeeded by Jean-Andoche Junot. The last Governor-General was Joseph Fouché, who was appointed in July 1813 and held his post for only one month.

territory to Austrian administration on June 11. The British withdrew from the occupied Dalmatian islands in July 1815, following the Battle of Waterloo.

“ILLYRIAN LITTORAL” AND RESTORATION (1814 – 1822)

The Napoleonic wars had devastating effects to the trade in the Adriatic. With the continental blockade and the British control of the trade the old connections were interrupted. Nevertheless, the Fiuman economy ended up with the finances ravaged by the burdensome fiscal tax burden left from the French. The English General Nugent, serving the Austrian Empire, liberated the town from the reign of the “Illyrian passing glory” on 26th of August, 1813.¹⁸²

Stjepan Antoljak reports that when the Austrian troops entered Karlovac from Zagreb the population in Karlovac was divided among pro-Austrians and French supporters. Antoljak notices that especially the clergy and the nobility after the Austrian conquest eagerly demanded the renewal of the Hungarian rule and the "old rights" (stare pravice). Antoljak reports that "curiously" there were also people from the provinces that were agitating for the incorporation into the estates of Carniola.¹⁸³ The *Kreis* of Karlovac was part of the Imperial Military Frontier and reputedly here and in Fiume the French rule will have the greatest proponents. Agostino Danni in the same report sent to the police of Vienna 11 sept. 1813 notices that the imperial troops were not received with enthusiasm.

The emperor nominated General Gjurkovic vice governor of provincial Croatia with the littoral. The Bishop M. Vrhovac was the responsible as a banski namjesnik (banal locumtenent) of the whole region, now defined "Transsavan Croatia" and that belonged to the Illyrian provinces. Bishop Vrhovac was very active in removing all the remnants of the French administration.¹⁸⁴ The old "municipal administration" and the "Hungarian constitution" were promptly restored in the entire region, now under the control of the imperial armies.¹⁸⁵ According to Antoljak, Vrhovac feared that "Transsavan Croatia" could remain permanently divided from Croatia so he hurried up to secure it under Hungarian Croatian rule.¹⁸⁶ General Gjurkovic (vice governor of provincial Croatia with the

¹⁸² "politica machiavellica, colla quale gli partitanti avversari intimando le popolazioni si sforzarono con falsa massione di farle distogliere da siffatti adozioni, e principalmente dall'insorgenza popolare, che forma la maggior soggezione del nemico, e contro cui non v'è forza armata che regga quando vien avversamente condotta come un tanto a sufficienza ce lo dimostrano le Spagne e ad anche un esempio di fresco nell'Istria fu ad antiquitus imperiale austriaco dove l'insorgenza popolare spalleggiata soltanto da 7 cavallerizzi e 40 pedoni fece avendo (contro)600 circa persone, e facilitò la vittoria riportata sull'inimico dal prode generale sig conte di Nugent tra Fiume ed Adelsperg, e tra Fiume e Matteredie li 7 del corrente poiché se ciò non accadeva venendo quelli da Pisino per il Monte Maggiore, o sia Caldiero verso Castua e San Matteo potevano bene prender alle spalle il corpo austriaco, e tenere esposta questa città all'incursione loro; a mio debole senso ciò bastar deve in questo merito per far conoscere ad evidenza, che conviene adottare generalmente la detta massima dell'insorgenza popolare, ma su sode basi preparando a tempo debito, e disponendo le cose necessarie, vale a dire scegliendo nelle rispettive comuni la gente abile a portare l'armi provvedendola delle medeme, delle munizioni e di qualche vettovagli, ed incorporandola anche alla milizia rolata per un quest'ultimo darle un appoggio; e che secondo la mia primitiva sopraccitata esposizione le persone, le quali sotto il passato regime tirannico influenza negl'affari non dovrebbero esser tollerate sotto il presente qua non godenti la confidenza popolare, e per conseguenza pericolose agl'interessi dello stato." in AVA Polizihosftelle, nr. 103. The letters were damaged in the 1927 fire of the Justizpalast.

¹⁸³ Stjepan Antoljak. "Prekosavska Hrvatska i pitanje njene reinkorporacije (1813 - 1822)", in Stjepan Antoljak. 1994. *Hrvati u povijesti*, Split, Knjizevni krug, p. 840

¹⁸⁴ Maksimilijan Vrhovac (born November 23, 1752 in Karlovac, died December 16, 1827 in Zagreb) was the bishop of Zagreb. He was one of the ideological architects of the Croatian national revival. Vrhovac studied in Vienna and Bologna before becoming a vice rector, and later rector, at the seminary in Zagreb as well as a professor of dogma at the Academy in Zagreb. Emperor Joseph II promoted him to rector of the seminary in Pest before he returned to Croatia as bishop.

¹⁸⁵ Stjepan Antoljak. "Prekosavska Hrvatska i pitanje njene reinkorporacije (1813 - 1822)", in Stjepan Antoljak. 1994. *Hrvati u povijesti*, Split, Knjizevni krug, p. 840

¹⁸⁶ The 6th of October 1813 the Croatian estates (*Comit. Zagr. Congregationalia*) sent a letter to the Consiglio luogotenenziale, the Hungarian palatine, to the Ban and its substitute claiming that the "unholy French regime" has divided the region by force from the rest of the country. The Austrians reportedly were not willing to reincorporate the region under the old Hungarian rules therefore this political activity of the bishop and the clergy was seen as a cause of perturbations.

littoral) was sent in October 1813 to Fiume where the administration was in the hands of the consigliere di governo Giovanni Susani¹⁸⁷ and the inspector Karlo Mayer. Reputedly, in Fiume the French constitution was still in force.

The introduction of the Hungarian constitution instead of the French caused growing protests in Ljubljana - seat of the government - but also at the local level in Fiume. The introduction of the Hungarian constitution done by the Croatian estates under the leadership and initiative of the Bishop Vrhovac was a clear attempt to extend the control to these parts which historically belonged to Croatia but which were effectively separated from it since a couple of centuries.

The conflict between the estates from Ljubljana and Zagreb intensified. The day 22nd of September there was the assembly of the transsavan estates in Karlovac gathered to discuss the swear and the election of the deputies to be sent to Ljubljana. The letter they sent to the emperor to justify their decision is a remarkable statement, that can be considered as an expression of a nation that bargains a better position within an empire.¹⁸⁸ Antoljak uses the term "nation" in the ambiguous Slavic form (*narod*) folk - meaning both *natio* and *populus*, here actually means the estates - then constituted exclusively by the clergy and the nobility.¹⁸⁹

Emperor Franz in Frankfurt decided to put the regained Illyrian provinces under military occupation - that is under exceptional rule.¹⁹⁰ Lattermann - the new Austrian governor of the Illyrian provinces - asked Gjurkovic and its substitute to swear the fidelity to the emperor and the new provinces within the Illyrian kingdom until the 2nd of October in Ljubljana. The bishop Vrhovac had to present himself the 4th. In the meanwhile the government in Ljubljana explicitly prohibited the use of the term "Estates of the Transsavan parts of the Kingdom of Croatia".

Antoljak gives to this a pro Croat reading denying legitimacy to the similar claims made by the competing centres Ljubljana or Trieste to rule over the region. In fact the *gubernium* of Trieste quickly introduced a series of new administrative measures and regulations in the transsavan Croatia: marriage rules, legacy, a civil code and new land law valid for all subjects – peasants, nobleman and clergy alike. New taxes inherited from the French such as that of stamp duties were preserved. The administration, claims Antoljak quoting contemporary complaints, had become burdensomely pedantic and intrusive, but most of the reports and the very activity against this

¹⁸⁷ Note: Adamich writes negatively about him in 1814! (Giovanni Susanni)

¹⁸⁸ They cannot swear in Ljubljana since they do not know the laws of the Austrian empire. If they do it they will be traitors of the constitution and the (Hungarian - Croatian) crown. Therefore, after a vote with a majority of 523:3 they decided to refuse to swear. They declared to be the "purest Catholics; their leaders have decided to unite with the Hungarian Holy Crown of King Ladislav and Koloman, and the emperor himself freed them of any duty to swear". In any case the form of the declaration was to be changed: instead on the "advantage of the Austrian Empire" to "preserve the sense of the Hungarian constitution" had to be added. They complained about the Austrian laws interceded by the government in Ljubljana. They mentioned the long series of sacrifices they sustained for the empire. The lands of the military frontier they had to give for the security of the empire and that of the emperor himself. After having sustained so many losses in the Greek Venetian and Turk wars, now they were about to lose their western territories (Illyrian provinces) and be permanently divided from their brothers so they will lose their mores language fatherland and folk wear? They concluded that the paternal emperor would know how to solve the question. The form and the content of the document stick perfectly with the earlier discursive tradition of the Croatian estates which dates back with the same form and content with that same shared memories from at least the Turkish wars and the measures they took during that periods. in Antoljak. 1994., p. 861 - 862

¹⁸⁹ Namely, in the case of Croatia the nobility, clergy, free cities and later also its intelligentsia had an idea of Croatian nation (*natio croatica*) that did not include the lower social strata regardless of its Croat ethnicity. It was based on the historical rights, on the territories ruled by the Croat nobility. As Dusko Sekulic puts it "This imagined territory (not community) was much broader than the territory actually under its control because it was based on the idea of medieval Croatian states that existed before the Ottoman conquest." The ideology persisted well in the nineteenth century. see STANCIC, NIKSA 1999 'Etnicnost na hrvatskom prostoru u XIX stoljecu: od etnicke zajednice, plemickog naroda i pokrajinskih partikularizama do hrvatske integracije', in E. Hersak (ed.), *Etnicnost i povijest*, Zagreb: Institut za migracije i narodnosti, Naklada Jesenski i Turk, Hrvatsko sociolosko drustvo pp. 123–5. and Sekulic, Dusko. "Civic and ethnic identity: The case of Croatia", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 27 No. 3 May 2004 pp. 455–483

¹⁹⁰ Antoljak. 1994., p. 845

centralist and modernising efforts comes from the bishop Vrhovac, who was its strongest opponent.¹⁹¹

Vienna was reluctant to reincorporate "Transsavan Croatia" (or "Illyrian Croatia") probably because of Metternich's policy towards the region. In the Restoration 1814-1822 Fiume is put under the ephemeral "Illyrian Kingdom".¹⁹² Fiume under the Austrian administration lost its prerogatives it had within Hungary. The city produced a memorandum against the continuation of the Illyrian Provinces this time with a new name Illyrian Kingdom. This is illegitimate according to the memorandum since the subjects of Fiume were not liberated by the imperial forces but they freed themselves and fought with their own arms at hand.¹⁹³ Later, an esposto del provv. Presidente magistratuale del 27 ottobre 1813 claimed that they were freed from a government that: "da un alto precludeva qualunque via di lucro e dall'altro toglieva tutto colle micidiali imposte". We do not know the extent of the enthusiasm claimed after the end of the French rule, but the fiscal burden was undeniably oppressive.

A year later, in a letter to Hudelist (Fiume 28 luglio 1814) Adamich, also purports the restoration of the Hungarian littoral, but probably for very different reasons as those adduced by bishop Vrhovac.¹⁹⁴ The Austrian administrative network took from the French its centralizing premises, to which the feared competition with Trieste was restored. The City is (*einverelebt*) within the Austrian empire. The city is administered by a Civic Magistrate (i.r. Magistrato politico – economico) whose members are nominated by the state. Austrian absolutism introduced the German language in schools in the judicial and even in the municipal administration its use becomes mandatory, what causes widespread protest.¹⁹⁵

During the Restoration "Cesareo Regio Governo per il Litorale" from Trieste was composed of the "Kreise" of Gorizia, Trieste, Fiume, and Carlstadt (Karlovac). The Circle of Fiume corresponds roughly to the District of Fiume included in the Province of Civil Croatia of the Illyrian provinces. Later, the Littoral was subdivided in 4 "Circles" (Kreise): Gorizia (Görz), Fiume (Istrien; Istria orientale e le isole del Quarnero), Trieste (Triest; hinterland di Trieste e l'Istria ex veneta), e Trieste (Triester Stadtgebiet). After a series of changes in 1818 the following structure is adopted:

¹⁹¹ Antoljak. 1994., p. 879-883. - In effect the complains were typical and ubiquitous signs and reaction to the modern centralized bureaucratic state.

¹⁹² The development of south Slav nationalism in the area will take a different path probably thanks to a direct intercession of Metternich and his collaborators such as Saurau and Lazanski. They will foster a new kingdom - Illyria and therefore a new national identity: the Illyrian one from which Jugoslavism will be born as an instrument to weaken the traditionally pro-Hungarian Croatian estates. The statement precedes for decades the birth of the official nationalism in the area when L. Gaj founded the Illyrianist party against the Hungarian nationalist movement that overtly curbed the interests and traditions of the Croatian nobility.

¹⁹³ Kobler p. 89

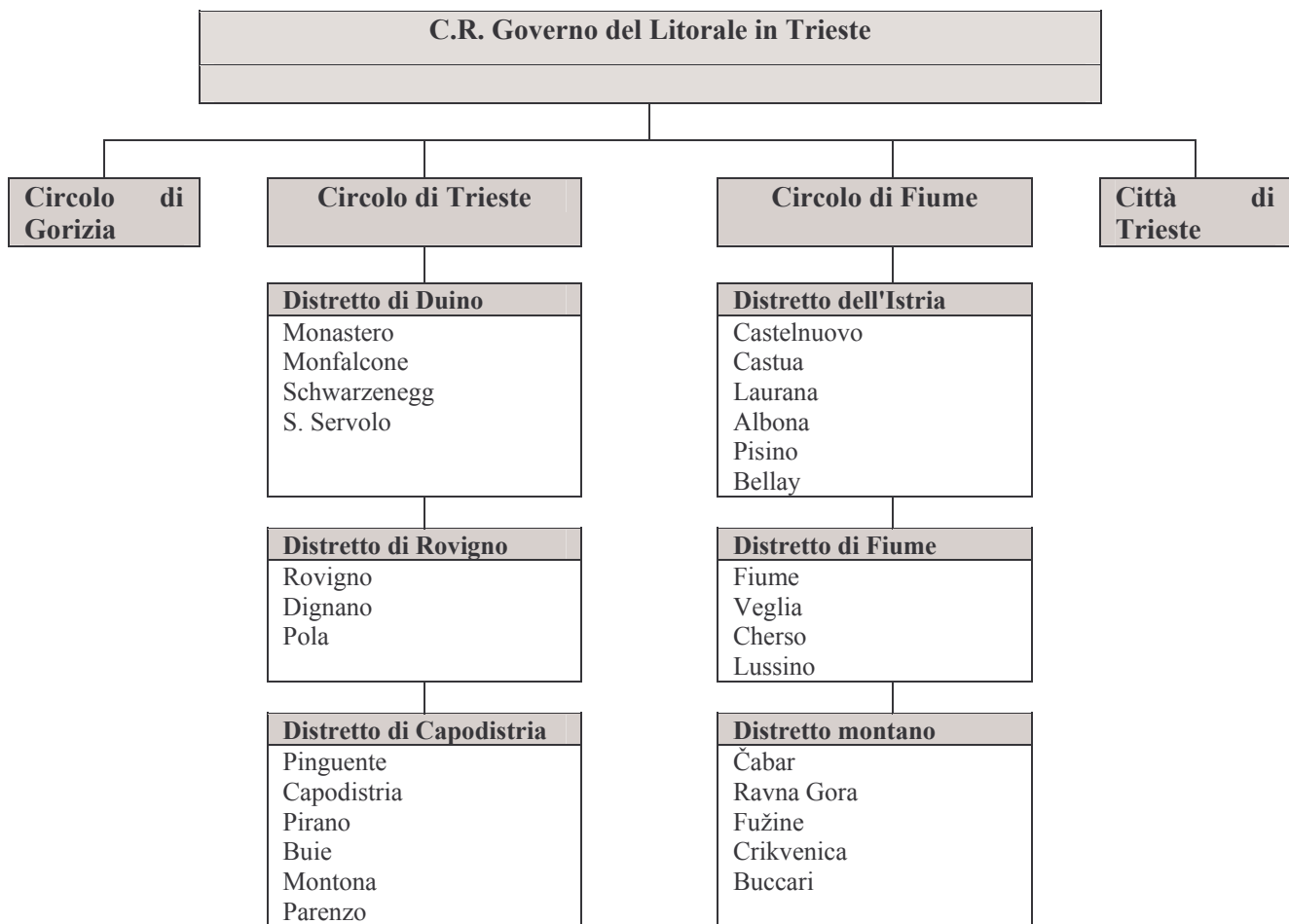
¹⁹⁴ *Questo litorale va sempre più mancando ne può rimettersi dal sofferto flagello francese se non viene interamente ripristinato nei privilegi e facilitazioni del anno 1809 e perirà affatto se continueranno levare le contribuzioni sul piede francese e se si pone sotto Trieste come un capitanato circolare come lo medita il PA di Saurau – ho conferito nell'affare col gen mag conte di Nugent reale passaggio che fece per cui il quale ebbe il sublime merito d aver il primo liberato questo paese che conosce appieno tute le località per dare le migliori informazioni. Egli è di sentimento che questo litorale merita un governo separato ed indipendente da Trieste e dalla Dalmazia con tutte le facilitazioni che godeva nell'anno 1809 – fino a tanto che alle alte viste di S. M. piacerà o converrà di rimetterlo sotto l'Ungheria o altrimenti meglio felicitarlo. Oltre il nuovo diritto di riconquista S. M. ne tiene l'anziano di proprietà particolare e familiare della gloriosa casa d'Austria per avere avuto in eredità ne più remoti tempi dalli conti Walsee, che vi erano li sovrani. Il sudato conte di Nugent promise di spiegarlo ed informare il principe di Metternich sicche io non faccio che prevenire ed impegnar il E V giacché così esige il bene e salvezza di questo litorale.* Adamich to Hudelist Fiume 28 luglio 1814 Adamich, HHSA, fond Hudelist, nr?

¹⁹⁵ See the Several reports from the Kreis Hauptmann bar. De Grimischitz, in Mitis, *Alcuni documenti dell'archivio capitanale di Pisino*, Parenzo, 1924.



Map of the Kingdom of Illyria¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ Retrieved from: http://www.istrianet.org/istria/maps/vintage/1835_illyrien.htm



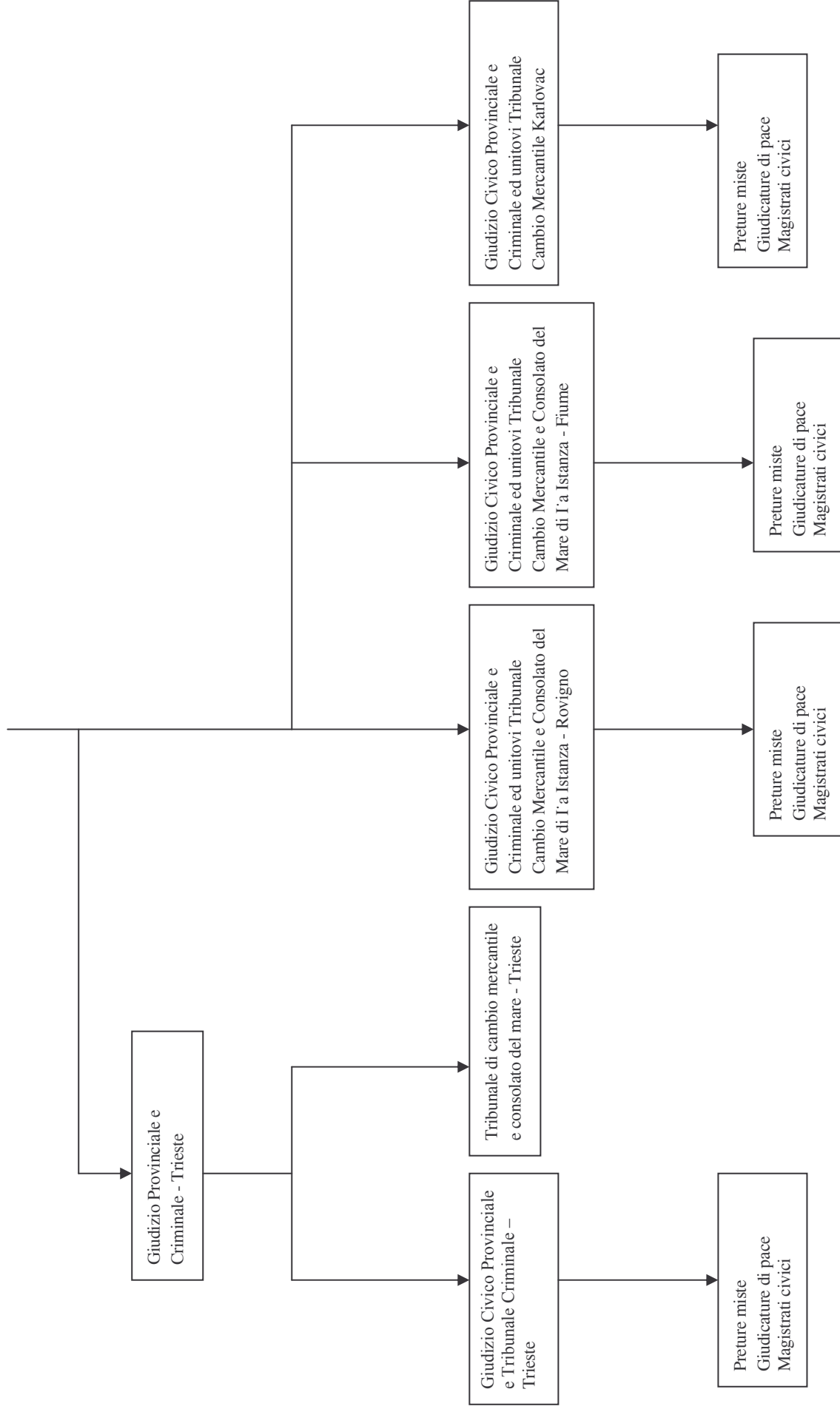
From: "Haupt Ausweis über die Eintheilung des Gouvernements des Küstenlandes im Kreise, Distrikte, Bezirke, Hauptgemeinden, und Untergemeinden, dann deren Häuser und Seelen Anzahl für Jahr 1818."

After the French occupation and the Austrian restoration the administration of justice was regulated with decree 08. 10. 1813. At the top of the pyramid is the Court of Appeal for the Austrian interior, seated in Klagenfurt as a court of III instance to whom is under the Superior Tribunale di Capodistria of II instance. In Fiume as in other cities there are the civic and provincial courts, tribunals of I instance, (Giudizi Civici e Provinciali) instituted with the Aulic Decree 4th May 1816, (04.05.1816. - cf. Stulli 1984:16-7).

For every Circle there was a Provincial Tribunal (Giudizio Civico Provinciale e Criminale). By these courts are instituted independent judicial authorities like the Exchange Court (Tribunale Cambio Mercantile) and the Consulate of the Sea (Consolato del Mare). The Provincial and Criminal Civic court of Lubljana from 1815 to the 1822 functions as Appeals Court for Civil Croatia of the Illyrian Kingdom. From 15. 09. the 1817. Judgment of appeal for inner Austria in Klagenfurt of III instance ceases to be the Appeals Court for the Istria, Gorizia, Fiume, and Karlovac and until the 17.07.1822, this function of Appeals Court is up to the Giudizio di appello e Superior Tribunale Criminale di II istanza di Fiume.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ cf. Stulli, Bernard. *Istarsko okružje. 1825-1860*, Rijeka-Pula, 1984, pp. 16-7, and circular of the Judgment of appeal for inner Austria N° 718. /Gub.N° 17457 of 19. 09. 1817, Imperial Decree from 17.06.1817.

GIUDIZIO DI APPELLO E SUPERIOR TRIBUNALE CRIMINALE DI II ISTANZA DI FIUME



“HUNGARIAN LITTORAL” RESTORED 1823 – 1848

Already in 1823 the “Tipografia fratelli Karletzky” (which acted also as the official publisher for the Commune), published an anonymous booklet that already contained some of the “tropes of discourse” that marked all of the later municipal tradition.¹⁹⁸ Namely, the City is a distinct political community - a political subject; Its representatives are a restricted number of patricians and citizens that is, those entitled with the right to vote and to be represented within the municipal government.

The purpose of the book was to describe and celebrate how Fiume, after the brief Napoleonic rule under the “Illyrian Provinces” rejoined the Hungarian kingdom and was put under its sovereignty. The political community – “the people” are the patricians and the citizens and the merchants - an elite who had political rights and were a “selected society”.¹⁹⁹ It is this “political people” who is entitled to make the choices. Their choice assures economic interest which brings prosperity to the whole community, and this justifies and legitimises their action. The tropes of discourse are the “piccola patria”, but also the metaphor of the family is used, suggesting a small face to face community.²⁰⁰

The real problem the traders and patricians of Fiume feared was to stay put under the administration of a centralised empire. This happened after the Restoration in 1814 and Vienna supported his own possession and commercial emporium Trieste. Fiume was interesting only to Hungarians while from the Austrians they could expect direct concurrence and outflow of investment toward the port of Trieste. The Cesareo Regio Governo per il Litorale was not beloved, as reflected by a memoir written in 1823 to celebrate the liberation from the hated and feared “Governo Triestino” was clearly argued:

*La pace del 1814 restituì Fiume all’Austriaco scettro (...) aggregandola nello stesso tempo al Governo delle coste marittime residente in Trieste. Per quanto mite e benefico esser potesse verso noi questo governo, egli ci faceva però sentire la mancanza d’un proprio fra le nostre mura stabilito, tanto utile e necessario per promuovere gl’interessi d’una commerciale marittima città.*²⁰¹

The Hungarian Kingdom, along with the annexed Kingdom of Croatia had more experience and sensitivity about the importance of its needs and interests. The purpose to which it refers are obviously only those that participate in the commerce of the City, and by doing this enhance the overall well being. The main political legitimisation comes out of commercial and industrial interests. There is no reference to the nation but only to legal precedents. Cultural or ethnical characteristics of the population are not mentioned at all.

The new Hungarian governor, Joseph Majlath (son of the first Hungarian governor in Fiume) took over the duty on 15th October 1822. The City greeted, according to the anonymous author, the arrival of Majlath, son of the first Hungarian governor of Fiume with these words:

Il vedere l’illustre figlio di colui che 45 anni sono a noi recò il primo soave ungarico governo, ricondurlo dopo tanti anni, e tante sventure nuovamente fra noi, desto il pianto di gioia non

¹⁹⁸ Anonymous, 1823. *La reincorporazione di Fiume all’inclito Regno d’Ungheria*. Memorie. Fiume Tipografia fratelli Karletzky.

¹⁹⁹ *Una scelta Società di Nobili, Cittadini, e Negozianti si radunò nella trattoria del Teatro, per ivi celebrare a lieto pranzo un giorno sì bello.* ibid. p. 46

²⁰⁰ *In questa guisa terminò lietamente una giornata, che in tutto il suo corso presentava continuamente la bella idea di una festa, che in avventurosi incontri dar sole una buona numerosa famiglia.* ibid. p. 53

²⁰¹ Anonymous, 1823. *La reincorporazione di Fiume all’inclito Regno d’Ungheria*. Memorie. Fiume Tipografia fratelli Karletzky, pp.15 - 16

*soltanto sul ciglio di quelli, che spettatori furono nove lustri sono, d'una eguale augusta funzione, ma sul ciglio di tutti, (...)*²⁰²

The words of Majlath were fairly clear about the spirit of restoration:

*Io chiamo di ciò in testimonio la patria tutta, che congregata in comizi, con tanti e sì ardenti voti desiderò di vedere Fiume ad essa riunito; e chi mai non spera di vedere tornare quello, che di già è stato?*²⁰³

*Ciò che questa libera e marittima Città con sì ardenti voti desiderava e che per un dono dell'ottimo principe di già le fu concesso, verrà oggi compiuto: si ripristina il Corpo Patriziale, viene al medesimo restituita quella parte di pubblica giurisdizione, la quale anticamente esercitava.*²⁰⁴

*le cose avvenute esigono da noi giustizia e sacrificj transitorii. – il diritto d'elezione verrà conservato per l'avvenire illibato; per questa volta non si estenderà a quelli a' quali sotto la fede pubblica furono conferiti gli uffizi stabili.*²⁰⁵

Emperor Francis, with a rescript in 1822, made autonomous the Kreise of Carlstadt and Fiume, and thereby restored the County of Severin, in November 1822.²⁰⁶ A year later, at the Congress of Verona, the Emperor sanctioned the return to the situation prior to 1809, fully reincorporating Fiume and “Transsavan Croatia”²⁰⁷ into the Hungarian and Croatian sovereignty. After the first arrival of Majlath in Fiume, a delegation was formed to be sent to Verona.

*Non bastava però al grato core dei fiumani l'esternare il loro giubilo, e la loro riconoscenza per un tanto e sì segnalato beneficio dal migliore dei sovrani ricevuto, essi anelavano di umiliare I sentimenti della loro sudditale devozione, amore, ed eterna gratitudine all'augusto suo trono; I loro voti furono ben tosto compiuti, essendo stati aggregati I loro deputati, li signori Iginio Scarpa, Massart, e A. L. Adamich alla Deputazione, che gli Stati dei Regni di Croazia, e Slavonia inviarono, all'istesso effetto a Verona, ove l'Impareggiabile Monarca trovavasi. Contemporaneamente alla Deputazione partì pure a quella stessa volta il nostro benefattore S. E. il Sig. Conte de Majlath.*²⁰⁸

The Croatian Ban gave homage in Verona with the following words:

La forza delle mondane vicende poteva bensì per qualche tempo separare una parte della Croazia dalla possente alleanza degli austriaci stati, ma I cuori degli abitanti di quella rimasero anche sotto il dominio straniero indivisibilmente, e con sudditale inviolabile amore costantemente attaccati all'avito loro Signore, adorato Imperatore e Re.

Che se anche l'immensa paterna cura del nostro clementissimo imperatore s'estende egualmente sopra tute le remote provincie dell'Austria, e le rende felici; se anche il nome d'Illirio con egualmente gloriose rimembranze nella patria storia pompeggia, è ciò non ostante sommamente caro ai croati l'innato loro nome, come lo è l'avito loro re; ed appunto questo nome fu ridonato ora

²⁰² Anonymous, 1823. *La reincorporazione di Fiume*, p. 44

²⁰³ Anonymous, 1823. *La reincorporazione di Fiume*, p. 42

²⁰⁴ Anonymous, 1823. *La reincorporazione di Fiume.*, p. 91

²⁰⁵ Anonymous, 1823. *La reincorporazione di Fiume*, . p. 92

²⁰⁶ Žic, Igor. *A Short History of the City of Rijeka*, Adamić, Rijeka, 2007, p. 67.

²⁰⁷ Transsavia was the part of Croatia southwards from the river Sava, which was a part of the Illyrian provinces during the French occupation from 1809 - 1813.

²⁰⁸ Anonymous, 1823. *La reincorporazione di Fiume*, . pp. 53 – 54.

*ad una gran parte dei medesimi della propensione del clementissimo monarca mediante la benignamente pronunziata riunione delle parti da essa Croazia separate.*²⁰⁹

The inaugural discourse that Francesco de Urmeny (the new Hungarian governor of Fiume) delivered in front of the Fiuman elites was disturbingly unclear from a Croatian perspective:

*“Ora, che le passate vicende di molti anni, questo littorale, unitamente alla parte Transsavana del Regno di Croazia, in virtù della giustissima determinazione del’augustissimo nostro ottimo principe, e vero padre dei suoi sudditi, venne clementemente reincorporato all’Ungheria.”*²¹⁰

Namely, the Littoral is certainly a part of Hungary much less is the Littoral a part of Croatia. It is plausible to say that the local elites were pleased by the fact that they were detached from Croatia, or at least, that stronger links with Hungary were re-established, although the author never explicitly states this.

Andrea Lodovico Adamich and A Mihanovic went, as deputies of Fiume, at the first Diet held in Pressburg in 1825-26.²¹¹ Adamich, in a comment from the 24th of dec. 1825 he stated that *“gli affari dietali vanno passabilmente bene, ma con usual lentezza, perché si disputa più sopra le parole che sopra le essenzialità”*. Moreover, in a letter from the 21st January 1826, the push towards introducing the Hungarian as official language of the Diet, encountered staunch opposition among the Croatian representatives, for national reasons. Adamich was careful in presenting it in practical terms. Party cleavages were completely extraneous to his pragmatic spirit.

Ieri finalmente fu compilata e sottoscritta nella camera unita la rappresentanza a S.M. concernete la contribuzione passata - sopra la quale si attendeva la sovrana risoluzione. In ora sembrano li dietali alquanto più calmati, ma prevedo che ad ogni nova occasione accadrà lo stesso e li affari andranno protratti all’eternità ad onta della maggior energia che spiega il novo personale - ed il tutto la medesima cagione della cattiva organizzazione della Dieta stesa perché nelli dibattimenti circolari si raccolgono delli partiti, che alla dieta stessa non sono più distruggibili. Sopra questo particolare ho dati li miei pensieri in ferito al conte Saurau che lo desiderava, e credo fermamente che il re riorganizzare le formalità della dieta stessa senza toccare punto alcuno delli articoli privilegiali del Regno, ma per conseguire un più facile disbroglia degl’ affari. Per saper il vero sentimento di tutta la Nazione, e non quello dei partiti, e era quell’incontro ordinare che in entrambi le camere non venga ammesso altro linguaggio che il latino, perché dopo una deliberazione presa in lingua ungherese nascono delle questioni sopra le parole e termini delle versioni in latino, che pure devono farsi.

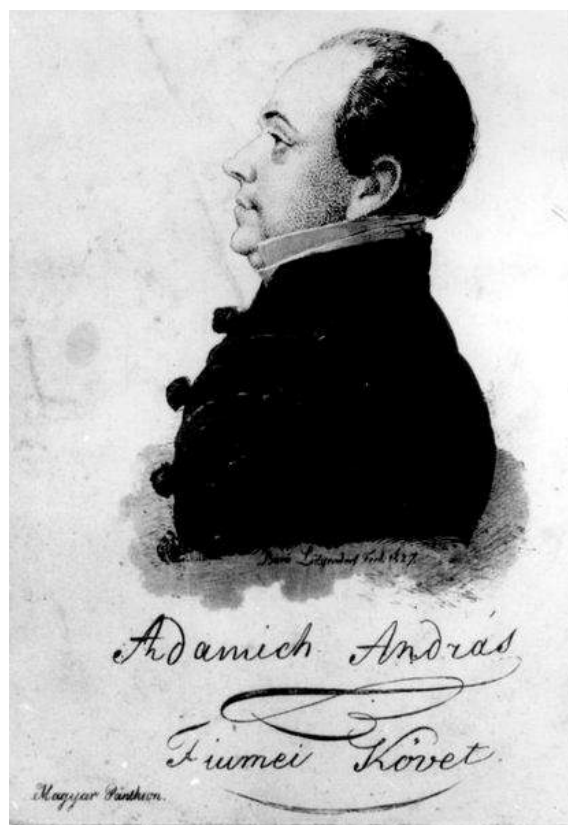
A plan of economic revitalisation of Fiume, almost certainly drafted by Adamich, was included in the official acts of the Diet. The *promemoria* written in Hungarian (*eszrevetelek*) was also printed and it circulated widely, but it produced no practical effect.

accepted it and the first printed statute of the commercial deputation appeared soon in 1829. That was the year of Adamich 's death.

²⁰⁹ *ibid.* pp. 72-73, I think the reference to the Illyrian Kingdom and its powerful symbolic significance as well as the relationship between the adjective “Illyrian” and “Croatian” extremely interesting and anticipatory, since it happened well before the beginnings of the Illyrianist movement in Croatia in the early Thirties.

²¹⁰ Anonymous, 1823. *La reincorporazione di Fiume*, p. 112

²¹¹ Suggesting that the City had the right to send two representatives at the Diet. A Mihanovic was a known Croatian patriot, author of the Croatian national anthem. It seems, therefore, that the deputation stressed its connections with Croatia, as if the enthusiasm of Adamich for the Illyrian kingdom was something more than a tactical move.



A Portrait of A.L. Adamich

Adamich, still Fiume's most influential merchant, find it important to have a *deputazione commerciale* in Fiume as well as the need for a national bank. The commercial Deputation was modelled on the previous French chamber of commerce. The Hungarian Vice-regency Council After the death of Adamich, the City lost its most capable merchant and entrepreneur of all times; surely the most capable to seize opportunities and adapt quickly to new situations. The period of *Vormarz* was poorly investigated. Danilo Klen published a detailed account of the economic life of the City. What it appears is a steady decay that will endure well into the fifties.²¹² In this years according to Klen trade will sunk, but on the other hand it is true that some far reaching programs of industrialization started, such as the building of paper mill (the first industrial factory in Croatia), the *Stabilimento Farine* etc.²¹³ Probably these initiatives were an *Ersatz* for the declining trade.²¹⁴

After the short governorship of Count György Majláth (1822–1823), Ferencz Ürményi was appointed, who was the first significant governor in the life of the town. Between 1823 and 1837, during his governorship, took place the first Hungarian state investments in the port. According to contemporary ideas, they wanted to develop the mouth of River Fiumara into a seaport suitable for sea-ships, so the constructions were started there.

There were studies of feasibility commissioned the Hungarian Vice-regency Council of the possibility to export Hungarian wheat and tobacco. It is in this time that in Hungary a modernisation

²¹² An important exception is Klen, Danilo. *Gospodarske prilike u Rijeci od 1813 do 1848 od ponovne austrijske okupacije do Bunjevčeva zauzeća*. Zagreb 1986, and Depoli, Attilio. "Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni precedenti", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno I, N.3-4, luglio-dicembre 1952, pp. 171-188.

²¹³ A fact confirmed also by archival sources: in the period 1830-1848 along with a strong decline of trade there is a marked rise in industrial investments, and the capital assets of merchant and trade houses are devoted mostly to industrial enterprises. In DARI - 0124 - TRGOVAČKO-MJENBENO SUDIŠTE I POMORSKI KONZULAT RIJEKA (Giudizio Cambio Mercantile e Consolato del Mare di Prima Istanza in Fiume) – registro di ditte insinuate, 1841-1856.

²¹⁴ Depoli, Attilio. "Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni precedenti", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno I, N.3-4, luglio-dicembre 1952, p. 174

program started under the lead of Count István Széchenyi.²¹⁵ His emissaries came to Fiume and explored the possibilities of expansion in order to make of Fiume the main port for exporting Hungarian agricultural products to the world market. The interaction with the Hungarian aristocracy is intense since count István Széchenyi reputedly visits Fiume several times. Modernization starts when the Hungarian authorities started to invest in the enlargement of the port.²¹⁶

The port at the time was limited by the shallow depths of the mouths of the river where most of the operative activity took place. By direct intervention of the count István Széchenyi, the fiumani started the works for the change of course of the river in order to avoid the filling with debris sediment of the mouth. The project was the most ambitious so far (initially, in 1845 it had an estimated cost of 260.000 guildens but later much augmented, seen the technical difficulties of the steep coastline and deep waters.

In the years preceding 1848 Fiume started to occupy relevance in the Hungarian press, and the projects for the modernization of the port, better connection with the hinterland with the planned railway that had to connect the great Hungarian plain of the Alföld with the sea, as well as the so-called *reluition* (riscatto) of the Lodovicea road.²¹⁷

Also this year, the Hungarian Navigation Company was set up by Lajos Kossuth, Lajos Marczibányi, Count Lajos Batthyány and Pál Szabó etc. But the Company dissolved itself in 1848 (because the money collected to an own ship was peculated). Besides this, other companies are related to Lajos Kossuth and his company, for example the well-going Flour-grinding Export Company.

In terms of the administration of justice, Fiume gained a privileged position. In Fiume the police office established by Austria in 1814 was abolished and the police returned to be a municipal affair – a marked difference with the Italian provinces of Austria.

When in 1822 Fiume returns to the Kingdom of Hungary, the changes produced extreme confusion in the Fiuman judicial system that beyond the preservation of the municipal institutions, arranges elements of Josephine reforms, to which overlap the Hungarian institutions with a marked feudal character: the Tribunal - an institution unknown to Hungarian judicial tradition is ceased in its territorial civil and criminal competencies. But, in a fascinating mixture of feudal elements (related to the land) and those of the sea – that were necessary for a port city, the Tribunale Cambio Mercantile remains and from 1822 increases its competences: it becomes competent for the subjects of the “Greek nation”, the “foreigners” and “consuls”, until that moment were of

²¹⁵ Count István Széchenyi, in Hungarian: Gróf Széchenyi István, born in Vienna, 21 September 1791 and died in Döbling, 8 April 1860. He was a Hungarian politician, theorist and writer, one of the greatest statesman of the Hungarian history. Besides his comprehensive political ideas, his attention was vastly concentrated on the development of transportation, the vital factor behind economical growth. Part of this program was the regulation of the lower Danube, from Pest to the Black sea. He became the leading figure of the project by the early 1830's. That time, the river was dangerous for sailing, therefore it was not efficient as an international trading route. Széchenyi recognised its potential for both the region and Hungary, and was successfully lobbying in Vienna for financial and political support. He was appointed as high commissioner and supervised the works for years. During this period, he travelled to Constantinople and built up relations on the Balkans.

²¹⁶ Palatine Joseph commissioned Franz Rauchmüller von Ehrenstein, the Hungarian general architectural director, to study the suitable ports and continental routes leading to them and develop plans. Between 1829 and 1831 Rauchmüller published his observations and suggestions in a nine volume book. In these books he suggested that Fiume should definitely be built up. The only explanation why he suggested Fiume and not any other nearby seaport was that Fiume had significant fresh-water supply, which was essential for the ports and for the later established industry of the town. The fair winds and the possibilities of the routes played an important role in making the decision, too. In this latter respect first the waterways (Duna–Sava–Kupa) and continental routes came into consideration, but both became obsolescent with the appearance of the railway, the era's new invention.

²¹⁷ The well-known debates of Kossuth and Széchenyi about how to build up the railway leading from Central Hungary to Fiume, when they appeared in Fiume in 1846 got more and more local citizens for their conceptions. In the same year one of the articles of Kossuth, titled “*To the Sea Hungarians! Go to the Sea!*” was published in a periodical of the Trade Association. This article later became a common saying in a modified form (and distorted content) as “*On Sea, Hungarians!*”

competence of the Tribunale di Cambio Mercantile di Trieste. Its functions are therefore limited to the commercial matters and with the foreigners.

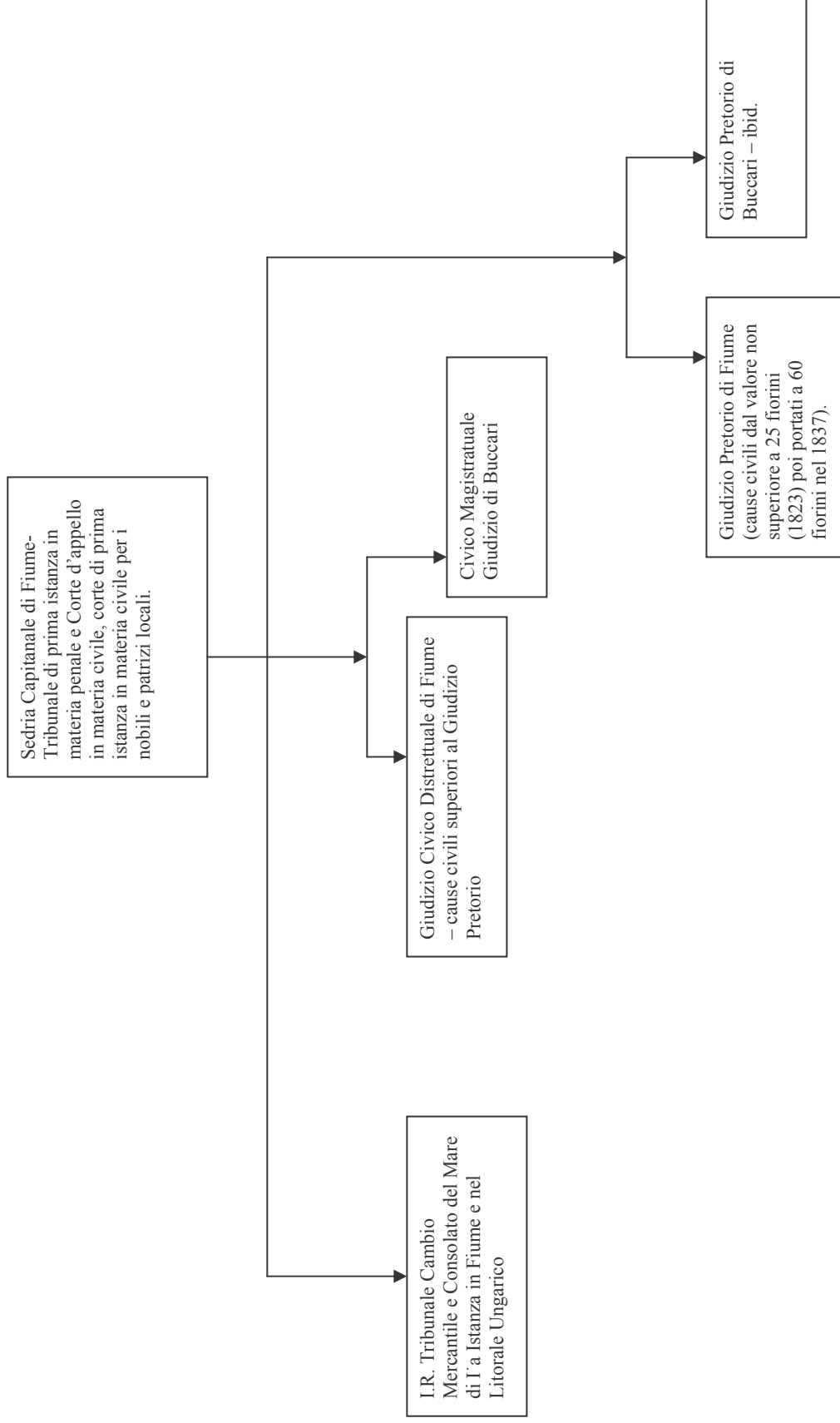
As a fore of first instance is the Civico Magistratuale Giudizio, while the Sede Giudiziaria Capitanale (founded in 1823) judges in second instance the civil sentences and first in penal matter. The real difference was that the latter judged the (predominantly Hungarian) nobles and the (predominantly Fiuman) patricians, while the first dealt with non nobles. In the spirit of restoration the Fiuman patricians preserved their corporate rights, and were judged by the judges from the Consiglio patriziale, as stated in the statute from 1530.

This situation produces a judicial paralysis and a “Delegated Court” (Giudizio Delegato) is instituted. It is a Court of Appeal for the Tribunale Cambio Mercantile e il Civico Magistratuale Giudizio (that inherits the civil and penal competences of the ceased tribunal - the Giudizio Civico e Provinciale di Fiume). In reality the “Giudizio Delegato” has a much wider jurisdiction - the Transsavan Croatia (that is the Province of the Civil Croatia of the ceased Illyrian Provinces, but its activity progressively ceases by the 1830s. Interestingly, most of the trials ended up unsolved.

After the annexation of Fiume to Hungary via Croatia in 1776 established that as a Court of Appeal was the *Tabula Banalis* in Zagreb, and as Supreme Court acted the *Tabula Septemviralis* in Buda.²¹⁸ Later, in 1808, it was decided to transfer to the court of Zagreb also the personal disputes of the Hungarian nobles residing in Fiume. Finally, the Law XIX 1836, settled the Fiuman administration of justice. As a First Instance Court acted the local fore of the Justice Rectors, as a Court of Appeal it was the Sede Giudiziaria Capitanale instituted by the office of the Hungarian governor and as a Court of Appeal there was directly the Supreme Court in Buda. Criminal causes in first instance at the Capitan seat, that was also the first instance court for personal disputes of the Hungarian nobles residing in Fiume.

²¹⁸ Within the framework of the judicial reform in 1723, the Act XXIV dealt with the *Tabula Septemviralis* (Table of Seven), the highest judicial forum consisting of seven judges and presided by the Palatine, who was at the same time the president of the whole Curia. Based on the development of law of earlier centuries, Act XXV regulated the position of the Royal Court of Appeal led by the Chief Judicial Representative, which had its first session on May 2, 1724. The Curia, made up of two forums, the Table of Seven and the Royal Table (or the Royal Court of Appeal), was turned into a permanent court working in Pest independently of the royal court, though it did not meet regularly until the reign of Joseph II. With the establishment of four and from 1726 onwards five regional courts beside the Curia the framework of jurisdiction valid up to 1868 was laid down.

A HÉTSZEMÉLYES TÁBLA, EXCELSA TABULA SEPTEMVIRALIS (SUPREME COURT) IN BUDA



To conclude, as the institutional situation in Fiume shows, the centralising efforts of the Hungarian state were almost nil. The city was incorporated, with its specificities inherited from the 18th century Austrian administration, in a way that practically did not interfere with the Hungarian administrative and judicial praxis, whose only manifestation in the city was the office of the governor.

The Fiuman patricians preserved their corporate rights, their statute (from 1530) granted them the right to be processed only by their justice rectors, and the Hungarian judicial system by the governors offices is there only to protect Hungarian citizens (nobleman) and their interests in the city. Everything that was specifically “Fiuman” – all the activities related to the sea faring, long distance trade and all the relations with foreigners was left to the local institutions that were autonomously developing and adapting to the local situation, starting from their Austrian blueprints. Compared to Trieste, in Fiume the grip of the Austrian counterrevolutionary state of Metternich was absent. The local gymnasium turned from Latin to Italian, as the only one in the littoral from Trieste to Dalmatia.

The Consiglio patriziale studied a new test that was submitted to the Sovereign for approval in 1836. The commission appointed to draft a new “Plan for political coordination”, and was approved in February 1836 by the Consiglio patriziale.²¹⁹ According to the plan, the Governor at the moment of insediation had to swear in Fiume in front of the Consiglio patriziale in order to prevent “abuse of powers”.²²⁰ The civic employees have to be denominated (“restored”) every 6 years, and the justices (giudici) as heads of the municipal offices were subject also the confirmation every 6 years. Only the justice rector was to be nominated by the Capitan the other 4 judges were to be elected by the Consiglio patriziale with secret ballot (“ballottazione”).²²¹ The right of citizenship had to become personal (that not related to the familiar lineage) and 4 (!) representatives form the citizens who were not patricians, were allowed to participate at the gatherings of the Consiglio patriziale with deliberative powers.

The document was not put to force since it never got the royal sanction, but is still nevertheless a important document that testifies the level of bold self consciousness that the Consiglio patriziale had in a time of inclusion of the city within Hungary. They behaved as their only authority was the sovereign - as in the middle ages. Hungarian authorities (the civic captain from the statute who now was embodied by the Hungarian governor) had the right to nominate only the justice rector, and seems completely absent from the picture, as are the citizens who are not patricians. According to Depoli, the patrician council was the initiator of the process of modernization in the City. The argument is somehow circular, given the fact that the Fiuman patriciate was an open elite: when Depoli describes Adamich as “a patrician” he forgets to mention that he was born as men of common origin.²²²

²¹⁹ Eco, n. 92 17 febbraio 1844.

²²⁰ Since the statute of 1530 does not have the office of the governor it is subsumed by the title civil captain. And it was said that it was since 2 centuries tat this norm was not respected.

²²¹ The justices were 4 and divided by their competencies: giustiziale, economico, criminale, polizia.

²²² Moreover, as admitted by Kobler: *Il patriziato in Fiume trovati appena nei primi anni del secolo XVIII, ma però non venne mai a formare una vera aristocrazia*. In Kobler, II p. 168

1848: A CITY AGAINST THE NATION

In 1809, after the Napoleonic establishment of the Illyrian provinces, Fiume was a part of it along with Trieste, Istria and Dalmatia and most of Croatia. It was here that the idea of the modern nation was introduced in Croatia and also to Fiume. Although belated and caused mainly by the influences of the French revolution a Croatian national movement started slowly with many difficulties in what was a poor divided country with no codified language, nor a middle class capable of appreciating its importance.

The Croatian national program had anything but a linear development. At first Istria was not considered since they focused onto the lands which were under the jurisdiction of the Sabor plus the Military Frontier and Dalmatia considered to be a historical Croatian possession.²²³ Along with this more realistic programs there were others who wanted also some parts of Bosnia then a part of the Ottoman Empire, known as the “Turkish Croatia” and those westwards including Fiume and Istria. The origins of the Croatian national movement - the *Preporod* are from the early 1830s.²²⁴ In 1830 at the Diet in Pressburg, the Croatian nobiliar delegation clashed with the Hungarians, the issue apart from the renewed attempt at intruding Hungarian language, was about the negation of the Croatian *jura municipalia* that granted the preservation of political independence of Croatia from Hungary since the middle ages. Thereby, Croatia and Slavonia were declared appanages of the Hungarian crown - *partes adnexae*, or subject provinces, according to the Magyars; *regna socia*, or allied kingdoms, according to the Croatian view.²²⁵

Also culturally Croatia was fragmented. The initiator of the national movement, Ljudevit Gaj started to work on a unified standardised Croatian (Illyrian) language.²²⁶ Gaj’s idea was that Croats had to adopt the dialect which was spoken by the greatest group of south Slavs in the Balkans, namely the *stokavian* dialect, shared by Serbs and spoken throughout from eastern Croatia to Bosnia and Serbia. The idea was utterly incomprehensible to the traditional political forces in Zagreb who spoke with a different dialect - the *kajkavian*.²²⁷ This endeavour was catalysed by a visit in 1829 to Pest where reportedly he became struck by the sudden explosion of Hungarian nationalism.²²⁸ Already “in 1827 Hungary pushed through an ambitious piece of legislation intended to confirm the subordinate status of Croatia to Hungary, with a law making Hungarian a compulsory subject in Croatian schools”²²⁹.

By that time the official language of the Hungarian parliament, the Croatian Sabor as well as that of high culture (still predominantly clerical) was Latin. The Hungarian diet of 1839 marks the start of a program of modernisation, which encompassed both cultural and economic modernisation. Latin was replaced with Hungarian making Magyar the official language of Hungary, in all the sectors including Croatia, the other freeing the peasants holdings from all feudal obligations. This

²²³ The official name was the “Triune Kingdom” (Trojedna Kraljevina) namely Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia.

²²⁴ It can be translated as “rebirth”; the similarity with Risorgimento is evident.

²²⁵ Josip Kušević, royal protonotary, wrote the book *jura municipalia* that argued for the specific rights and constitution of the kingdoms of Dalmatia Croatia and Slavonia. This was the first formulation of the specific Croatian state right, that will fuel and shape all political debates in Croatia during the nineteenth century, surviving up to the end of the monarchy.

²²⁶ Standard biography is still Horvat, Josip. *Ljudevit Gaj: njegov život, njegovo doba*, Liber, Zagreb, 1975. also in English Despalatovic, Elinor Murray. *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement*, New York and London., 1975.

²²⁷ The third one - the *čakavian*, was used in coastal parts of Croatia, Fiume included. Conventionally, what distinguishes them is the different ways to pronounce the word what – što, ča, and kaj, of course their differences are much greater than this and each of them had its own literature and cultural tradition. In fact this was a peculiar development most national languages originated out of the dialects of the capital cities or at least of the most developed regions. In the case of Croatian the *štokavian* was the language of the poorest part of the country, but it had the advantage of bearing close the vernacular of the south Slavic populations from Serbia and Bosnia.

²²⁸ Tanner, Marcus. 1997. *Croatia. A Nation Forged in War*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, pp. 75-76

²²⁹ *ibid.*

organised pressure initiated the formation of first political parties in Croatia supplanting the thereby the old structure the Sabor had since the Middle Ages.²³⁰

Most of the political forces there were reactionary and hostile to any project of reform, so arguably Gaj's revolutionary ideas will never come up to life had it been that in 1844 a bill passed in Pest to introduce Hungarian as the official language of all the state institutions in Croatia including the Sabor.²³¹ Thus after an audience Gaj had with the emperor Francis I, who supported Gaj to put pressure on the growing Hungarian nationalism he was able to start the new paper "Novine Horvatske"²³². It will be the banner of the Illyrian movement and form the basis of the "National Party" (Narodna Stranka) the first modern political organisation in Croatia in 1842. The "Narodna Stranka" will organize and produce the Croatian national program, which (simulating the Hungarian one, in a smaller scale) was to bring Croatia into modernity in terms of its goals to cultural homogenisation, political consciousness and economic development.

In Fiume, in 1822 the local gymnasium turned to the official use of Latin and Italian, replacing German.²³³ The press that circulates is Italian. Italians are the social venues and circles. In the *Vormärz* the first two were opened. The first the Casino Marittimo Mercantile before 1837 and the *Casino nuovo* that on 1848 merge to form the *Casino patriottico*, and was modelled on Szecheny's Casinos in Hungary.²³⁴ In a later report from 1853, Carlo de Franceschi who at the time was in Fiume confined for political reasons for his involvement in the 1848 in Istria reported that:

*Si avevano giornali in buon numero, in tutte le principali lingue e di tutti i colori, vi convenivano i negozianti e gli impiegati e vi si discutevano i problemi cittadini.*²³⁵

The printers and bookstores in Fiume were also important in diffusing the ideas that came from the Italian Risorgimento, as reported by the repeated confiscations of prohibited books in the fiuman bookstores, facilitated by the fact that in Hungary the Austrian censorship was not tolerated and thus the circulation of Italian texts in Fiume as the only Hungarian outpost was facilitated.²³⁶ The theaters as well as the balls were extremely popular by the fiumani, as reported by an ordinance of the governor who prohibited the all too frequent balls organized throughout the city. Again, the cultural influence of Italy seems preponderant.

Nevertheless, several Croatian intellectuals worked in Fiume. Antun Mihanovic, who went with Adamich to the Pressburg Diet in 1827, worked as a secretary at the *Gubernium* from 1832 to 1836, and it was from Fiume that he sent the song *Lijepa naša domovino* (Our Beautiful Homeland), to Ljudevit Gaj, which he published on March 1835 in his *Danica*. The song eventually became the Croatian national anthem.

The first Fiuman periodical paper was titled the *Eco del Litorale ungarico*.²³⁷ Written in Italian but with the declared purpose to facilitate to the Fiumani "the comprehension of the things Hungarian". The first issue was out in April 1843, in 18 August director becomes Vincenzo Solitro, from

²³⁰ Until 1848 the Sabor comprised the magnates, the bishops of Zagreb and Senj, the "High Sheriffs" (Veliki Župan) and a few representatives of the "Royal Free Cities".

²³¹ Magyar was now declared to be the language of the schools and the law-courts as well as of the legislature; mixed marriages were legalized; and official positions were thrown open to non-nobles.

²³² In the first year written in kajkavian than a year later they changed the name into "Ilirske narodne novine" and turned to štokavian

²³³ As reported by de Carlo de Franceschi, By comparison in Trieste the language in the gymnasia was German. In Depoli, Attilio. "Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni precedenti", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno I, N.3-4, luglio-dicembre 1952, p. 174.

²³⁴ Count István Széchenyi organized the Nemzeti Kaszinó, in 1827 as a forum for the patriotic Hungarian nobility. The "Kaszinó" had an important role in the reform movement by providing an institute for political dialogues.

²³⁵ Carlo de Franceschi, *Memorie autobiografiche*, "Archeografo Triestino", III serie, vol. XII, 1925-26.

²³⁶ Also Buccari, but the city was too small to have a relevant cultural scene.

²³⁷ Lukežić, Irvin. "L'eco del litorale ungarico", *Fluminensia*, 14 (2002) n 2, pp. 1-20.

Spalato in Dalmatia.²³⁸ The paper ceased the publications with the number 100 on 4th April 1846. The Dalmatian influences were fundamental in Fiume in framing the ideology of autonomism. The *Eco del Litorale ungarico* n. 16. from May, the 27th, 1843 wrote:

“Questo paese è situato sul limite della vita civilizzata, avendo Venezia di fronte ed appoggiandosi a lato sulla Bosnia, lontana sol pochi passi da noi. Gli spiriti risentono qui l’influenza di questa topografica situazione... ma vi si trovano istinti delicati, che costantemente alimenta l’alta coltura dell’Italia colla quale questo paese è legato per il suo linguaggio, i suoi bisogni, il suo passato ed il suo clima...”

By contrast, the Illyrian Adolf Weber-Tkalcevic, in his “Krtak oris duga putovanja”, published in the *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska*, (XIII, broj. 40, 2. listopada 1847.) reported from Fiume that:

*as the progress of nationality in Fiume is concerned I am truly unsure, but I fear that it won’t be a glorious one. The truth is that a haven’t heard from a living Recanin (Fiuman) not a single word in our language. Here the members of our nationality speak only Italian, and use our language only when pressed by necessity.*²³⁹

In Croatia, the Illyrian movement had an impact, since in 1847 at the last feudal diet in Croatia was held, among its decisions the Croatian was introduced as official language, and the defence of *jura municipalia* that was restated, this time demanding the unification of Dalmatia and Fiume with Croatia, but at the gathering there was no Fiuman deputy.

Fiume has also the right recognised by the Croatian law VIII from 1808 to send its deputies to the regnicolar congregations and the Diets in Zagreb. Fiume initially sent its deputies to the Diets in Zagreb, but in 1836, 1845 and 1847 failed to do so. The abstention provoked the protest of the Croatian diet whose members sent a *exposè* to the King in order to persuade him to oblige the fiuman deputies to be present at the sessions in order to discuss the matters that regarding both kingdoms involved also Fiume.

Fiume on the other hand, sent its deputies to all the Hungarian diets, including the Pressburg Diet that inaugurated “the Age of Reform” in Hungary in 1848.²⁴⁰ In the highest circles a dissolution of the diet now seemed to be the sole remedy; but, before it could be carried out, the tidings of the February revolution in Paris reached Pressburg' on March 1st and on the 3rd 1848 of March Kossuth's motion for the appointment of an independent, responsible ministry was accepted by the Lower House. The moderates, alarmed not so much by the motion itself as by its tone, again tried to intervene; but on the 13th of March the Vienna revolution broke out, and the king, yielding to pressure or panic, appointed Count Louis Batthyany premier of the first Hungarian responsible ministry, which included Kossuth, Széchenyi and Deak.

On March 17th the news of the concessions made by Emperor Ferdinand arrived from Trieste in Fiume.²⁴¹ Here, reportedly great celebrations were held, although the concessions related to the Austrian possessions and not to Hungary that already was a constitutional kingdom.

²³⁸ Later in 1848 28th of March Vincenzo Solitro launched an appeal to the Dalmatians, calling them, to took the arms and fight for freedom. His brother Giulio was in 1848 the director of the *Gazzetta di Trieste* the only anti Austrian paper in Trieste in the 1848.

²³⁹ Lukezic, Irvin. “L’eco del litorale ungarico”, *Fluminensia*, 14 (2002) n 2, p. 9.

²⁴⁰ Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni precedenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno I, N.3-4, luglio-dicembre 1952, p. 187-188.

²⁴¹ In the same day the “Republic of S Giusto” was proclaimed in Trieste with the goals to include it in the Italian national federation. The attempt was totally unsuccessful, and the leaders (Giovanni Orlandini) fled to Venice, but within their ranks there were also some fiumani. A certain Giorgio Milodragovich (nicknamed Zorzat) author of a “danza popolare molto preferita del ’48 denominata Zorzat, in base alle cui melodie venivano cantate canzoni politiche scandalose, di modo che dovette esser proibita nei pubblici balli la musica divenuta popolare”. According to Depoli in

Reportedly the mob who gathered in front of the governor's palace demanded the institution of the National Guard conceded by the Emperor to Vienna also for Fiume (as it was for Trieste) since some agitations were reported from the Croatian suburbs. The institution of the National Guard was enacted by the vice governor (the governor was absent being in Pressburg for the dietal works) on the 23rd March 1848.²⁴²

Three days after the fall of Metternich the opposition of the Hungarian Diet, backed by a sound majority, demanded the establishment of a national government, responsible to a parliament elected by a general male franchise.²⁴³

In the meanwhile, Hungary with the workings of the Diet in Pressburg was about to be transformed by the winner liberal party from a feudal to a democratic country. Lajos Kossuth instituted 23rd March his law on the responsible ministry²⁴⁴, and the Hungarian palatine, archduke Stefan nominated Lajos Batthyány as provisional Hungarian minister president.²⁴⁵ On the same day a group of Fiuman shipbuilders sent a letter to Kossuth informing him that they had a disposal in construction a warship that could put the Hungarian state insignia. The Hungarian state insignia were eventually put, but only later after the imperial sanction of the 11th April by which the democratic transformation of Hungary was recognised, as well as its complete independence from Austria.²⁴⁶

The law XXVII ordered the administration of the "Mercantile district of Fiume". The representation was to be elected named "Pubblica Congregazione Generale", it was presided by a vice captain nominated by the King, while the Governor retained the title of Captain. Suffrage was extended also to all the economically independent citizens.²⁴⁷ The old patrician council was dissolved, but its members retained a lifelong right to stay in the office on the new body. Also the title of the families was preserved. The new norms reduced greatly the powers of the patriciate, and the *consiglio patriziale* de facto ceased to exist, with its last gathering on the 28th April.²⁴⁸ As reported by

base at some police reports. Several of the conjurers repaired to Fiume fleeing from Trieste, since in Fiume, the police was under municipal control and not by the Austrian state, as in Trieste. In Depoli, Attilio. "Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, p. 39.

²⁴² The elections for the Hungarian diet of 1847 saw the triumph of the Hungarian liberals, the abolition of the feudal state was their declared program. The new Hungarian law abolished hereditary political representation with an elective one. The measure had to be applied also in Fiume, where by this act the patriciate was to lose its status, and that was positively received in Fiume. The Diet had to gather in April 1848. In Depoli, Attilio. "Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, p. 36.

²⁴³ The Crown denied two demands: one for the establishment of a national army subordinated to the national Hungarian government, the other for the national budget, entirely separated from the imperial financial administration and tax policy.

²⁴⁴ Legislative acts in the future required the countersignature of the ministry.

²⁴⁵ Batthyány, who formed the first responsible government, appointed Kossuth the Minister of Finance. On March 22nd a National Ministry under the chairmanship of count Louis Batthyány took office. Other members of the cabinet were Kossuth (finances) Széchenyi (public works), Deák (justice), and Eötvös (public education). As we shall see, all of them had direct personal connections in Fiume.

²⁴⁶ The Ten Points, or the March Laws as they were now called, were then adopted by the legislature and received the royal assent (April 10). Hungary had, to all intents and purposes, become an independent state bound to Austria only by the fact that the palatine chanced to be an Austrian archduke.

²⁴⁷ Franchise was extended to those who owned a house worth at least 300 guildens or had an income of 100 guildens), traders and employers, graduated from high schools, sacerdotal, also the captains, and maritime bookkeepers, and all the ex patrician councillors independently of their economic conditions.

²⁴⁸ Kobler is ambiguous on evaluating the abolition of patricial privileges in Fiume (he was himself a patrician) but tries to understand it and rationalise it justifying it with the modern political reality and the commercial needs of the City: *Il § 5 dell'art. XXVII della legge dietale ungarica del dì 11 aprile 1848 decretava: che le famiglie patrizie viventi conservino I loro titoli, che però in avvenire nessuno verrà nominato consigliere patrizio, che tutti gli attuali patrizi consiglieri avranno addito alle congregazioni generali e assieme coi rappresentanti eletti e che in generale goderanno I diritti di rappresentanti. Anche questa riserva però durò poco.* Laconically he comments. In Kobler, II p. 180

Kobler, the instalment of the new Hungarian Governor who came only on the 28th of May gave occasion for popular protests.²⁴⁹

The public officers maintained their titles of judges, under the supervision of the vice Capitan selected by a commission nominated by the previous council and whose mandate was 3 years.²⁵⁰ Also a lower fore (called “tribunale verbale”) the two judges are selected by the council, that is elected by the citizens.

One of the measures of the laws from the 11th April was to replace the Latin with Hungarian and that caused widespread protest in Croatia where already rumours of open hostility with Hungary were circulating. Also in Fiume, the execution of the new laws was initiated with some hesitation due to the apprehension given the missing guarantees of the official language of administration in Fiume feared to be the Hungarian as suggested by the fact that the first dispositions were issued in Hungarian without translating them to Italian. Due to technical difficulties of the new Hungarian government finally the act of the 11th April was printed in its Italian translation.²⁵¹

Moreover, to counterbalance these Hungarian advances, the Viennese court already on 19th March nominated the Croatian colonel Jellacic as general and ban of Croatia.²⁵² His first acts on taking up his office were to repudiate the authority of the Hungarian diet, to replace the Maygar officials with ardent " Illyrians," and to proclaim martial law.

La legge dietale ungarica, sanzionata nell'aprile 1848, non fu accettata nella Croazia e nella Slavonia, e le autorità di questi due regni, appoggiate dal dominante spirito nazionale, negarono obbedienza al nuovo regno ungarico. Codesta opposizione era sostenuta dal bano e dallo stato militare, perché la nuova legge pregiudicava l'antica unità della monarchia austriaca. Mentre in Fiume la nuova organizzazione legale procedeva regolarmente, nella parte croata del litorale, dal ponte della fiumara sino all'estremo confine del Vinodol, tutto veniva reso indipendente dall'autorità del bano. A Fiume sventolava la bandiera ungarica, a Susak la croata.

Already on the 25th March in Zagreb a National Assembly was held, where the Croatian national program “in the Illyrian spirit” was voted. It envisaged the union of all the lands including Dalmatia and Fiume into Croatia. Moreover, the assembly asked the nomination of Jellacic as a ban. When in Croatia Jellacic was nominated ban he openly contrasted the Hungarian government of Batthyany.²⁵³

²⁴⁹ Kobler was a witness of these events: *Quando nel corso della rivoluzione principiata nel marzo 1848 I vecchi poteri continuavano a cadere e si formavano I comitati provvisori di sicurezza per mantenere l'ordine pubblico, anche a Fiume si palesò il desiderio di novità, e l'elemento popolare cominciò a farsi sentire. Per altro il movimento del popolo e segnatamente di quelle persone che lo dominavano, non fu violento; perché il nostro popolo è d'indole quieta e riflessiva, e le fungenti autorità non avevano dato motivo a rumori. E' ben vero che non piaceva il sistema patriziale e il potere presidiale in cose municipali; ma la nuova legge ungarica del mese di aprile vi provvedeva e dalla sua imminente esecuzione potevasi trovare rimedio.* In Kobler volume terzo p. 122.

²⁵⁰ Kobler reports that: *La legge dietale ungarica del 11 aprile 1848 cambiò lo stato politico dei paesi della corona, e particolarmente in Fiume abolì il patriziato ed introdusse nuove forme amministrative con sistema popolare.* In Kobler volume terzo pp. 25-26.

²⁵¹ In Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, pp. 49-54.

²⁵² Ban Josip Jellacic (Jellacic de Buzcim, Josef, Graf, 1801-1859) Before 1848, Josip Jellacic served as a regimental colonel for seven years along the Croatian Military Frontier. A Croatian nationalist favouring the Illyrian movement, he received the support of the Croatian National Party. Regardless of his shifting political motives, he was a military officer and personally loyal to his emperor throughout his career. In March 1848, with the revolutionary fever taking hold in Zagreb, the Croatian Diet declared Josip Jellacic Ban of Croatia. On March 23, on the advice of Baron Franjo Kulmer, Emperor Ferdinand V promoted Jellacic to Lieutenant-Field Marshal and confirmed his appointment as the Ban of Croatia.

²⁵³ The nomination was decreed by the emperor but it did not receive the countersignature of the Hungarian ministry of interior.

Despite the ban of the Hungarian palatine, the Sabor was held on June the 5th in Zagreb.²⁵⁴ Fiume was as usually invited, (the governor, 4 elected deputies, and 1 from the church chapter), and as usually it refused to send any representatives. The Croatian ban sent precise orders to the municipal authorities in Fiume and Buccari (both subject to the jurisdiction of the Hungarian governor as parts of the Hungarian littoral). The command to obey only the ban was put *ad acta* in Fiume, but not in Buccari. Here the municipal authorities contested the orders arrived from the governor of Fiume (Buccari was a part of Croatia but up to the Vinodol was subject to the governor in Fiume). And the first disaffection was the refusal to send the taxes collected in Buccari.²⁵⁵

Therefore one of the first measures of the Hungarian governor was the nomination of a “Provisional County of public safety”. Tosoni was proclaimed vice-captain therefore head of the municipal administration, (after nomination by the Hungarian palatine) on 5th June 1848 as well as the judges Dabalà and Kukatzaky with 4 citizens as well. The Provisional County lasted for only 2 weeks since on 21st June the new administration was elected that provided the nomination of the 5 new judges.²⁵⁶

In the Congregation 85 citizens were elected, to whom also the patricians of the previous Council must be added.²⁵⁷ The Congregation swear to the King on June the 28th and immediately initiated its workings, apparently overcoming the conflict between the “progressives” (as defined by Depoli) and the members of the old Consiglio Patriziale. The newly nominated National Guard now was organised.²⁵⁸

The governor János Nepomuceno gróf Erdödy, claimed that the Croatian question had to be solved elsewhere, since from here we had no authority to prevent, without any official contact where they recognised only the ban. The Hungarian minister of the interior had already sent the recommendation to use all the means to assure peace and with Croatia and to work for the union of Dalmatia.²⁵⁹ The defence of the City was impossible in a case of a Croatian attack: the Hungarian ministry unsuccessfully attempted to send two artillery units to Fiume, that as well as other Hungarian units were all fighting in Italy.²⁶⁰

Lajos Kossuth ordered in Fiume the armament of vessels in order to constitute a Hungarian navy, but the situation was collapsing and the resulting “*Implacable* affair” was promptly considered by Jellacic as an act of open hostility to Croatian coastal towns.²⁶¹ After the repeated requests by the fiumani and even by the Hungarian minister war Mezsaros to send Hungarian army units to Fiume

²⁵⁴ Under pressure from the palatine of Batthyany an imperial edict was issued, on the 7th day of May, ordering the ban to desist from his separatist plans and take his orders from Pest. Jellacic not only refused to obey, but on the 5th of June convoked to Agram the Croatian national diet, of which the first act was to declare the independence of the Triune Kingdom. Once more, at the instance of Batthyany, the emperor intervened; and on the 10th an imperial edict stripped Jellachich of all his offices.

²⁵⁵ In Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, p. 61-64.

²⁵⁶ Elected judges were Antonio Celebrini, Giovanni Martini, Francesco Kukatzkay, Giovanni Kobler (the historian), Giuseppe Giusti, as deputy at the Hungarian diet convoked in Budapest for the 2nd of July Giuseppe de Susanni.

²⁵⁷ About these elections, almost nothing is known. The date is estimated by Depoli to the accenation by Kobler on 21st of June, no list of the elected was printed or preserved. In Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, p. 58.

²⁵⁸ The levy list with 717 persons was published. Organised in 4 companies. 300-400 armed with old heavy fusils, brought from the arsenal in Karlstadt. But, according to Paolo Scarpa, defections were widespread, and only with great difficulty, pain, and patience could the levy be organized.

²⁵⁹ In Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, p. 57

²⁶⁰ The units were sent from Hungary to Vienna via ship on the Danube there they had to reach with the train to Cilli (Celje) and all to avoid passing through Croatia. The units were stopped in Graz, and sent by the Austrian command immediately to Lombardy.

²⁶¹ The brick, *Implacable* was the property of Spiridion Gopceвич a Serb merchant from Trieste was chosen, officially to protect the traffic and the safety of Hungarian property and persons in the littoral. Gopceвич, was a close fiend of the leader of the Kossuthist faction in Fiume Matcovich.

failed, the vice captain Tosoni sent a desperate appeal to the Palatine and Hungarian foreign minister Eszterhazy.

The tone of the appeal sent the day after (25th of August 1848) to the Hungarian Prime Minister Batthyany is a mature statement of the political consciousness of the fiumani.²⁶² According to the proclamaion, Fiume had always proven its faith to its monarchs, the city was always dedicated to the prosperity and increment of traffic, and to that extent that it achieved an “uncommon prosperity”. Its independent position was respected by all, its insignia shown by its vessels were respected by all, as were its consuls, Fiume gave homage to its sovereigns, and signed the Pragmatic Sanction. Incorporated in the Holy Hungarian Crown, the City prospered and this prosperity gave rise to envies (reference on Buccari).²⁶³ Neighbouring Croatia never missed any opportunity to state its pretensions to it, but Fiume answered tacitly with the book of Law in its hands. Historical lucubration, historical commentaries, and written polemics, were now over and seemingly it was time to action. In the actual deplorable scission between Croatia and Hungary a declaration of partisanship is required from Fiume to side with one or the other part, but Fiume devoted to its principles, responds her will to preserve its actual position to respect the nationality of all and harmonise willing nothing but a peaceful settlement about the differences in the two reigns and such rupture incalculable damage to all the surrounding parts.²⁶⁴ But now it seems that this conciliatory policy instead of arousing comprehension arouses indignation and envy. From here the continuous threats of an invasion against Fiume with the pretentious offence having to the whole Slavic Nation for the transportation to Fiume of the buccaranian flag.²⁶⁵

In late summer 1848, a group of Hungarian soldiers should have taken the control of Fiume, but Josip Bunjevac (Vice Sheriff of the County of Zagreb, to which Grobnik belonged) preceded them coming on August the 28th with some improvised troops (Seresaner from the Military Frontier²⁶⁶) from Grobnik in what are still unclear circumstances.²⁶⁷

Bunjevac went to the Hungarian governor in Fiume Erdody with three members of his “commission”, in “Illyrian dresses”. They presented themselves as “envoys of the banus Jelacic”, but were refused any legitimacy with the argument that Fiume was never under the authority of the

²⁶² The original in German was published in the *Agramer Zeitung* from Zagreb. The Italian translation is given In Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, p. 105-107.

²⁶³ Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.4 ottobre-dicembre 1954, pp. 201-231.

²⁶⁴ Parti limitrofe, in Italian translation, The reference is to the *partes adnexae* as the constitutive units of the Hungarian Crown were known.

²⁶⁵ Reference is on the case of a drunk Fiuman guard who took a flag in Sussak (under the Buccari Magistrate) and took it to Fiume. The Croat sources report that the flag was a Croatian one, which is plausible it is not clear why Tosoni defines it as *bandera buccarana* and not Croatian.

²⁶⁶ After the Treaty of Karlowitz of 1699, a unit called the Serezan troop was formed, and it had both military and police duties. The members were not paid, but were released of all taxes. As an irregular unit, they wore a folk uniform rather than an army one. Over the following century, each regiment had one section of the serezani, led by a oberbaša or harambaša (sergeant), several unterbaša (corporal) and vicebaša (lance corporal). They organized the border patrols towards Bosnia, particularly on difficult terrain, and stopped incursions of bandits. They had to have extensive knowledge of the territory, good marksmanship and to be constantly under arms. They also maintained public law and order in the area of their regiment. There were also cavalry serezan units that served as escort to the high officers of Frontier regiments, carried urgent orders and carried out special patrol duties.

²⁶⁷ Klen et al. 211-212. Reputedly he was on the way to the south to sedate a rebellion of the peasants in the surroundings of Fiume. The fiefs around were all in the hands of counts Batthyanyi, at the time president of the Hungarian revolutionary government. Reputedly the Hungarian laws enacted the freedom of peasants and the local peasant population in Grobnik was in fibrillation. Jelacic sent Bunjavac with some troops there to prevent possible rebellions since Croatia refused the Hungarian act and feudal rule was still in force. Then with this troops plus others found on the way mostly from Buccari (see the accounts of A F Giacich from 1861 in this chapter) they moved to Fiume. It appears however that the Sabor or at least that the banus had clear intents to secure Rijeka, maybe to prevent Hungarians to have a port in the critical phases of the revolution.

ban, ban who was spoiled by his office by the emperor.²⁶⁸ After this refusal and a series of provocations by the soldiers who entered the city, a fiuman delegation went to Vienna to the emperor who gave general assurances to the fiumani promptly read publicly in Fiume.²⁶⁹ Finally on the 30th Bunjevac appeared with some 1000 armed men against whom the Fiumani little could oppose²⁷⁰, especially, as the army command in Fiume refused any support and put under the command of Bunjevac to the Hungarian governor. On the 31st August Bunjevac, as was later recalled by Giacich, entered the city. After having entered the City “by breaking the pacts” Giacich described the bizarre army (“armata in foggie diverse e strane”) that followed Bunjevac: “40 border guards under the lead of a sergeant, guardie di finanza gathered together in the surroundings, the national guard of Bakar armed with strange and diverse weapons” and “uno stuolo numeroso di terazzani”²⁷¹, armed with guns. Many of them were identified to be one of the “many who used to work in the very same place they were invading with a such an ingratitude and baldness.”²⁷² “Such was the surprise and perplexity of this population used to mild and almost patriarchal governments”²⁷³ that:

“The shops and workshops were closed, nobody looking out of the windows, the businesses abandoned, the contacts were reduced to the most intimate members of each family to which special cares were deserved and the apprehensions clearly showed that this was an invasion of an enemy, of which until these days the memory is strongly preserved.”

Bunjevac informed Tosoni and the government that he required the “spontaneous adhesion” of the City. With Hungary unable to help, the governor dissolved the National Guard, issued an appeal invoking “peaceful content” from the fiuman population. The Congregation even deliberated a “peaceful convention” (progetto di convenzione) declaring that although the city was subjugated to force it was still ready for a compromise. In the morning of the same day 31st August, Tosoni read the proclamation of the occupation issued by Bunjevac “in the name of the King and the Ban Jelacic”. Where the municipal liberty and rights were granted as well as property and the use of the Italian as the official language of administration.²⁷⁴

The official news of the occupation arrived in Vienna on the 3rd of September by mouth of the Hungarian foreign ministry Esterhazy.²⁷⁵ the two fiuman delegates in charge to contact the court,

²⁶⁸ The newly declared Ban took immediate steps to terminate Hungarian control over Croatia, officially severed all relations between Croatia and Budapest, declaring Croatia's "independence and equality to Hungary" on April 19. Encouraged by the Austrian court, Jellacic accused Batthyany's Hungarian government of intending to secede from Austria. For several months the court vacillated. Attempting to conciliate Hungary, Ferdinand promised Batthyany Hungary to absorb all of Croatia. Jellacic refused to the emperor's summons to travel to Innsbruck to justify his defiance of Hungary. On June 10, bowing to Batthyany's pressure, the emperor signed a manifesto to the Croats condemning Jellacic's policy and replacing him by another officer of the Imperial Army, General Hrabovszky. Marshal Hrabovszky was nominally sent against the Croats, shelling Carlowitz and forcing the surrender of Novi-Sad, a city with a large Serbian population.

²⁶⁹ The lawyer Luigi Brelich and the patrician historian L. A. Cimiotti, in Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, p. 109-111.

²⁷⁰ Radunata la Guardia Nazionale troppo piccolo apparve il suo numero, né bene armata, né coraggiosa e decisa ad energica resistenza, laconically observes Depoli, p. 112.

²⁷¹ The “terrazani” are workers who build terraces, a feature of the Karst countryside since prehistoric times. Frequently Fiuman authors will label people from countryside with this professional connotation, maybe the fact is explainable in the declining social status and prestige of the profession since the middle ages.

²⁷² Giacich, 1861, p.5.

²⁷³ Giacich, 1861, p.6.

²⁷⁴ Described by other authors such as Giacich: Dopo tutto ciò, nello stesso giorno 31 agosto e col permesso del vice conte, la rappresentanza municipale si radunò sotto il presidio del vice-capitano ed ascoltò con rassegnazione il cambiamento della dipendenza politica.

²⁷⁵ The note remarked the direct dependency of Fiume of Hungary. The city had declared its unconditioned obey to the sovereign, even more inexplicable the occupation of the city by the Croats in the name of the King.

Brellich and Cimiotti still in Vienna did not fail to present the protestation for the occupation.²⁷⁶ The memorial got no answer, and Bunjevac the day after 31st informed count Salm that “the city was calm” and that the banal authority subentries to the Hungarian governor. On the 4th of September Emperor Ferdinand revoked the suspension of Jellacic, that was decreed on 10th June. The 4th of September the occupation of Fiume got the sanction from the ban Jellacic, immediately translated in Italian and made public in Fiume.²⁷⁷ Seven days later the ban declared open war on Hungary by crossing the Drave at the head of some 36,000 Croatian troops.²⁷⁸

Bunjevac in his report to the ban Jelacic admitted that he acted single-headedly: “I did it on my initiative, even without orders from you in this sense, but I was forced to do that in this way this people completely extranaited from our nation, by the Hungarians return to fell its patriotic feelings towards our motherland.”²⁷⁹ Bunjevac, justified the *fait accompli* by adducing “two fiuman members of the congregation” (probably Brellich and Cimiotti) who asked the inclusion of Fiume to the “Austrian community” since Hungary was unable to help. According to Depoli, this is unconvincing: rather, it was a the sovereign rescript, dated 31st August, that ordered the cessation of all hostility of Croatia towards Hungary. If it had been done afterwards this would have been an act of open rebellion to the emperor in this way it was only a *via facti*.

Tosoni addressed the Hungarian Minister President, remarking that the population remembered the “benign Hungarian government”.²⁸⁰ The Hungarian authorities in the past days sent some formal invitations to the Emperor to order the evacuation of Fiume by the Croats, but these were purely formal acts, since there was no condemnation by the Emperor.²⁸¹ The Municipal Congregation

²⁷⁶ In the address they questioned the legitimacy of the Croatian authority: the occupation in the name of the ban of Croatia was an act of subversion since the city never belonged to any Croatian authority but in virtue of sovereign privilege, it was a *corpo separato* of the Holy Crown of Hungary. The address concluded by declaring it an arbitrary abuse of powers by the vice sheriff of the committee of Zagreb, Bunjevac. *La occupazione di Fiume non potrà essere interpretata altrimenti, che come un abuso di potere dell'occupante Vice-conte del Comitato di Zagabria Giuseppe Bunjevac*. (Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, pp. 120-121.

²⁷⁷ Jelacic proclaimed the Austrian general Victor as commander of the place of Fiume. Victor, who was a retired Austrian officer and lived privately in Fiume, succeeded in calming down the Seresaner troops (known from the sedation of the revolutions in Vienna and Milan in 1849) when they attempted to enter Fiume on the 30th August. Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, p. 122-123.

²⁷⁸ On September 4, “The Camarilla” had reinstated Jellacic as ban, and on September 11, Jellacic declared war on Ferdinand V, King of Hungary, in the name of Ferdinand V, King of Croatia, and invaded Hungary with an army of forty-thousand men. Jellacic's army made swift progress after crossing the Drave. The primary loyalty of the Hungarian commander of the army on the Drave, Adam Teleki, were to Austria, like many of the commanders stationed in Hungary. He declared to the Government Commissioner of Hungary that his oath to the emperor and king forbade him to fire on imperial troops. He then withdrew his men and even threatened to join Jellacic. Several regiments joined the Croats and in southern Hungary strong-points were surrendered to the Serbs.

²⁷⁹ Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, p. 115.

²⁸⁰ *Con rapporto del 5 settembre, diretto al presidente del ministero ungarico, il vice capitano faceva dettagliata relazione dell'avvenuto, e poi dichiarava che, in attesa di altissimo provvedimento dirimente, la città di Fiume era tenuta a sciogliersi da ogni dipendenza da esso ministero e di sottostare agli ordini dell'autorità, che con la forza aveva preso a governare; che però la popolazione manteneva incancellabile memoria della simpatia e propensione, che il governo ungarico le aveva prodigate per lo spazio di 59 anni, e di quella instancabile premura, con cui il medesimo aveva promosso I vitali interessi di questo paese.* In Kobler volume terzo p. 125. the report is not reported in Horvath, Depoli considers that it never arrived in Hungary, at the time already in war with Croatia. 124.

²⁸¹ After the battle of Pakozd on September 29, Jellacic was forced back across the Hungarian border into Austria. Jellacic was forced to retire to Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg), just a short distance from Vienna. Suddenly boasting that he had given up his campaign in Hungary in order to restore order to Vienna, Jellacic joined Windischgrätz in marching on the city. With the invasion, Jellacic increasingly became the Austrian court's representative in Hungary. The Austrian court replaced General Count Lamberg (torn to pieces by the mob when he arrived in Pest) with Recsesy who placed Hungary under martial law and appointed Jellacic viceroy and commander of all the Hungarian armed forces. On October 3, Ferdinand dissolved the Hungarian Diet and proclaimed Jellacic governor of Hungary in military

gathered on September the 11th where decided to nominate 4 deputies to give the “suddital omaggio” and to greet the new governor. Tosoni, Cimiotti, Iginio Scarpa and the Justice Kukatzkay. Depoli again points out that the decision of the Municipal Congregation to present directly the homage to the emperor underlined the autonomous position of the City:

*"l'autonomia di questo libero distretto, la fedeltà inconcussa verso L'augustissima Vostra Dinastia, la pronta ubbidienza alle leggi, l'amore per la pace domestica, sono a questa popolazione retaggio de' suoi avi, - la giustizia, la clemenza, un amor uguale verso tutti i suoi popoli - sono d'altronde il retaggio del vostro trono, da cui vostra maestà assicura ad essi una rigenerazione basata sopra libertà costituzionali - sopra uguaglianza di diritti, sopra ugual trattamento di tutte le nazionalità. Tranquillo quindi il popolo di Fiume attende tale rigenerazione, certo che vostra maestà nell'alta missione di consolidare le libertà concesse da Ferdinando il benigno a' suoi popoli, non sdegherà di conservare questo municipio nella sua autonomia, e nel godimento delle sue franchigie e privilegi, senza i quali questa città, avuto riflesso agli elementi che la costituiscono, alla sua posizione - alle abitudini de' suoi abitanti, ai mezzi della loro sussistenza, andrebbe incontro ad un certo notevole deperimento."*²⁸²

The point is that when he exercised the power as ban of Croatia in the City that was usurpation but with the nomination as governor of Fiume the legality and the constitution was respected. Immediately after the elections and publication the luogotenente del bano Enrich Lentulay the departure of the deputation was suspended since "the banus had already greeted the Emperor in the name of the Triune Kingdom to which Fiume belonged".²⁸³

Still, although the Croatian authorities in Fiume used Italian for all the official communications, on the 14th September Bunjevac is introduced at the Congregation, where he spoke in German, not knowing Italian. Some members of the City administration were removed for their hostility towards Croatia.²⁸⁴ In the local gymnasium, Croatian replaced Hungarian that was introduced instead of Latin in 1833, and Croatian was introduced also in the elementary schools.

Nevertheless the opposition surged: in Fiume the use of hats “all’Ernani e alla calabrese” (prohibited in Milan since February 1848) spread in Fiume, causing Bunjevac to write a letter of protest to Tosoni.²⁸⁵ The fiumani publicly supported the Venetian insurrection against the imperial authorities, and refused to pay taxes.²⁸⁶ The obstructionism of the municipal institutions is total, what drives Bunjevac to write on the 25th of October that the citizens “lacked any respect for the Croatian nation”.²⁸⁷ Bunjevac position was settled only in November, when Lentulay (ban’s

and civil affairs; Jellacic immediately declared martial law. The combined armies had returned to Hungary and marched into Buda-Pest on January 5.

²⁸² The “Indirizzo a stampa” is reported in Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.4 ottobre-dicembre 1954, pp. pp. 202-203.

²⁸³ Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.4 ottobre-dicembre 1954, p. 203.

²⁸⁴ Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, p. 126-127.

²⁸⁵ Tosoni forwarded the didpodition to the police autoority observing that “il portamento dei cappelli cosiddetti all’Ernani presenta al momento l’apparenza di una dimostrazione pubblica che non può essere tollerata”. The police is still under the giudice of Fiume, Celebrini giudice rettore issues the ban on public gatherings and giudice riferente di polizia Giuseppe de Emili (128)

²⁸⁶ The plenipotentiary banal commissioner Bunjevac reports that according to field marshal Radetzky from Fiume departed barks with wood, coal and all sort of supplies for besieged Venice.

²⁸⁷ It took 3 months of injunctions to have the Croatian flag in Fiume, the fiumani continued to use the Hungarian flag, and even proposed the Austrian to avoid the Croatian. Similar was with the civic guards who used the Hungarian uniforms. Reportedly many guards and fiumani started to wear pompons with the municipal colours of the fiuman flag carmine yellow and violet, instead of the Hungarian. (131)

substitute) nominated him banal plenipotentiary for the “political and commercial administration” of Fiume and the Littoral.²⁸⁸

The Croat position was now much stronger, since by the 10th of December 1848 Jelacic crossed the Drava and started his campaign against Hungary, now openly supported by the new Emperor Franz Joseph. Significantly, one of the first acts the new Emperor Franz Joseph in December 1848 issued was the nomination of Jelacic (newly appointed banus of Croatia) as Governor of Fiume and at the same time he become governor of the Province of Dalmatia.²⁸⁹ Thus for the first time after the middle ages a single person ruled Croatia and Slavonia (as a banus) and Fiume and Dalmatia (as a governor).²⁹⁰ With Jellacic’s appointment the Croatian "program of national integration", appears to be encouraged if not fostered by the imperial court or better "the Camarilla" who nominated him Banus of Croatia and a Marshall of the Imperial Army, as a counterbalance against Hungary.²⁹¹ However apart from the indisputable fact that constitutionally the lands were not integrated into the Kingdom of Croatia the symbolic significance of the fact is difficult to overestimate. Triune Kingdom was accomplished if not constitutionally sanctioned at least with the personal union by being concentrated into one and the same person.

At the end of December 1848 Bunjevac wrote in his trimester report to Jellacic that he encounters opposition and contrast for every attempted action.” Moreover the fiumani celebrate every Austrian defeat, such as the revolution in Vienna in October, since they hope to be liberated by the Hungarians from Croat oppression.²⁹²

The Croatian occupation of Fiume in 1848 had a large impact in the Adriatic public opinion ranging from Trieste²⁹³ to Dalmatia. The Croatian occupation of Fiume in 1848 certainly contributed to the formation of the local autonomist movement in Dalmatia.²⁹⁴ It seems that the Hungarians attempted to win the favour of the Italianate Dalmatian upper class, in order to annex Dalmatia to the Hungarian Kingdom and not to Austria as it was after the Peace of Campoformido in 1797.²⁹⁵ Giovanni Bratic, a Fiuman of Dalmatian origin, friend of the Hungarian governor Erdody is in charge to keep the contacts of Dalmatians with the Hungarian government in the summer of the revolution in 1848. He coordinates the work of other emissaries in Dalmatia, coordinated in Fiume

²⁸⁸ Kobler III p. 225.

²⁸⁹ On the 2nd December 1848 Emperor Ferdinand abdicated in favour of his nephew Franz Joseph, after archduke Francis Charles renounced his succession rights. On the 7th the Hungarian diet formally refused to acknowledge the title of the new king, " as without the knowledge and consent of the diet no one could sit on the Hungarian throne," and called the nation to arms. Constitutionally, in the Magyar opinion, Ferdinand was still king of Hungary, and this gave to the revolt an excuse of legality. Actually, from this time until the collapse of the rising, Louis Kossuth was the ruler of Hungary.

²⁹⁰ Depoli minimizes the fact stressing that he was appointed governor of Fiume implied that the separation of the City from Croatia was officially recognised. The office of the governor instead of being filled by a Magyar magnate was occupied by Jellacic, who "by chance happened to be also the Banus of Croatia". Depoli, Attilio. "Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.4 ottobre-dicembre 1954, p. 201

²⁹¹ He was one of the three marshals who were present to the deposition of Ferdinand for his nephew Franz Joseph. In the same way it is impossible not to notice the similarity of Metternich’s idea to create a powerful kingdom of Illyria to counterbalance Hungarian and Italian claims with Illyrian provinces and the more ambitious French plans outlined earlier in this chapter. Also, the birth of the Illyrian movement ten years after the Vienna congress appears initiated from above, serving the interests of Metternich.

²⁹² Depoli, Attilio. "Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, p. 132)

²⁹³ The occupation (defined as a “catastrophic” event) by the Governor of Trieste Salm in 31st August in a report to the general Gyulai, asking troops in the eastern borders of Istria. In Depoli, Attilio. "Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1954, p. 111-112.

²⁹⁴ It was the triumph of the *via facti* as later defined by Nicolò Tommaseo, in his Tommaseo, Nicolò, *Via facti. La Croazia e la fraternità. Di nuovo a' Dalmati* (1861).

²⁹⁵ A creation of a pro Hungarian party was envisaged, Hungary offered the rights of the Dalmatians to be represented in the Hungarian Diet, the preservation of their (Italian) language, tax exemptions in the tobacco and salt trade etc. reported in Horvath, Jenő, "A Magyar Kormány Adria Politikája: 1848-49", Budapest, 1927, docs, XLI and XLVII. In Depoli, Attilio. "Fiumani contro l’Austria nel 1848-1849", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1956, pp.2-4.

by Giuseppe de Susanni.²⁹⁶ The status of autonomy and *corpus separatum*, granted to Fiume, could have been applied also to Dalmatia, and in this way prevent the treat of its annexation to Croatia.²⁹⁷ Interestingly, the same formula was invoked later in the last years of the Monarchy to grant Bosnia Herzegovina to Hungary.²⁹⁸

Moreover, in Fiume the sympathies for the Venetian insurgents are made public, there was even a printed sermon for the “Venetian brothers” written in the Venetian dialect (spoken in Fiume as well).²⁹⁹ This toleration for the Italian insurgents in Fiume is explained of the Hungarian benevolence towards the Italians, as confirmed also by the contemporary press.

For Bunjevac all this is deeply discomfoting: the cause lies in only some “twenty notables and patricians” (defined “nekojeh italomah” – some italianophiles) who permeate and control public life in this for him “purely Croatian” city the caste who interposed the population of Fiume from the Croatian motherland.³⁰⁰ The removal of some municipal officers is not change the things for the better, as the Banal Council wrote to Jellacic that “under their mask, even today the greatest enmity towards our race and the current state of affairs is felt”.³⁰¹

But the tensions were not confined to the congregation, since during the start of the carnival some instanced a protest that according to Depoli were “openly irredentist”, although the banus greeted the “libera terra di Fiume”.³⁰²

VIA FACTI: THE “CROATIAN LITTORAL” 1848-1868

Up to 1848, the Hapsburgs ruled Hungary (including the kingdoms of Croatia-Slavonia) with three collegial institutions. The Hungarian Royal Chancellery, the Hungarian Vice Regency Council, and the Hungarian Aulic Chamber. With the revolution of 1848 Croatia receded unilaterally all the relations it had with the Hungarian kingdom to whom it had so far belonged. With the art. 11 of the Croatian Sabor, from 1848 Croatia had in all 16 jurisdictions (*processus*). As a Croatian government (instead of the Hungarian Vice Regency Council) the bansko vijeće (Banal or Croatian Vice Regency Council) was formed by Jellacic, and enacted as a Croatian executive when on 7th September 1848 Jellacic declared war to the Hungarians. The Croatian Vice Regency Council had competencies in the administration of Croatian autonomy but for the finances, war, trade and foreign relations that remained to the Viennese central government.

By the end of 1848 the Viennese administration was able to put Croatia into control and to assure that it was to be ruled according to the principles that had to be applied to the whole monarchy. On the 4th of March 1849, Emperor Franz Joseph issued (on proposal of count Stadion) the

²⁹⁶ Both are in charge of the administration of the Batthyany possessions in the surroundings of Fiume, fiefs originated by the confiscation of the Frangepan possessions after the rebellion of 1671 In Depoli, Attilio. “Fiumani contro l’Austria nel 1848-1849”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1956, pp.5-13. Later Braticich will be nominated Plenipotentiary of the Hungarian government by Lajos Kossuth at the revolutionary Venetian Republic in 1849. 33-36.

²⁹⁷ Vrandečić, Josip. *Dalmatinski autonomistički pokret u XIX stoljeću*, Zagreb, Dom i svijet, 2002.

²⁹⁸ In Krizman, Bogdan: *Hrvatska u prvom svjetskom ratu. Hrvatsko-srpski politički odnosi*, Zagreb: Globus, 1989.

²⁹⁹ The text, invokes the help of Holy Mary to liberate the brothers “out there” (fradei de fora) and concluded “Abasso l’aquila coi do bechi, abasso la bandiera dei tirani e suso el leon co le do ali” The text was reproduced by Torcoletti in the *Vedetta d’Italia*, 19th September 1920. The original (printed by the Official tipografia Regia Governiale dei fratelli Karletzky!) is lost.

³⁰⁰ DAZ, banski povjerenik, Bunjevac, Rijeka., 1848-49.

³⁰¹ In Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.4 ottobre-dicembre 1954, p. 206.

³⁰² Three persons were drawn in white red and green to form the Italian flag. On the other hand these are the colours of the Hungarian flag as well so it is difficult to conclude that it was necessarily irredentist.

Märzverfassung., known also as the Stadion Constitution.³⁰³ The constitution, in the first paragraph, put Fiume as one of the Crownlands of Empire, while the §73 receded all the connections between Croatia-Slavonia and Fiume with Hungary.³⁰⁴ On the other hand, in the §68 Fiume was still mentioned separately from Croatia-Slavonia (*Ungarn, Siebenbürgen, Kroatien und Slavonien samt dem kroatischen Küstenlande und Fiume*).³⁰⁵

The Municipal *Congregation* accepted "with jubilee" the new constitution, after a delay caused by the ban's commissioner in Fiume Bunjevac who before making it public on insistence of Tosoni asked instructions from Zagreb.³⁰⁶ The fiumani decided to send a deputation to meet personally the Emperor. The "Deputazione della Libera Terra e Porto Franco di Fiume" composed by Giuseppe Agostino Tosoni, Ludovico Giuseppe Cimiotti, Benedetto Bartol Smaich and Luigi Brelich, arrived in Vienna the 24th of March where they reputedly met some ministers³⁰⁷ Afterwards they departed to Olmutz, where they arrived and met the emperor Franz Joseph on 28th of March, who addressed them in Italian.³⁰⁸

Such benevolence the deputation returned to Vienna and met the ministers to ask for Fiume a position (within Croatia) comparable of that of Trieste within the Illyrian Kingdom, that is of a crown land, and continuation of support for the betterment of the port and the Ludovicea road.³⁰⁹

In the meanwhile, the deposition of Emperor Ferdinand raised a problem when the members of the Municipal Congregation as public officers had to swear. Bunjevac as banal luogotenente imposed a new formula: "I swear in the name of the King and to the Nation of the Triune Kingdom, that I will obey and submit to the superior authority of the Triune Kingdom." The vice captain Tosoni when asked to pronounce himself declared to obey faithfully the constitutional sovereign, to the nation of the Triune Kingdom (that is Croatia) he could declare "only friendship". His Excellency Jellacic was not recognised as ban of Croatia but only as "our governor" (of Fiume).

This formula to be "faithful to the nation" appeared for the first time, which is by itself an important change. Depoli notices that this implies their non-belonging to the nation to which they only have to be faithful. On the other hand, one can consider this the beginnings of nationalism in Fiume - the

³⁰³ The act constituted the Austrian Empire as a centralised state, putting an end to all centrifugal tendencies within the lands of the Austrian empire. The special rights and privileges that the Kingdoms of Croatia and Hungary enjoyed were abolished.

³⁰⁴ § 73. In den Königreichen Kroatien und Slavonien mit Einschluß des dazu gehörigen Küstenlandes, dann der Stadt Fiume und dem dazu gehörigen Gebiete werden deren eigenthümliche Institutionen innerhalb des durch diese Reichsverfassung festgestellten Verbandes dieser Länder mit dem Reiche in völliger Unabhängigkeit derselben von dem Königreiche Ungarn aufrecht erhalten. Abgeordnete aus Dalmatien werden mit der Landeskongregation dieser Königreiche unter Vermittlung der vollziehenden Reichsgewalt über den Anschluß und die Bedingungen desselben verhandeln und das Ergebnis der Sanktion des Kaisers unterziehen.

³⁰⁵ The Stadion constitution was put into practice although changed in some important respects in 1860. Nevertheless, it was a well-drawn document though more conservative than the Kremsier draft. Since it was not based on a compromise it could have been and indeed it was more consistent. Hungary was included. The property census of the franchise system in the new constitution was stiffer, the tenure of the legislation longer, the imperial veto absolute. The national district organization was left intact, but the Crownland autonomy was reduced, as was the federal element in the organization of the upper chamber. Regarding Hungary, the unity of the kingdom was preserved in principle, but balanced by autonomy for Croatia Slavonia including Fiume and a special status for Transylvania, which should bring equality to all national groups. Autonomous rights were also secured to the Serbs in the Vojvodina. A supplement to the constitution was a communal law, decreed ten days after the Octroy of the constitution. It promised communal autonomy after the Kremsier fashion "the free municipality in the free state". This was the only part of the March legislation that was enacted. Though in a permanent basis not before 1860.

³⁰⁶ Jellacic awaited with its publication in Croatia up to the 28th July 1849. in gross, 1985 p. 64.

³⁰⁷ Notably, only Bartol Smaich was a Croat, the others were fiuman patricians (Cimiotti) and burghers who went to Vienna in August 1848 to impede the Croatian occupation of Fiume. Bunjevac ordered the prohibition of their departure but only on 13th of April - therefore too late.

³⁰⁸ The *indirizzo* was signed by G.A. Tosoni vice capitano and Antonio Celebrini primo giudice distrettuale. The text: gli abitanti di Fiume e suo territorio, che nella nuova costituzione giubilanti ravvisano conservata la propria autonomia giustificata dalla sanzione prammatica, dai loro padri solennemente ratificata etc... In Depoli, Attilio. "Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.4 ottobre-dicembre 1954, p. 209.

³⁰⁹ Known also as the Maria Louisa, which connects Karlstadt with Fiume.

nation was the supreme authority the sovereign to whom its parts were called to obey. On the other hand it must be said that the ideology of Illyrianism and core nationalism appears to be much older for Croatia, and as we have seen so it is for Fiume, when Adamich already in 1810 speaks enthusiastically for an Illyrian nation - at least in private conversations. Moreover, the concept *nation* with its political overtones is present in the Hungarian (and therefore Croatian) constitutional tradition at least from the XVI century. Moreover, the carriers of the "new" ideology are all members of the elites of the old regime. The continuity is even more striking if we look at the institutions themselves. What was new (and happened first in 1848) was the interplay between two old forms of political life: the *nation* and the *City*. Here the City had to declare itself with respect to the nation, the answer given by Tosoni is tactical, only a "friendship" in principle was declared to avoid any declaration of "belonging" to a "nation" that was not perceived as advantageous or close to the interest of the City.³¹⁰

After the vice captain also the other members of the council were invited to declare themselves. Instead of a public proclamation only a signature was enough. Nevertheless, at the time of the deadline June the 15th, 26 consiglieri refused to declare themselves even friends of Croatia, what caused the anger of Bunjevac.

The Croatian representative in the City believed that this opposition reflected only the national and social alienation of the Fiuman political elite from the rest of the population of the City. There were "some Italianate elements" (*nekojih italomah*) that were the cause of all the trouble refusing to recognize the legitimate claims to Croatian sovereignty. They considered the old municipal congregation as an expression of the *ancien regime* composed by patricians (although all its members were elected!) - legitimate to be suspended also in the light of the new constitution of Count Stadion. Along with the Consiglio patriziale of Buccari (which was still a patriciate, not being subject to the Hungarian law of 1848, not applied in the Littoral but Fiume) also the Congregation of Fiume was suspended, after proposal of Bunjevac on June the 16th that got the sanction from the Banus on 29th.³¹¹

Contemporarily, Bunjevac to justify the introduction of the extraordinary administration of the City, threaten the members on the *casino patriottico* that in case of new and repeated infractions of public order the state of siege (introduced already on 3rd April) was to be made into "full effect".

A "provisional administrative county" (*odbor*) for the City of Fiume was instituted with J. Bunjevac at its head. Given the opposition to Croatian policy he admits all those who are not hostile to Croatia, the number of its members is not fixed. Most members were Croatian administrative officers. The county is always pronounced by the fiumani in its Croatian locution *odbor*, as to stress its foreign imposed origin. Its first measure had been the removal of its main opponent Agostino Tosoni from office as *giudice rettore*. Tosoni was replaced by Božo Pauletić nominated now "primario referente governiale".³¹²

Banus Jellacic visited Fiume on the 9th July, 1849 for the first time as a governor of the City., some days before the institution of the *odbor*. Problems arise immediately since he is greeted with *viva il governatore!* And not *zivio!* or *zivio ban!* After the speech he delivered at the *casino patriottico* visited after the *čitaonica*.

Tosoni wrote a letter of protest that all the justices Celbrini, Kobler, Martini, Kukatzkay, Emili had signed. The authors of the letter protested against the accusations launched in Zagreb and than

³¹⁰ The text of the oath written by Tosoni: "Giurando di essere fedele alla nazione dei tre regni intendo che l'impoegato e il cittadino di questa terra (terra di Fiume), di qualunque provenienza o nazionalità egli sia, senza rinunciare alla propria nazionalità, dichiari solennemente di voler essere sincero amico della nazione dei tre regni, e prometta che non intraprenderà nessun atto ostile o contrario agli interessi della medesima, anzi la sosterrà in ogni modo possibile". In Depoli, Attilio. "Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.4 ottobre-dicembre 1954, p. 206.

³¹¹ DAZ, Bunjevac 287, and 393, more in Depoli, Attilio. "Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.4 ottobre-dicembre 1954, p. 216.

³¹² Tosoni was accused of irregular activities while in office, but mounted since the year later he become president of the Tribunal of the Committee in Fiume the "I.R. Tribunale del comitato", of 2nd instance instituted in Fiume.

retaken in Vienna that they even collaborated with the Hungarian and Polish revolutionaries. In fact there is evidence that several Italian, Polish and Hungarian republican radicals were active in Fiume. Moreover, there were even plans to organize a military expedition with a landing of Hungarian piedmontese forces of Kossuth. In Fiume there is even an attempt to organise a landing of the Sardinian fleet through Fiume that had to junction with the Hungarian troops that had to storm Croatia and join the Sardinians. Bunjevac, although eager to act, observes that Fiume has become the “central point of Italian and Hungarian emissaries”, apart from the smuggling of weapons for the Hungarian insurgents and supplies for the besieged Venetians.³¹³

Bunjevac reassures to strict measures against the functionaries of the “Italo-Hungarian national party still alive under the ashes”. but the actions are a source of embarrassment for the Banus Jellacic after the frequent remonstrations by Austrian ministers Stadion and Windischgratz, and then ultimately by the minister of the interior Bach. The Fiumani complain about the monolithic ideology, which conquers and wants to eliminate all the pluralism present in the political community present from before, is further illustrated:

*“He (Bunjevac) wanted to croatize this country and he did it in front of the Municipal Representation. The municipal Congregation was suspended and an “Odbor” (deputation) of only 40 members was introduced instead. Many of its members shared the same political principles, but also this measure proved unsuccessful.”*³¹⁴

Giacich recalls that the word “Illyrians” “caused widespread enthusiasm among the Croats and fuelled new passions. Then they throw this word into oblivion only to take another one, with which not many sympathies in Europe are associated” this only worsened their reputation since “in this way was difficult to bring brotherhood among the nations”. Indeed; “they wanted emancipation from the Magyars with whom they shared eight centuries of common destinies”. He admitted that actually they had some sympathizers in the City: “the partisans of such tendencies were labelled *Carabagnie*.”

After having said that he describes the rule of Austrian centralist absolutism that followed to the revolutions of the 1848/49 and the Hungarian defeat. The bureaucratic system materialized in its full force regardless of the local traditions and needs. All offices were a transmission and control of the central administration depicting a grim picture in which all local institutions were left without power or authority. The central government introduced heavy taxes: “Fiume until that time free of taxation except the salt and tobacco tax of 2700 florins that everyone contributed to pay”³¹⁵ now had to give more than 844.000. The money was spent, among other things, “for roads built in Croatia against even our very essential commercial interests, leaving us without means to repair ours”.³¹⁶

Both Croatian and Italian were now declared official languages. The Croatian authorities founded new cultural and educational institutions by - the *Narodna čitaonica riječka* (as a counterweight to the pro-Hungarian Italianate *casino patriottico*, founded in 1844 on the wave of the Szecheny's "Casino movement") and the Croatian gymnasium. Croatian was introduced in the elementary schools, and in the suburbs Croatian schools were opened. The official language is the Italian but the inclusion of Fiume to Croatia is always affirmed. The conflict with the municipal government

³¹³ Moreover, in Fiume on the 5th February was arrested the Sardinian agent Rudolf de Czaykowski, reputedly the head of a network of informers, who were sent secretly in several parts of the Adriatic. In Depoli, Attilio. “Fiume nel 1848 e negli anni seguenti”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno II, N.4 ottobre-dicembre 1954, p. 205. similar activities is reported also in Cetnarowicz, Antoni. *Narodni preporod u Dalmaciji : Od slavenstva prema modernoj hrvatskoj i srpskoj nacionalnoj ideji*, Srednja Europa, Zagreb, 2006.

³¹⁴ Giacich, 1861, p.8.

³¹⁵ Giacich, 1861, p.15. the tax was reserved to citizens of the City, those that possessed the right to vote. Therefore “everyone” means some 2% of the population. There is no contradiction here: he was addressing only to the “political nation” or demos.

³¹⁶ Giacich, 1861, p.14.

still in office is constant, and to win the resistance the Croats start to import civil servants, and professors to the gymnasium, recently turned to Croat language.

The Viennese paper *Die Presse* (n. 200, 23rd August 1849) claimed that the occupation of Fiume by Croatian troops could have been justified given the situation in Hungary when Kossuth was head of government, but a permanent possession of the City by the Croats couldn't. Otherwise Fiume would not have been mentioned separately in the first paragraph of the constitution as a separate possession of the Crown. Without Hungary the City should rather be incorporated with Istria since it forms a single unit in terms of language usages and mores, the paper concluded.³¹⁷

The answer by the *Agramer Zeitung* in Zagreb accused the Fiumans of Italian irredentism.³¹⁸ "Since a certain party didn't manage against the right of Croatia, to annex the City to Hungary now this party tries to pave the road to Italian interests, with the desire to connect it with Trieste. Moreover some Fiumans are against the union with Croatia and this miserable separatist spirit was blatantly introduced in our littoral from Italy." The administrative county (odbor) also takes its stance claiming that "Fiume has to foresee all its future in the union with the national Croatia, no matter what some unsatisfied say". These people are some "agitated spirits guided by passions or egoistic goals that cause disorder and agitation causing manifest prejudices and a catastrophe for their country."³¹⁹

Nevertheless, the situation changed after the surrender of the Magyars at Vilàgos and the fall of the Venetian republic. By the end of 1849, the Viennese authorities start to disapprove of the situation in Fiume and how is it managed, putting pressures to Jelacic to end the exceptional procedures in Fiume. On the other hand there were pressures also to the other side the reading of the §73 was changed slightly and now Fiume was a part of Croatia along with its surroundings.

Already on the 16th of January 1850 the Odbor nominates Francesco Troyer de Aufkirchen as podestà o Burgermeister. Giachich, a well known anti Croatian, claimed that Troyer was absolutely obeying all the instruction and commands he received from above never showing any sign of opposition. Several new centralizing institutions are introduced - the state police instead of the municipal one.

The imperial decision from March the 7th, 1850 recognised Fiume as a separate *Kronland* and accepted the decision of the Croatian Sabor from 1848 that it was completely independent detached from Hungary and annexed to Croatia. Fiume was considered as a separate *Kronland* and therefore was independent from the committal offices. The Viennese ministry of the interior with decision from March the 1st 1850 determined the functioning of the judiciary in Croatia. Notably, the act did not change the judiciary in Fiume. On a provisory regime the local fores continued to work. Only the *Giudizio Pretoriale* was abolished and the *Gubernium* (de facto ceased) lost its judiciary prerogatives. The Giudizio Distrettuale, the Regia Corte di Giustizia ed unitovi I.R. Cambio Mercantile e Consolato del Mare in Fiume, the *sedria* (sede) capitanale, was preserved as a second instance court, but arguably now under the of the civic captain who was the Croatian vice royal (banal) commissary for Fiume, that is Bunjevac.

In 1850 the *Odbor* nominates a commission to draft the new statute, since the laws passed by the Hungarians in 1848 are now declared to be decayed. The Odbor nominates Medanić and Suppe as heads of the commission, while in Vienna the minister Bach indicates dall'Asta - the former chief of the police, who had been deposed by Bunjevac for his opposition to the Croatian authorities.

But the Croatian domination comes to an end with the establishment of absolutism in Vienna. The new Viennese minister of the interior Bach introduces the new territorial partition of Croatia

³¹⁷ This article had an obvious anti Croat inspiration. We do not know who wrote it or who suggested this tone. Probably the delegation that went there from Fiume had same impact on the local opinion makers, even at the ministerial level, since the paper was close to the government.

³¹⁸ The *Agramer Zeitung* was the first newspaper to be published in Zagreb although written in German it reflected a Croatian stance.

³¹⁹ Depoli 1954, p. 220

subdivided in committees or counties.³²⁰ The ordinance of the Austrian minister of the interior Bach, from the 12th June 1850, divides administratively Croatia in counties (županije) that of Zagreb, Varaždin, Križevci and Fiume. Fiume becomes the seat of a Croatian county with its committal offices, schools and a tribunal of second instance.

The Croatian Vice Regency Council is dissolved on the 17th June 1850, and on the 27th June 1850 the Croatian executive (banska vlada, or banal government) was officially inaugurated, although its internal functioning was defined only in fall 1851.

Croatia was divided in 6 counties, but they were completely reformed as compared to the old feudal ones, they were modelled upon the Austrian *Kreis* (circle), Headed by a vrhovni zupan (supreme count) who was now civil servant. (71-77)

They were further subdivided into sub committees and municipalities. All the supreme counts were nobles with the notable exception of Anton Rusnov, the head of the committee of Fiume.

In Fiume, the new administrative order meant also the end of the government of Bunjevac in the City. He was commended to become the Vrhovni Župan or supreme count of Zagreb, the most important Croatian county. The new Vrhovni Župan of the Fiuman County is the moderate Anton Rušnov, already president of the Triester *Magistrato di sanità*. Josip Bunjevac become supreme count of the committee of Zagreb. As the absolutist policies from the Viennese ministry intensified, more and more German speaking officers were drawn in Croatian offices. German was the language of the political and judicial administration of Croatia, but Fiume was the notable exception since it could use the Italian.

The Croatian government put after the introduction of the *Odbor* Francesco Troyer as burgomaster, head of the executive civic magistrate. The head of the municipal police in Fiume was the Slovene Anton Achtschin, who soon departed from the Croatian nationalistic goals and was basically a factor of germanisation. Anton Rusnov was replaced with Ernst von Kellersperg who was the first supreme count of a Croatian committee who was a "foreigner" and did not speak a word in Croatian.³²¹ By the death of Jellacic in may 1859 the Croatian offices were put all under stable control from the Viennese executive. Jellacic was replaced in winter 1858 by another of his officers Josip Sokcevic.³²² In Croatia Fiume was one of the three biggest cities (along with Zagreb and osijek). It had more than 10,000 inhabitants and as such according to the law for the whole monarchy it was granted special municipal privileges, and was except from the direct committal administration.

In Fiume there is a very strange administrative situation: the city is the seat of the Fiuman County, but it is divided in 2 administrative districts: Buccari and Delnice. The political (administrative) district of Buccari is divided in the smaller judicial districts of Fiume, Buccari, and Crikvenica. The

³²⁰ The institution of the Committee was not new being part of the Hungarian constitution since the middle ages. The committee were larger territorial units that along with free towns had a certain degree of administrative independence and self rule, called municipal privileges. Prior to 1848 Croatia had three counties (Zagreb, Varaždin, Križevci) and Slavonia, being separated from Croatia, had Virovitica, Požega and Srijem. The law of 1850 changed not only their territorial extension but it also affected their internal structure giving birth to the "modernisation from above" as it was labelled by the Croatian historian M Gross. The new committees of the so-called civil Croatia (a large part of the country was still under direct military administration known as the Military Frontier) were Zagreb, Varazdin, Koros (Križevci), and Fiume. Gross, 1985, p. 61.

³²¹ Gross, 1985, p. 99

³²² He was born in the town of Vinkovci in Slavonia. After schooling in his birth-town he went to a military academy in 1823 and graduates with honours in 1830. His career was going very steeply, starting from the rank of ensign, he was promoted to the rank of colonel in the summer of 1848. He commanded the 37th infantry regiment of Lavov, that consisted mainly of Hungarians. With the regiment he besieged and conquered Venice and it was the down-fall of Italian revolution against the Austrian Empire. With 38 years of age he received the rank of major-general, while in his 46th year he became a lieutenant marshal. Then he was transferred from the Slavonian military border to the Supreme military command in Graz. When the Croatian ban and baron Josip Jelačić was taken ill, Josip Šokčević was appointed the deputy of the ban by the Emperor Franz Joseph I and sent to Zagreb. Latter he became the military commander of the Banatian headquarters in Temeschwar. In the year 1860 he was exalted into the class of the Austrian baron, and was appointed as the governor of the Voivodship of Serbia and Tamiš Banat. In summer of 1860 the Emperor appointed him as the Croatian ban on the references of the Bishop of Bosnia and Syrmia, his grace, Josip Juraj Strossmayer.

Fiuman county bears little more than the name. All the authorities of the county were situated outside it the central offices were in Otocac in Lika.

Moreover, the Fiuman municipal administration is still independent from the district with its name formally, the municipium is subordinated to the county, that is under the direct dependencies of the Governor of Fiume. The banus Jellacic still holds this title. The City preserved the institution of the Governor, introduced already in the XVIII century by the Hungarians, but instead of a Hungarian magnate, now it had the *Ban* of Croatia or viceroy as governor of the City and the Croatian littoral. After the Croatian seizure and the proclamation of Jelacic as governor of Fiume and of the Hungarian littoral, in 1848 it became practice that the Ban of Croatia held also the office of Fiuman governor, forming in this way a “personal union” with Croatia.

On June the 12th 1850 the same Viennese ministry emanates the decree on the organisation of the public administration in Croatia-Slavonia. With this act the Committee of Fiume was instituted, subdivided in two political districts (Buccari and Delnice). Within the district of Buccari three districtual fores were planned: Fiume, Buccari e Cirquenizze.

In Fiume the reform of the judicial system is energetically conducted by Bunjevac. As president of the “Provvisorio Giudizio Distrettuale” (that functions from 1850 to 1854) is nominated Giovanni Kobler (the future historian of Fiume), with the title “Kotarski Sudac Pojedinač” (Singolo Giudice Distrettuale).

The Provvisorio Giudizio Distrettuale is under the Sedria giudiziaria capitanale, that continues to be the court of appeal in civil matters up to 1851 when the Croatian Provincial Tribunal (zemaljski sud) is instituted in Fiume. Its head, justice Gvozdanovic has frequent clashes with Kobler because of his insistence to impose the Croatian language as the language of the fore. Nevertheless, also form the title of the fore, it is clear that Fiume is considered to be a separate *Kronland* (zemlja) also within Croatia.

With decree from the Viennese Ministry of Interior, Justice and Finances, dated June the 3rd 1854, on the political organisation of the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, a judicial network is established also for Fiume. In Fiume a Committal Tribunal (Zupanijski Sud, R. Tribunale di Comitato) is instituted that acts as a competent for in commercial matters, maritime juridical for the Croatian littoral and penal tribunal. With its institution the (zemaljski sud) is ceased. The Committal Tribunal is the highest court and the Giudizi Distrettuali di Fiume, Buccari, Crikvenica, Delnice, Vrbovsko e Cabar are subordinated.

The Giudizio Distrettuale di Fiume acts in Fiume and the sottocomuni (0,3 square miles with 13888 inhabitants). Within the committee of Fiume there is a circle of Fiume (*Rijecki Okrug*) that comprises also the municipalities from the left bank of the Fiumara that is: Cernik, Drazice, Pasac, Podrvanj, Pothum, Grobnico, Jellenje and Tersatto, (3,4 square miles with 6982 inhabitants). For unknown reasons the fore changed its name in I R Pretura Urbana di Fiume on October the 30th 1854.

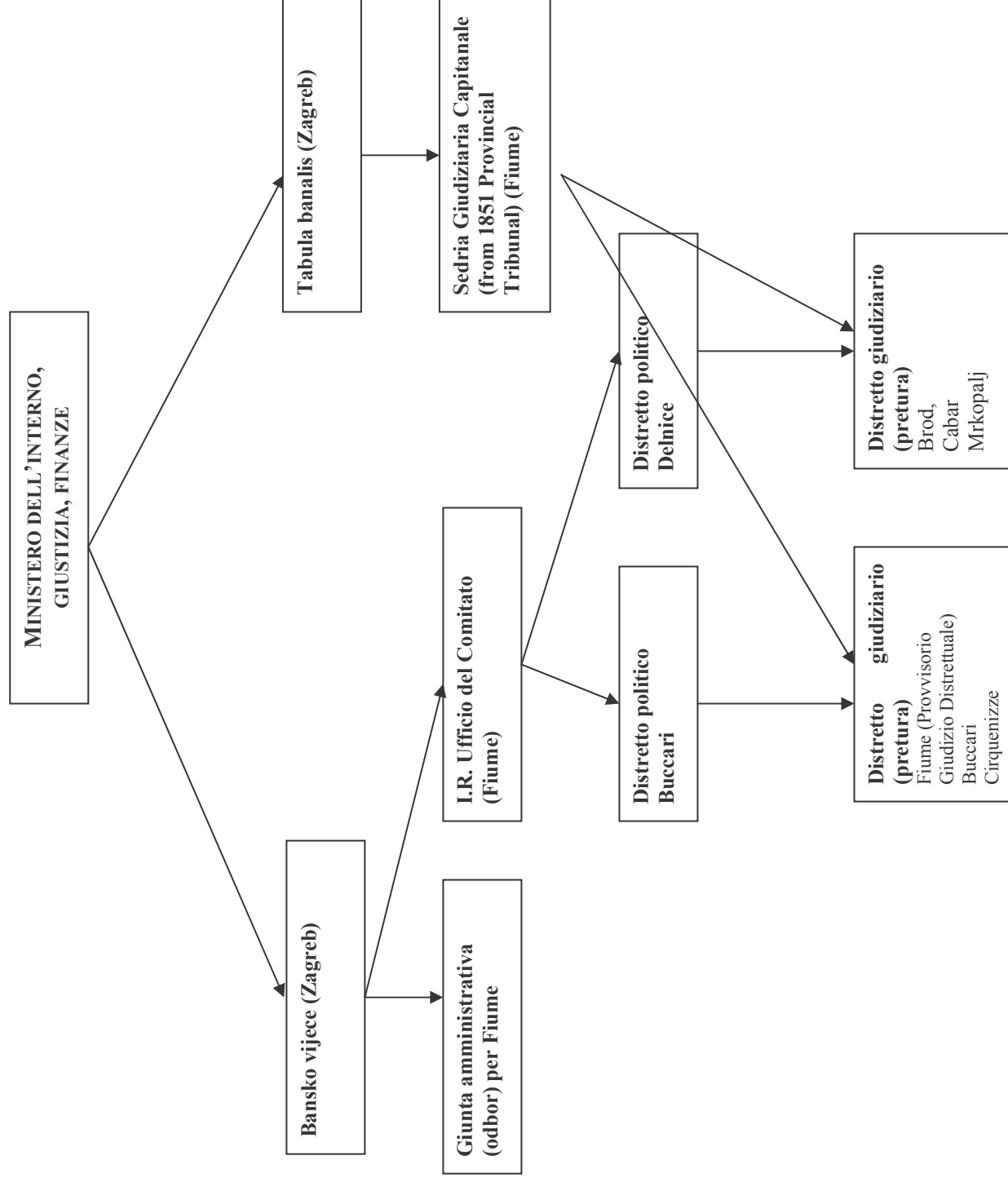
There is also a Giudizio Distrettuale Delegato (1854-1861). While the Pretura urbana is confined to the territory of the Città e Distretto di Fiume, the Giudizio Distrettuale Delegato (1854-1861) operates along all the Circolo di Fiume. Since both courts treat the same matters and are of first instance it is not clear what was their juridical distinction of competences. The only explanations is tjat also here the Fiumani managed to preserve its autonomy status in the Croatian judicial system. The civic fore operated in Italian while the other in Croatian.

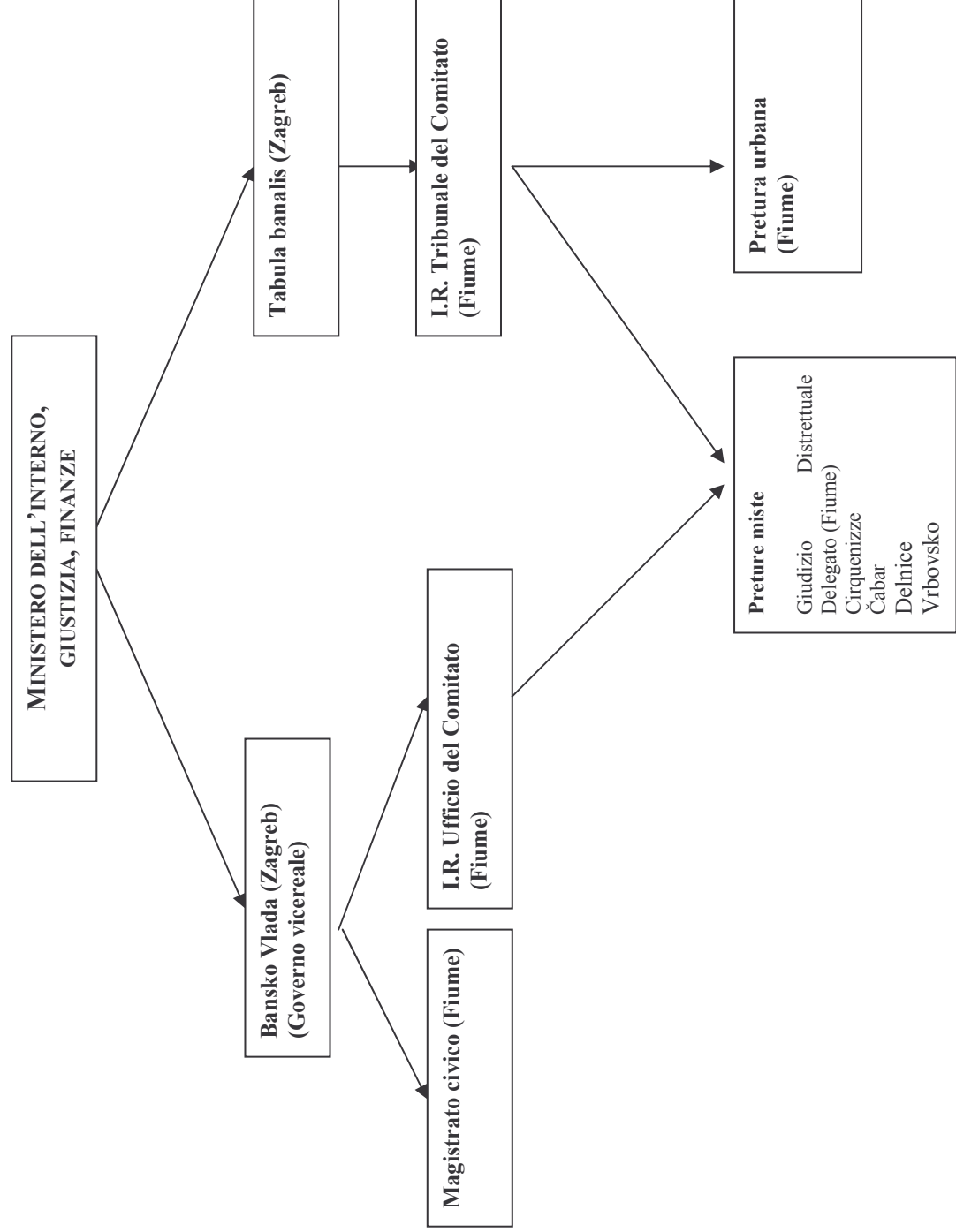
The Statute from 1530, that granted the privileges to the civic community and the patricians returned to force, after being superseded by the Hungarian revolutionary “Laws of 1848”. This meant that the representative institutions of the City were preserved: the Municipal Congregation stayed in its place with the Justice Rectors still at its head, but their influence was much weaker. The City was granted the right to send 4 deputies at the Croatian representative assembly - the *sabor*, but it usually refused to do so.³²³ Some of the City privileges were preserved for example,

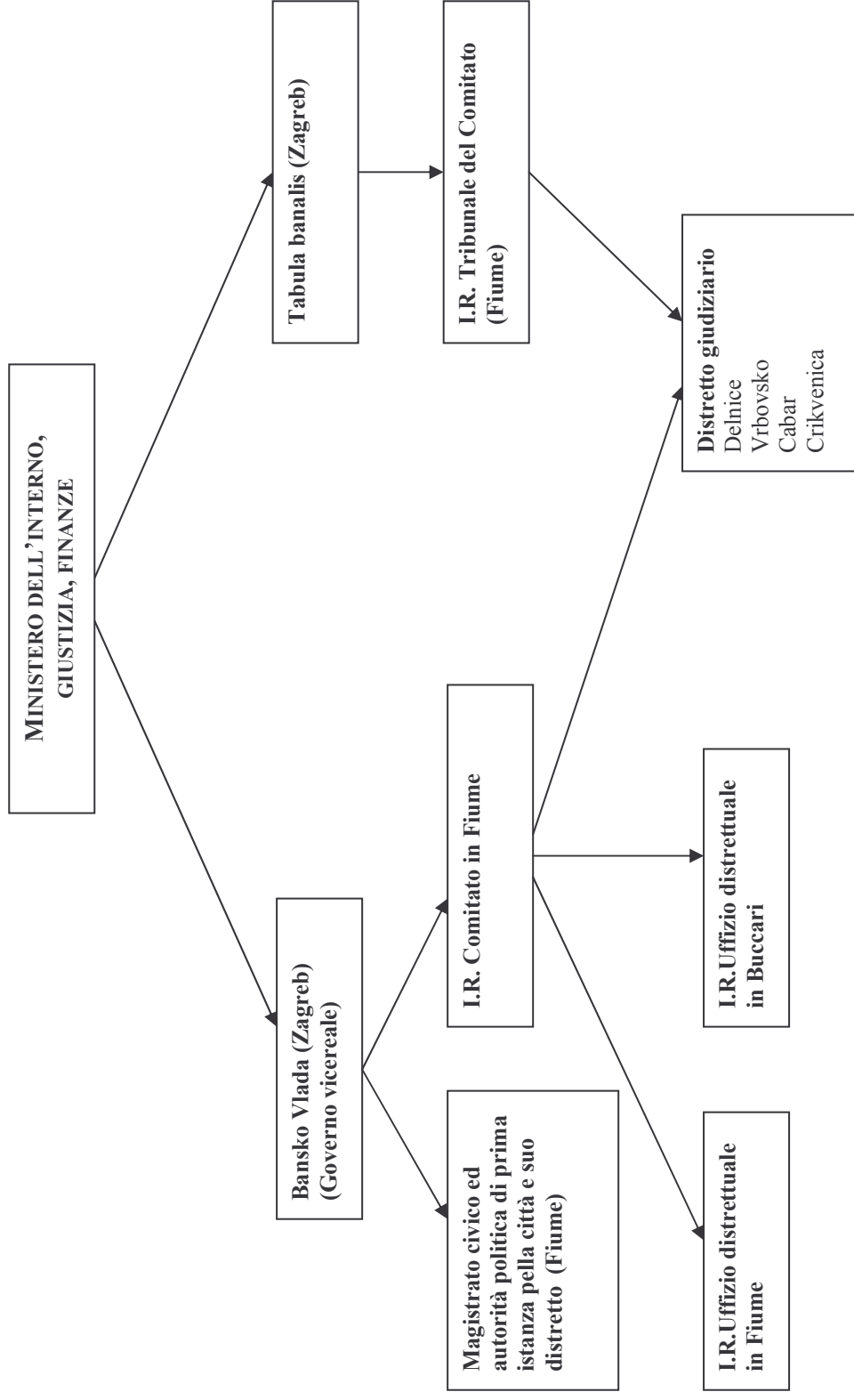
³²³ In 1865 the representatives were sent both to the Croatian *sabor*, only in order to protest against the annexation, and to the Hungarian parliament to ask to take steps for the sake of re-annexation.

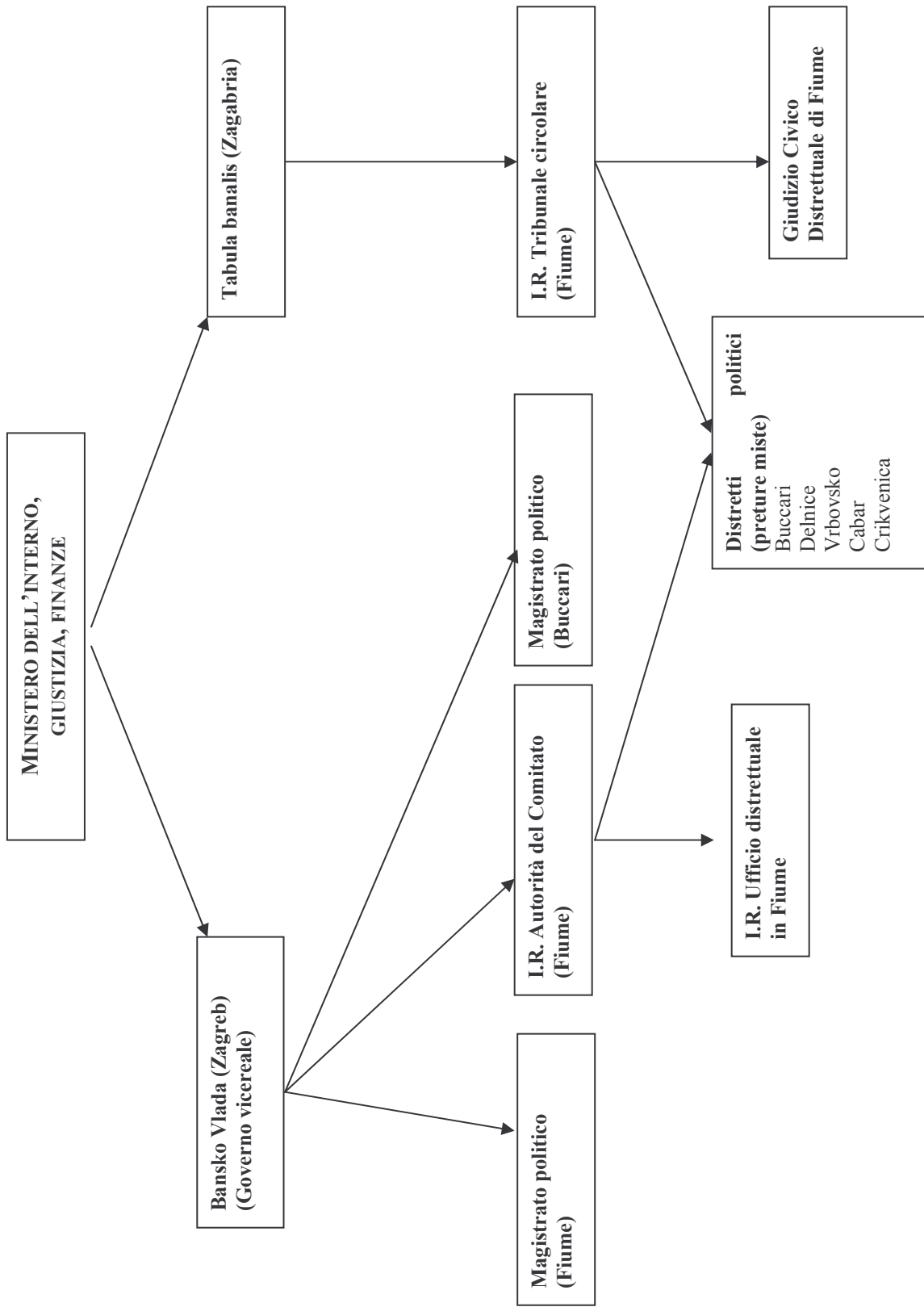
those concerning the exemption from military conscription. Also the institution of the civic captain, (dating from the Statute chart of 1530) was preserved and (in the absence of the Ban, who was seated in Zagreb) now supervised the administrative and judicial functioning in the City. According to Depoli the Fiumans accepted this since it guaranteed implicitly the autonomous position.³²⁴ Judicially, the competent tribunals of second and third instance for the City and the County were in Zagreb. Practically, this meant that all of the disputes were solved in Fiume in order to avoid the need of sending them to Zagreb.

³²⁴ We do not know if he only supposed this he gives no proofs or documents, rather, there was no reaction at all. see pp. 224-225 in Depoli 1954.









After 1848 and the introduction of a formal Croatian administration in the City, the educational policy was to be decided in Zagreb and at the time a Croatian gymnasium was introduced in Fiume. The Illyrian language was taught earlier in the schools of Fiume but only as a minor secondary language. The introduction of a full-fledged Croatian school curriculum in 1850, meant a drastic change that ignited resistance from the municipal institutions. Nevertheless, the Croatian cultural production in Fiume remained very intense, primarily thanks to the gymnasium, since most of the Croatian intellectuals were employed there.

In fact the influence of Fiume (Rieka or Rijeka) for Croatian cultural development in the second half of the nineteenth century can't be overestimated: some of the greatest or most influential journalists, linguists but also musicians composers and writers (not to mention civil servants, such as the Ban Mažuranić who was also a pre-eminent literate and the party leader Starčević, as well as businessman) studied there or made their most important works while living in the City. At the time there was still no university in Croatia, the first one being opened in Zagreb in 1874, and, up to that time, Fiume was also the greatest Croatian cultural centre. After its forced translocation the centre of Croatian cultural activity shifted to the "Čitaonica"- the Croatian reading room, also founded in 1849.

In 1851 the Croatian committal authorities indicted the national census also for Fiume, that was to be the first in its history. Later frequently reported (also by A.J.P. Taylor in his history of the Hapsburg monarchy) the data census showed only 691 Italians, out of a population of 11,000 Croats. The data from the census are still widely deployed by Croatian historians, but a careful analysis by Depoli proved that the census considered the "state belonging as the leading criterion. Since Fiume was at all effects Croat at the time, also all the residents who were born there were mechanically counted as "Croats". "Italians" were only the people who emigrated to Fiume from the Italian states of the Apennine peninsula, and, possibly, the Lombard-Venetian Kingdom. The same was confirmed by some Austrian reports from the same time where the figure was rather at 60% Italian versus 40 % Croat, a figure that (with oscillations) remained more or less the same up to 1918.³²⁵

Klen published some reports from the Fiuman magistrate where the dynamics of the census were reconstructed.³²⁶ The supreme count (vrhovni zupan) sent on 21st may 1851 to the justice Celebrini to collect statistical data. The missives were all translated to Italian, and Celebrini wrote them in Italian. Then they were translated to Croatian for the committee offices.

Apart from the statistical census on the nationality on the national economy and a statistical census of the population. The third was about the administration. (Rapporto d'Amministrazione per l'anno solare 1852). Signed June, the 11th 1853 by justices Martini, Celebrini and Kukackaj. The city in 1852 was governed by a magistrate who had a provisional president and 4 giudici referenti, and one secretary. Also the report noticed that in year 1852 a notable progress in the industrial development of the city was noticed. Especially shipbuilding experienced something of a real boom since in 1852 in the yards of Fiume were built twice the ships than from the whole monarchy. Klen used the report to prove that the main argument of Croats that Fiume within Croatia experienced a veritable economic boom. But that was not the whole story: the turning to industrial economy reflected the need for capital investments in activities different from trade, that experienced a decline. Traders were never happy with manufacture or industrial production that was always seen as an ersatz. Second the golden age of Fiuman sail shipbuilding was to be obscured by the rapid development of Trieste where a modern industrial production of iron steamships started in 1857 with the activation of the Stabilimento Tecnico Triestino (STT).³²⁷ To continue Fiume needed massive investments and Croatia could not deliver them.

³²⁵ Depoli, Attilio. "Una statistica sorprendente". *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno V, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1957, pp. 180-183.

³²⁶ Klen, Danilo. "Tri izvještaja o Rijeci iz 1851. i 1852." *Jadranski Zbornik*, Rijeka, Pula, 1956, pp. 231-242.

³²⁷ Stabilimento Tecnico Triestino was an Austro-Hungarian shipbuilding company based in Trieste. It served the Austro-Hungarian Navy on a large scale and was the largest shipyard in Austria-Hungary. Das Stabilimento Tecnico

The offices and institutional competencies in Fiume previously held by the Hungarian Governor were completely dismantled. Its authority in terms of maritime and trade administration were taken over by the Maritime Government of Trieste (Governo Marittimo del Litorale), while the institution of the Governor was taken by the Croatian ban, but only in virtual terms since no acts were ever signed by using this title. Fiume after the dissolution of the Hungarian *gubernium* lost the maritime supervision on the Croatian littoral. The maritime authority will be transferred to Trieste, (under the name of *Governo Centrale Marittimo di Trieste pel littorale della Croazia civile in Fiume*) - a measure which obviously harmed the interests of a port City. As “chief inspector” of the last remnant of the Hungarian *gubernium* was Smaich.

In this way, the actions of the Croatian officers and administrators taken in Fiume provided a model and reference for both its betrayers and its proponents. For the ones it meant that Croats had the capacity and the right to do so, for others it could have been done only by disrupting order and creating damages for everyone. One of the most important writings of Niccolò Tommaseo (then already in Florence), will be titled *via facti* what was to be expected by the Croat government and administration in Dalmatia was already visible in Fiume; Suppression of old institutions, coercion, abuse of power, force and in perspective economic stagnation, cultural and social backwardness. Definitely, in Fiume the event justified later autonomist resurgence and provided the guidelines for political action well up in the 20th century.

Triestino (S.T.T.) entstand 1857/1858 in Muggia bei Triest aus der Maschinenfabrik Strudenhoff in Sant' Andrea und der Werft San Rocco. Es war eine der größten Werften Österreich-Ungarns die auf zwei Stapeln Schiffe mit einer Verdrängung von bis zu 20.500 Tonnen herstellen konnte.

Nevertheless, no matter how effective these measures were on a national scale, they basically missed the point within the city. Carlo de Franceschi, was confined in Fiume from 1855 to 1861, being compromised politically in Istria. In his *Memorie* he recalled the situation in Fiume in the Croat period:

I croati si prefiggevano di slavizzare gradatamente la città e convertirono in croato il ginnasio italiano – latino, incontrando però forte opposizione in tutte le classi dei cittadini. Il loro partito era rappresentato dai professori ginnasiali, da una parte degli impiegati governativi, da qualche avvocato e da pochi possidenti, negozianti e preti; ma il massimo numero dei cittadini sospirava il ritorno dell'amministrazione ungarica. I croati si radunavano nella loro Citaonica, i fiumani nel Casino di società. La lingua italiana fu sempre mantenuta negli uffici del comune, nelle radunanze del consiglio comunale, nel Tribunale; e soltanto negli ultimi tempi della mia dimora a Fiume si tentò di introdurre in questo, ma con poco successo, la lingua croata.

The Croats did not manage to include Fiume into the Committee of Fiume. The resulting administrative structure is complex and contradictory: along with the magistrate of Fiume, later in 1856 also the magistrate of Buccari was *de facto* detached from the committal offices, and was independent and responding directly to the Croatian vice royal executive (the *banska vlada*). The committee of Fiume had the authority though the district offices of Buccari and Fiume that were competent in fiscal, police and judiciary matters. Only in 1861 the Croats managed to cease the Fiuman Pretura urbana and the Giudizio Distrettuale Delegato changed its name in Giudizio Civico Distrettuale di Fiume (1861-1871). It seems therefore, that the Croatian judicial reform as it was set by decree from the 3rd May 1854 was completed only in 1861. only then, in judiciary terms the dependence of the Croatian high fores was complete.³²⁸

The Croat historians initially attributed this to the lack of determination of the Croatian officers towards the “small group” of fiuman elites who were against the incorporation to Croatia. As we shall see, in Fiume also the broad popular masses were inimical towards Croatia and the phenomenon was not limited to a small elite. Onb the other hand it seems highly implausible that Fiume could have sustained such an opposition stance only to initiative of a small elite since all the state administration was against it. A tiny handful of powerful families would have some difficulties to control 10,000 proletarians without any governmental support, and by this a inimical government.

³²⁸ DARi-494. KOTARSKI SUD RIJEKA (Giudizio Civico Distrettuale di Fiume) (1836-1918); manuscript by Nikola Crnkovic.

CHAPTER 3: THE NEGOTIATED NATION

THE STRUGGLE FOR FIUME (1860 – 1868)

The year 1860 certainly marks the beginnings of modern mass politics in Fiume. After 10 years of absolutist government, for it was known to be transitional, the city witnessed an unprecedented rise of political manifestations and an outburst of political violence. The Austrian defeat in 1859 which resulted in the loss of Lombardy, raised the possibility of a new revolution in Hungary. The “Bach System” did not recognize historical Hungary. It postulated the existence of one common indivisible state (the Austrian Empire) of which a mutilated Hungary formed nothing more than an important section. Croatia-Slavonia (with Fiume) and the Temes Banat (called also Serbian Vojvodina) were separated from the Hungarian kingdom and provided with local governments. The supreme government was entrusted to an Imperial Council (*Reichsrath*) responsible to the Emperor alone. The *Reichsrath* was a purely consultative body, the ultimate control of all important affairs being reserved to the Emperor and his ministries. Its representative element consisted of 100 members, elected by the provinces. The provinces were administered by imperial officials, who, as a rule, did not understand the local tongues. German was the official language. The Sabor in Zagreb will be suspended again and the ban becomes an imperial functionary responsible to the Viennese government and not to the Croatian Sabor.

The Diploma of the 20th October 1860, restored some constitutional norms, primarily the elected Provincial Diets (Landsrat) and Municipal Councils, paving the way for a new constitutional settlement at the level of the whole Monarchy. From this date on, absolutist rule was suspended, and autonomy to the crownlands of the Empire was to be given back.

That the climate was becoming less tense is reflected in the sudden explosion of political debate in the city. Ercole Rezza, a Genoese who started a printing business in the city, was the first author who mentioned autonomy as a *leitmotiv* in Fiume.³²⁹ The exact date of his arrival is not known, but he was there already before 1848. Shortly after that, he was allegedly already politically compromised, being involved with the “affair of the Helvetian typography of Capolago in 1852”.³³⁰ In Fiume, in 1854 he starts a lithography and in 1856 a typography. Here he starts to print the *Eco di Fiume*, that began to publish memories on the history of Fiume. The paper remained apolitical until 1860; then it actively starts to publish articles that reflect the growing contrast between the city and the Croatian institutions. In the first period the paper will give space to both positions, but later it will more and more acquire a pro fuman (or pro Italian) stance. The paper claimed in several occasions why Fiume was and had to be independent from Croatia because of its history, the culture of its people and their economic interests.

One of the writers was Carlo de Franceschi.³³¹ Coming from Parenzo in Istria, he was one of the champions of Italian nationalism in that province.³³² Carlo de Franceschi mentions Rezza as “the

³²⁹ Although a police report from 1862 claims that possibly he started his opposition activities more for personal (meaning material) interests than for political convictions – “forse più per interesse che per simpatia politica”, In Schiavoni, Enrico. "Un elenco di sospetti politici del 1862", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1956, pp. 109-116. On the other hand, the claim that he was tuned to the Croats (writing his name in Croatian as Reča Relja!) is exposed in Lukežić, Irvin. “Riječki knjižar, tiskar, novinski urednik i nakladnik Ercole Rezza”, *Fluminensia*, 16 (2004) nr. 1-2, pp. 1-27.

³³⁰ The Tipografia Elvetica di Capolago, sited in the Ticino canton in Switzerland, was an important publishing house for texts of the Italian Risorgimento. It operated from 1830 to 1853.

³³¹ Carlo De Franceschi (a. 1809-93) nato a Moncalvo (presso Pisino) fu uno dei più arditi agitatori nella Contea: dovette perciò lasciare il suo impiego al Tribunale di Rovigno, e solo quando fu nominato segretario della Giunta provinciale dell'Istria poté dedicarsi con tranquillità ai suoi studi prediletti. Nell'Istria del Kandler aveva dettato preziosi articoli in specie sulle Popolazioni slave della provincia. La sua opera principale però è L'Istria, Note storiche. Parenzo 1879. In questa (va sino al 1815), se per un tratto calca le orme del Kandler, sa però trarre largo profitto dai documenti

core of an information network of patriots” (arguably Italian nationalists) in the City, allegedly sent by Cavour to start “a national agitation” in Fiume. Some of the people that De Franceschi mentions were indeed escaping from the Austrian provinces (from Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia and Istria) because of their political activities as agitators or propagators of the Risorgimento, suggesting a fairly ambitious action, connected possibly with the planned landing of Italian troops, along with Hungarian and Polish volunteers under the command of Garibaldi on the eastern Adriatic coast. Some of them appear to have been sent deliberately by the Piedmontese government or sponsored by patriotic organisations.³³³

In the *Almanacco fiumano* that E. Rezza published and edited in the 1857 he requested the readers to provide historical sources of any kind, in order to publish them in the yearly publication. In the total absence of a fiuman “storia patria”, in his view the *Almanacco* had to become the “historical archive” of Fiume. In the preface he expressed the hope that within a couple of years all of these materials will be systematised in order to produce a history of Fiume. Nevertheless apart from the exhortation on historical writing and preservation of memories no explicit national feelings are present.³³⁴ In any case, the “Eco del litorale ungarico” that he also edited, had the motto “Fiume con l’Ungheria”. Croatia was completely omitted and what became the dominant political ideology in Fiume for many years to come started to shape. Fiume had to be as independent as possible from its hinterland and Croatia and the strategic alliance with Hungarians appeared to be the only possibility.

Although it seems that already in the 1840s they gained the support of certain influential individuals in the City we don’t know what *really* motivated a Fiuman patrician or a bourgeois to become an Italian nationalist. Probably the fear of being administered by the Croatian Sabor was damaging for the plans to modernise the port and industrialise the City. Moreover, the successes of the Italian Risorgimento raised nationalistic feelings in a city where Italian was the language of business and administration of the port and the schools. On the other hand what is sure is that there were not many: even later nationalist writers who had all their interest to find the biggest possible number of these predecessors of irredentism had a hard job in finding them.³³⁵

In 1860 Ercole Rezza started to write a series of articles, but since he was a foreigner, and on this ground was attacked by Barcic, soon afterwards its role was taken by a local physician - Antonio Felice Giachich - for the same publishing house of E. Rezza. In the same year, 1860, he wrote a pamphlet: “Voti e bisogni di Fiume” - a great success, that will be used and cited for many decades to come, even by authors who, as we shall see, belonged to quite different ideologies.³³⁶

“Ora che mercé il sovrano diploma del 2 ottobre la monarchia è chiamata a nuova vita pubblico politica; ora che le autonomie ed i diritti storici dei differenti stati che la compongono vennero in massima riconosciuti, la città di Fiume commetterebbe un suicidio se rimanesse silenziosa, ed appoggiata a diritti storici non facesse conoscere i propri bisogni i propri voti.”

che dall'archivio di Venezia Tomaso Luciani mandava alla Giunta provinciale, nel mentre frutto delle sue ricerche personali sono i capitoli originali sulla Contea di Pisino. On a Croatian interpretation of his political and intellectual activity. Bertoša, Miroslav. *Etos i etnos zavičaja (Istra kao historiografski problem)*, Pula-Rijeka, 1985.

³³² Sergio Cella, *giornalismo e stampa periodica*, pp. 30 - 31

³³³ A clandestine association, named Dante Alighieri, is reported to have founded in the City, according to De Franceschi, but again, nothing is known about them. In De Franceschi, *Memorie autobiografiche*, Trieste, 1926.

³³⁴ *Almanacco fiumano per l'anno 1857*, Ercole Rezza librajo-editore. Fiume, 1857

³³⁵ For example Susmel (1933) the author of the standard Fascist interpretation of fiuman history, mentions only one Fiuman: Luigi Peretti.

³³⁶ It is a fact that almost anything can become a “building block” for an ideology without reducing its mobilizing potential. On the other hand, the older was the source of inspiration the greater (*ceteris paribus*) was its authority. Therefore the first texts that initiated certain traditions, such as that of Giachich or Barcic, will prove to be also the most durable.

Than in a single paragraph he presented what become later the official argument of autonomism until the First World War (and afterwards):

“La secolare autonomia di Fiume non può essere posta in dubbio da chicchessia; noi troviamo Fiume autonoma sotto l’alto dominio della casa d’Austria, e pel corso di tre secoli si mantenne tale senza mai esser formalmente aggregata ad alcuna delle provincie austriache.”

“Fiume si reggeva con proprio statuto; gli affari pubblici, politico-economici venivano trattati con conchiusi che avevano forza di legge, da un consiglio capitanale formato da soli patrizi consiglieri; sotto il presidio di un capitano civile di nomina sovrana, ma che al suo ingresso in carica doveva solennemente giurare di far osservare, e di conservare gelosamente intatto lo statuto municipale; gli oggetti giudiziali venivano pertrattati dal vicario o giudice dei malefici, al cui posto, perché fosse imparziale, veniva chiamato quasi sempre un giurista dall’Italia; nel 1725 fu dichiarato porto franco; paese ereditario austriaco si governava quale staterello o piccola provincia o provincia separata; ed a parità degli altri stati provinciali sottoscriveva nel 1725 la sanzione prammatica; prestava separato omaggio; aveva propri consoli; i fiumani e specialmente i suoi dominatori I patrizi ne andavano orgogliosi delle speciali prerogative della città, ne menavano gran vanto, sempre pronti ed uniti a sostenere i propri diritti contro chicchessia; il diploma di Maria Teresa garantiva i diritti e i privilegi di Fiume.”

Since all these facts were belonging to a past political tradition, how had they to be related with the new times? This was a question of outmost importance:

“L’antica autonomia municipale dovette però modificarsi dietro lo spirito dei tempi a poco a poco sfumarono alcune borie patriziali, alcune prerogative incompatibili col progresso dei tempi, e specialmente dopo la sua restituzione al regno di Ungheria nel 1822 incominciò a farsi sentire l’azione governativa; nulladimeno al suo consiglio capitanale rimaneva ancora intatto il sommo privilegio di poter disporre delle propri rendite, e di conservare altre sociali condizioni, che tendevano al maggior suo sviluppo e benessere; soltanto nei casi d’importanti innovazioni, ed i oggetti di maggior entità doveva ricercare l’approvazione della luogotenenza di Buda mediante il locale governo.”

According to the autonomists, there was a political continuum from the commune of the middle ages when it was ruled according to its statutes and the privileges conceded by the Austrian emperors. This meant that the City was to be consider independent in constitutional terms from the other parts of the Empire. In other words the City had the right and the freedom to bargain and choose the partner which best could interpret its interests and needs (mainly of commercial nature). Nevertheless, a full-fledged nationalist reinterpretation of the past of the City was still to come.

In the early 1860s in a period when the bargaining position of the Croatian Sabor was for a short period in better position. Namely, after the financial collapse of the monarchy a decentralising period started. On 31st December 1860 the fundamental law - the *Grundgesetz* - another octroyee constitution - is introduced putting officially an end to the *Marzverfassung* (the constitution of the 4th March that had never been applied anyway). To all the subject lands it was given the possibility to choose whether their representatives will be sent to the Viennese Reichsrat. It was expected that the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia will take over the administration in Fiume as well since the City was already included in the Commmittee of Fiume.

On the 10th of January 1861 Bartol Zmajić was appointed by the Emperor as High Sheriff (Supreme Count, Veliki Župan) of the County of Fiume. As one of his first acts, on February the 4th the burgomaster of Fiume Francesco de Troyer was replaced by Bozo Pauletich, because the “Council of the ten” (the Municipal Council) on the 25th January, sent two petitions to the Sovereign demanding annexation to Hungary and the use of Italian as only official language in the

administration, the judiciary and schools in Fiume. This act ignites tumults within the Municipal Council and in the streets, where “more than 5,000 people” manifested (in a city of 15,000), leading the Ban of Croatia on the 11th February to proclaim the state of siege.³³⁷

Giacich recalls that, in front of the concrete perspective of a Croatian committal government being introduced in Fiume: the population inscened a demonstration of “Fiuman aspirations” which were made more vivid by the Carnival, “when some license should be forgiven”. These were encouraged when Mr. Pauletic was nominated “provisional head of the Magistrate” (5th of February). The carnival was cooled with the proclamation of the state of siege and according to Giacich this has been the only and one time occasion the ban Šokčević spoke to the citizens of Fiume as “Governor of Fiume” (instead as a Croatian Ban), moreover, by using the Italian language.³³⁸

An article appeared in Milan stated the political credo of the Fiumani who, according to the anonymous correspondent, were “Italians by breed and culture but Hungarians for political sentiment and material interests”.³³⁹

On the 20th of February, the High Sheriff Bartol Zmajčić with the old flag of the Severin County went at the gathering held in Buccari where members of the County of Fiume were elected. There was voted an address to the Emperor where Dalmatia and eastern Istria were claimed and asked to be incorporated to Croatia.³⁴⁰ On the 13th March 1861 the Municipal Congregation was re-elected, and Ernesto de Martini was elected burgomaster since Bartol Zmajčić who in the City was also the Civil Captain, renounced to his right to nominate the President of the Civic Magistrate.³⁴¹

On the 21st March 1861 the King dissolved the Hungarian Diet, since no agreement was reached. Twenty days after, by order of the Royal Commissioner Daubachay de Dolje, the Municipal Congregation was dissolved.

In 1861 there were the elections for the Sabor - the representative body of Croatia. At the elections for the fiuman deputies at the Sabor, the City of Fiume (as a part of Croatia) had the right to elect 4 deputies. Of the 1222 registered electors, 870 put “Nessuno” (nobody) instead of the name of the candidate. Only 30 votes were regular, bearing the name of the candidate.³⁴²

On the 22nd March 1861 the Sabor discussed the position of Fiume, and the opinion that the City had to retain its “special position and status” also within Croatia prevailed. Nevertheless, the deputies from Buccari (a city from the littoral that was traditionally in competition with Fiume) who argued that it had to be fully included in a Croatian county as any other Croatian city. On the 29th March 1861 the congregation of the County of Zagreb, nominated a delegation to invite officially the King in person to open and inaugurate the Croatian diet and attend coronation as King of the Triune Kingdom.

³³⁷ On the 13th the Ban Šokčević issued a proclamation, where, curiously, the justification was done for protecting peace as premise of commerce and trade: “i continui tumulti avvenuti di recente sulle pubbliche vie e le dimostrazioni che resero la città di Fiume lo spettacolo di una sfrenata lotta di partiti, di poi la tendenza di trattenere l’inviamento legalmente regolato della trasformazione politica mediante brutali sfoghi di violenza e che necessariamente devono avere funeste conseguenze pel commercio, e da ciò dipendente il benessere della città, fanno sì che si rende necessario di opporre forza a sì arditi travimenti.” *La Gazzetta di Fiume*, 13 febbraio 1861.

³³⁸ In Giacich, 1861, p.22.

³³⁹ “Qui domina lo stesso spirito che in tutta l’Ungheria, giacché noi fiumani, essendo italiani di sangue e cultura, siamo Ungheresi per attinenza politica e interessi. Tutta la nostra popolazione, senza quasi eccezioni, vuole appartenere al regno d’Ungheria, riunito nella sua integrità. La nostra città è il porto ungherese, e dall’Ungheria si aspetta la sua salute e la sua prosperità...” *La Perseveranza*, 17 febbraio 1861.

³⁴⁰ There were only 5 fiumani, who asked the suspension of the state of siege, without success due to the opposition of Zmajčić. Among the members of the administrative board of the committee also Ante Starčević the leader of the Croatian Party of Right was nominated as High Notary of the committee.

³⁴¹ The other justices were Ernesto de Verneda, Luigi Peretti, Francesco Kukatzkai and Francesco Celligoi. *L’Osservatore Triestino*, 14th March 1861. Bartol Zmajčić showed a will to compromise, he also demanded on the 22nd February the end of the state of exception, but he was opposed by the bishop of Senj-Modruš Šoić and by the Vice Sheriff of the Committee Vončina. *La Gazzetta di Fiume*, 22 febbraio 1861.

³⁴² It was the first such case, afterwards also in Istria the same was done...

The King gave no answer, and moreover, when on the 6th April 1861 the Hungarian Diet was inaugurated, a group of Fiumani, members of the Municipal Congregation, were present as “guests”. The facts caused widespread concern in Zagreb and in the first Sabor after 1849 the discussion raged. Several deputies proposed to undertake repressive measures against the City for this act of formal disobedience.³⁴³ On the 1st May 1861 the Sabor voted that all that any person indicted of activity leading to question the territorial integrity of Croatia were punishable with up to 5 years in jail, an act aimed directly against Fiume. The Article 42 (o odnošaju...) – on the relationships of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia with the Hungarian Kingdom, posed the basis of any further discussions on the relationships Croatia had to have with the Kingdom of Hungary.³⁴⁴

For the 25th May 1861 in the field of Grobnik (sited in a few kilometres behind Fiume), the ceremony for the inauguration of the Croatian county of Fiume was to be attended by the bishop Strossmayer.³⁴⁵ The day after a series of attacks by “more than 2000 people” directed against the charts of bishop Strossmayer and his entourage while travelling to the meeting.

On the 30th the office of the County for security reasons was relocated from Fiume to Fužine and the civic captain Zmajić was destitute. The Veliki Župan of Kreutz (Križevci) Vukotinović was in charge as commissioner to conduct the “enquiry on the events in Fiume”.³⁴⁶ The justices of Fiume were interrogated and it emerged that “systematic anti Croatian activity” started well before the 25th May.

Fiume in 1862 was put under an extraordinary commissarial regime. A year after on the 24th June 1862 the municipal representatives Thierry, Francovich, and Giacich presented a proposal for a “modus vivendi” of Fiume with Croatia to the banal commissioner Vukotinović, that was refuted. Finally, for the 11th March 1863 the King with a resolution ordered the reorganisation of the Municipal Congregation of the Free City and District of Fiume. The organisation had to apply the “Provisional instruction for the municipal organisation in Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia”.³⁴⁷ On the 4th May 1863 at the municipal elections the anti Croatian current won.³⁴⁸

The opening discussion at the Congregation on 16th May 1863 were opened by Zmajić, who inaugurated the assembly with a celebration for the “restitution of the rule of law” in Fiume. The discussion verted on the use of language where several opposed the *italianità* since now the acts had to be read in Italian and Croatian. To which the Capitan reputed that the Italian language was always to be used but since some of the members of the Congregation did not know it was necessary to read the communications in both languages.³⁴⁹

³⁴³ On the 26th April 1861 the Sovereign levied the state of exception in Fiume.

³⁴⁴ Gross, Mirjana. 1987. “Dvadeset godina bijesa i očaja ili borba za Rijeku od 1861. do 1881.” *Dometi*, XX/4. Rijeka, p. 186. On this occasion apart from the alternative between Austria or Hungary Eugen Kvaternik proposed the creation of a South Slav state under the Hapsburg monarchy that had to compose also the Slovenian regions and the Serbian regions.

³⁴⁵ Grobnik, sited in Croatian territory, one hour distant from Fiume was chosen because it was the place with a symbolic significance since according to a legend it was the battleground where in the 13th century the Tatars were defeated. The reference to the contemporary Hungarians (of Turkic ancestry) threat on Fiume was obvious.

³⁴⁶ Ljudevit Farkas-Vukotinovic (Zagreb, 1813 - 1893). Lawyer, botanist and geologist, follower of the Illyrian movement, is one of the founders of the National Museum. After the nagoda, enters the Sabor in the ranks of the opposition, but after 1873 adopted a pro Hungarian stance.

³⁴⁷ The act was refused by the Dalmatian Diet where the Italianate autonomists hold the majority. In Fiume it was applied forcefully by office from the ban of Croatia with his powers of governor of Fiume. *L'Osservatore Triestino* 7th April 1863.

³⁴⁸ Also the Croats Vranjanzany and Sporer were elected but they refused to be replaced by avv. Luigi dall'Asta, who was filo Croatian. Afterwards he was expelled from the casino patriottico.

³⁴⁹ The debate was reproduced in the *L'Osservatore Triestino* 16th May 1863. correspondent was Barcich. In the discussions appears Ciotta, elected for the first time at the Congregation and future mayor of Fiume. Ciotta opposes the civic captain asking the discussion of the lost prerogatives of the municipal government in matter of nomination of the public servants.

A Patriot's Voice

In these years 1860/1861 political mobilisation was on the rise, appearing in many parts of the Empire. There was a possibility that everything the political elite of Fiume had painfully achieved in the past decades could be lost. Understandably, the vehemence of the political mobilisation in Fiume was higher than elsewhere in Croatia, since the bids here were much higher: autonomy meant a strategic alliance with the Magyars: a precondition for the development of the new modern port. moreover, Fiume was the first Italian speaking city to be annexed to Croatia, and this added also a national dimension to the clash.

In the City, the Croat interpretation of its history and memory started officially when, in 1861, Erazmo Barcic a lawyer and later member of the Croatian Party of the Right (Hrvatska Stranka Prava, where the word "right" refers to the historical right of Croatia to statehood), published *La voce di un patriota*. Essentially, this was his answer to the *voti e bisogni* of Giacich. His enemies were the prohungarian autonomists who were ready to accept any sort of identity but the real one: the Croatian or Slavic one. Remarkably enough, this text was written in Italian since "someone could ask: why I didn't use my national idiom? because although all my compatriots know it, they were also never taught to read and write in any other language than Italian, therefore I am forced to use it in order to be read and understood" at the beginning all the Croatian nationalist press will be in a foreign language. For example *il nazionale* in Dalmatia in Italian or the *Agramer Zeitung* in Zagreb, in German.

The year in which he wrote it – 1861, as we have seen saw a dramatic conflict between the City and the committal government in Zagreb which ended in the proclamation of a state of emergency, proclaimed after the carnival manifestations degenerated in to open political protest against any Croatian influence in the City and for a tighter relation with the Crown of Saint Stephen.

Similarly to Giacich, the arguments which Barcic used to claim Fiume for Croatia were historical, juridical, national, and economical. He begun with a historical review which points out that Fiume has never been considered a part of Italy, while it was Croatian since written records are left³⁵⁰. It was lost after 1525 the battle of Mohacs the end of the last Hungarian king and the subsequent civil war that followed in Croatia. Another tragedy was the disaster of the most important Croatian families of Zrinyi³⁵¹ and Frangipani whose goods were confiscated and put under the Aulic Chamber in Graz. All the Croatian Littoral but Fiume was in that way already included into the hereditary lands of the Habsburgs, in spite of the fact that its elite - the Croatian nobility and its warriors - who represented, defended and ultimately preserved Hungary and the West from the attacks of the Avars, Franks, Tartars, and Turks. The battle against the Tartars saved the kingdom of Croatia and led by the count Frangepane, of the foremost Croatian aristocratic families.³⁵² After the concessions of Maria Theresa, valued positively by Barcic, he proceeds with an assessment of the French period, still missing in most other authors, since the French revolution was still a contested issue.

A story about the delegation that went to Verona in 1823, mentions A. L. Adamic, the foremost merchant of Fiume in the early nineteenth century, who first had a coherent visions of how to modernise the City. His patriotism is shown according to Barcic by the fact that "he in 1809, after the cession of our City to France, to avoid the loss of Croatian residence bought immediately a house in Zagreb; for sure, if he felt Hungarian he should have bought an estate in Hungary."³⁵³

"Until the year 1836, for more 743 years all the peoples of the holy Hungarian crown shared to good and the bad luck" he continues "an imprudent fanaticism tended overtly to turn Croatia to

³⁵⁰ Notice that the dichotomy is between Italy and Croatia, not between Fiume and Croatia, as for Giacich.

³⁵¹ The family was later renamed as Zrinski in the Croatian national literature.

³⁵² The occurrence of this battle, north of Rijeka in the Grobnik field north of Rijeka said to have occurred in 1241 has never been proved, but Barcic didn't knew it and readily accepted the myth.

³⁵³ Barcic, Erasmo. 1861. *La voce di un Patriotta*. Fiume, p. 35. As we shall see in chapter II, the reasons were commercial ones, not denoting any pro-Croatian attitude at all.

servitude and other Slavs of the Hungarian crown to turn them from allies into slaves, intended with odd justifications to take away the littoral and Slavonic countys out of Croatia”.³⁵⁴

After the revolution and the dark years of absolutism “the clemency and healing hand of our King, with the diploma of the 20th of October, regained the old institutions to Hungary, giving freedom to Croatia to pronounce itself about the relationships it wants to have with Hungary.”

Barcic knew that a new constitutional setting was going to be introduced in Fiume as well. This one was Barcic’s Croatian response to the ambitions of autonomy expressed with the publication of *Voti e bisogni di Fiume* which marked the beginning of autonomism. He refuted the claims of the autonomists one by one.

The first claim that the autonomy of Fiume was pristine since the City has never belonged to a province or kingdom, was blatantly false and he showed that Fiume was always far below from the levels of independence enjoyed by the Italian Renaissance City states.

That Fiume had its consuls which represented it abroad, wasn’t an important attribute of statehood, moreover, “since the Fiumans were Slavs, they needed agents who could enable them to do the business in a foreign environment”.³⁵⁵

Fiume gave a homage of fidelity to the prince with no intermediaries but the captain and he had to swear that he will protect and respect the communal freedoms; It had its sigils, the flag and statutes, and as any other province, undersigned the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI. According to Barcic the City homage to the emperor attests its subaltern position and the same holds for the Pragmatic Sanction.

Fiume had his governor: It was precisely this presence according to Barcic that reduced the autonomy. He claimed that the old Hungarian feudal constitution gave much more freedom to the locals. It was precisely the governor was an institution similar to the German provinces of the empire that introduced bureaucrats paid by the state. The governor as a civil captain started to spend the public money and to hire his personnel. Moreover the Hungarian county would have ensured a much higher degree of local autonomy than the governor who was a bureaucrat executing the policies from the centre.

According to Barcic, the arguments of the autonomists were all flawed or false. But: “if the autonomy had to consist of preserving to Fiume its actual privileges and immunities without relaxing the holy national links – obtaining from the nation (Croatia) the concession of new privileges to prosper its economic interests” than, he claimed, “I am and I will always be a fervid Fiuman autonomist!”³⁵⁶ therefore economic interests seem to have played a role for Barcic as well.³⁵⁷

The third part was a passionate discussion about the nature of its inhabitants: he attacked a position hold by Giacich³⁵⁸ that the Fiumani maybe were of Slavic origin and therefore belonged to the Croatian nation but still their civilization was Italian. The reason for this sad situation was in a complete lack of educational institutions for the Croats and this explained the growing degree of Italianisation of its inhabitants. On the other hand, also in many other cities of the empire like the Carniola, Inner Croatia or Hungary the language of the administration was German but these cities were not German at all. So the autonomists had to explain the Fiuman exception. On the other hand, although the administrative language of the city was Italian, most of what the Fiumani could speak was an “outrageously poor Italian”.

³⁵⁴ Barcic mentions the date 1836 as crucial for this change of attitude. According to him it is from that time that the treatment the Hungarians reserved to the Croats worsened. He doesn’t explain why, the reference is to the Hungarian law which made the Hungarian language the official language of the kingdom superseding Latin, thus depriving the Croats of a neutral language to use in the parliamentary debates.

³⁵⁵ The reference is to Italy.

³⁵⁶ Barcic, Erasmo. 1861. *La voce di un Patriotta*. Fiume, p. 55

³⁵⁷ As we shall see, this was a fairly atypical argument for the Croatian ideology of the time and it will always remain marginal.

³⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 62.

The fourth chapter included a sober analysis of the perspectives the City faced. “Four prospects that the fertile imagination of someone is suggesting: our union with the Italian provinces, the autonomy, the direct incorporation to the Hungarian kingdom, or the annexation to its own Croatian nation and then to the Hungarian crown.”

In case of a direct incorporation to Hungary Croats could have retaliated to “the City rebel to its own nation”. On the other there was the perspective of the decomposition of the “sick man who can prolong but not avoid its fall”³⁵⁹ and the all countries which would have followed its end “constituted a legitimate legacy of the our nation. Once united, these peoples who all share the same tongue, a strong, immense, wealthy body guarantees that Fiume as the emporium of their commerce cannot be offered by any other nation” Fiume was thus included in the project of the South Slav Kingdom, to be built upon the ruins of the Ottoman Empire (under the lead of the Habsburg dynasty).

The nation had its deep historical roots but also emotional ties: “the poverty attributed to Croats is not a just cause to refute their union since the son who refuted his mother only because she is poor deserves to be blamed.” Even worse: some fiumans were overtly denying that they as fiumans had a nation or a fatherland (*patria*). Those that had such claims they were simply corrupted people. Since nation was such a treasury the person who were ready to be spoiled of it was much like to be spoiled also of his religion. He used metaphors:³⁶⁰ “if wealth and rational account was to be the main criterion of political or national choice than a wealthy prostitute was to be preferred to the proletarian doughtier who was barely able to survive thanks to her hard work in order to save her honour and virginity”. In the same vein “A wealthy speculator who ruined the savings of a lot of people was to be preferred to the honest shopkeeper that had to sell everything and dive into misery in order to repay its debts.” To be without a nationality meant simply being spoiled all the most important ethical values and thus utterly corruptible.

The analysis Barcich presented was an accurate and persuasive, nevertheless, his perspective proved to be wrong. First, the autonomists from the 60s were not interested to claim that Fiume had been an autonomous City state but that it was autonomous from Croatia. To prove this they had a lot of evidence, since the sovereignty that both Croatia and Hungary could exercise until the end of the XVIII century was very weak indeed. Fiume enjoyed a relatively high degree of autonomy with respect to Croatia since apart from Vienna there was no political body or institution who claimed whatsoever there until the end of the 18th century. Hungary was a sort of conglomerate of formal and informal institutions, privileges and territorial realities made of countys, estates and free cities, 52 of them. Most of its land as for Croatia – Slavonia was recently conquered from the ottoman Turks during the late 17th and 18th century, and was in a phase of repopulating and territorial assessment. The subaltern position of the city was comparable to that of any other crown land of the empire - Croatia included.

Second, he didn’t realised (or, at least, so it seems) that times were changing and that the concept of autonomy envisaged by Fiuman elites was oriented towards modern capital flows and commercial industrial development and thus independent of territorial relationships. There could have been industries without the need to import rough material from Croatia. On the other hand Croatia could have been pacified or neutralised in many other ways, now that the old Hungarian crown turned into a modern industrial nation from a traditional feudal land-locked country. Moreover, he was unconvincing: Fiuman elites wanted the direct union with Hungary. Probably they had a better picture of the bargaining which was going on in Pest, or maybe their commercial and financial experience lead them to envision solutions that were precluded to Barcich. Indeed in 1861 and 1862 turmoil in Fiume showed that autonomists were able to mobilise the masses and that their ideology (although tailored to an elite’s interests) was successfully gaining ground within the wider strata of the population.

³⁵⁹ The standard reference to the Ottoman Empire.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 69.

For Barcich “la nazionalità di Fiume non può essere anfibia, ma una ed indivisibile”. Against Fiume “città italo slava”. Barcich suggests from his work that in Fiume 4 political options were operative in the 1850s and 1860s: “Quattro sono le nostre future combinazioni, cui la fertile immaginazione d'alcuni va accennando. La nostra unione colle province italiane, l'autonomia, l'immediata incorporazione al regno d'Ungheria, e l'annessione alla propria nazione croata e mediante lei alla corona d'Ungheria. Then “Dalla unione di Fiume con l'Italia, non potremmo attenderci altro che il continuo decadimento e totale prostrazione. Distanti dall'Italia di ben 100 miglia marittime, fuori della regolare direzione su cui percorrono gli italiani commerci noi diverremmo ben presto per gli italiani ciò che furono gl'infelici Schiavoni per la Venezia, mentre posti ai confini di altra gente non potremmo pretendere che qui si vadano facendo dei sacrifici pecuniari, cui ogni momento si sarebbe in forse di perdere”. Barcich, complained that Italian irredentism was imported and spread by foreigners (*forastieri*).³⁶¹

³⁶¹ The reference was on Carlo de Franceschi, but possibly also on Ercole Rezza.

FIUME AND THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN *AUSGLEICH* OF 1867

In the beginning of June of 1865, Francis Joseph came to Buda; on the 26th a 1866. Provisional Hungarian government was formed, on the 10th of September the February constitution was suspended, and on the 14th of December a Diet was summoned to Buda-Pest.

On the 8th July 1865 there were the elections for the Croatian Sabor. This time the Fiumani voted, since it was the Hungarians who asked the fiumani to participate. Ciotta received the greatest number of ballots.³⁶² On the 16th December 1865 the 4 Fiuman deputies participated at the discussions of the Sabor in Zagreb, but were bound by an imperative mandate: they were entitled only to make the official declaration that the Croatian Sabor had not the right to discuss the “pertinence” of Fiume without the consensus of the City. They spoke in Italian, causing widespread protests in the Sabor, with the argument that some of them knew Italian. On the 27th December 1865 they presented a formal act of protest, that the question of Fiume had to include the Hungarian Diet and the city. Moreover, the petition addressed to the *tavernico* where the desire of the population of Fiume to be aggregated to the crown of St Stephen and presented at the Diet in Pest, Barcich who was also a member of the Croatian Diet³⁶³, initiated a petition to the Ban interpellation on the punitive measures of the Croatian government against such manifestations.

The 1866 was marked by a catastrophe for the Empire, having lost the war with Prussia for the Sleswick and the peace settlement that resulted with Italy allied of the Prussians, granted to the kingdom the possession of the Veneto and parts of the Friuli. By this most of the Italian provinces of the monarchy were lost. The situation was tense and full of expectations – the new constitutional settlement that had to solve the relationship with the Emperor and the Austrian lands. In February the 24th the new Hungarian parliament gathered, as the Monarchy needed a settlement with Hungary.

After the defeats on the field of battle the Hungarian diet was able to make its own terms. The Magyars recognized no union between their country and the other parts of the monarchy except that which was based on the Pragmatic Sanction. All recent innovations, all attempts made during the last hundred years to absorb Hungary in a greater Austria, were revoked. An agreement was made by which the Emperor was to be crowned at Pest and take the ancient oath to the Golden Bull; Hungary (including Transylvania and Croatia) was to have its own parliament and its own ministry; Magyar was to be the official language; the Emperor was to rule as King; there was to be complete separation of the finances; not even a common citizenship was recognized between the Hungarians and the other subjects of the Emperor;

A large party wished indeed that nothing should be left but a purely personal union similar to that between England and the Hannover. Deak and the majority agreed, however, that there should be certain institutions common to Hungary and the rest of the monarchy; these were - (1) foreign affairs, including the diplomatic and consular service; (2) the army and navy; (3) the control of the expenses required for these branches of the public service.

The new Hungarian Diet claimed the return to “the Laws of 1848”. The authority of the Croatian sabor had to be limited only to Croatia proper. Fiume, Slavonia and the Military Frontier (Vojna Krajina) were to be incorporated into Hungary and thus represented only in the Hungarian parliament. The Emperor, however, refused this strongly nationalist program with the Rescript of March the 3rd 1866, with the claim that Hungarian requests and ambitions had to depart from the “real situation”.

³⁶² Out of 1201 electors, only 494 voted. 232 for “Nessuno”. Ciotta received 150 ballots. The other elected were: Verneda, Cosulich, Martini. In Luksic-Jamini, Antonio. 1972. “Contributi alla storia di Fiume 1861-1867”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, pp. 38. from *Il Tempo*, Trieste.

³⁶³ Barcich was a Fiuman citizen, and a patrician of Buccari, that was in Croatia. He was first elected to the Sabor in ... and stayed up to In the same time he was also correspondent of the paper of Trieste *Il Tempo*. In Luksic-Jamini, Antonio. 1972. “Contributi alla storia di Fiume 1861-1867”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, pp. 42. from *Il Tempo*, Trieste.

The political atmosphere in Croatia was heated and the great dilemma the Sabor faced was whether Croatia should side with Vienna or Budapest over the question for participation in the new Imperial Assembly (*Reichsrat*) to be held in Vienna. Most of the lesser "nationalities" of the Empire, Hungarians and Czechs included, were against. Strossmayer agreed with them. He believed there could be no question of joining the newly fledged imperial parliament until Croatia's ties with Hungary have been settled. However, his policy of no cooperation brought no rewards. The boycott of the *Reichsrat* by the *Narodna stranka* produced a split within its ranks. The authorities took punitive measures by closing its paper - the *Pozor*. Worse, Strossmayer as a head of the delegation sent to Budapest in 1866 (to negotiate once more with the Hungarians), realized that the Magyars would not going to reward the Croats for ignoring Vienna.³⁶⁴ Croatia and Slavonia were declared appanages of the Hungarian crown - *partes adnexae*, or subject provinces, according to the Magyars; *regna socia*, or allied kingdoms, according to their own view that was ignored, and that caused dishilusion for Strossmayer and his fellow Rački.³⁶⁵

In the meanwhile, in Fiume, on the 22nd of January 1867 the Consiglio Comunale of Fiume (elected in 1863) officially demanded the separation of the City from Croatia.³⁶⁶ Tensions had arisen again when the Civic Captain Smaich, a Croatian officer, (*veliki zupan* or Supreme Count, head of the County of Fiume) who worked in the absence of the Governor (since 1848 it was the Croatian ban or viceroy residing in Zagreb) ordered the military conscription. The council, under the proposal of A F Giacich, refused to enact it. Traditionally, the City was exempted and also with the Hungarian law XXVII there was no obligatory conscription.³⁶⁷ Moreover, the law was not enacted by the (Hungarian) Parliament and thus it was unconstitutional to apply it.

The 17th of February 1867 Franz Joseph sent a rescript, officially addressing the Hungarian parliament to restore the constitution of the Kingdom of Hungary, and nominated the count Gyula Andrassy as the Hungarian minister president of a government responsible to the Hungarian parliament. The newly formed Hungarian government with its prime minister Andrassy, officially asked the Emperor Franz Joseph to assign Fiume to Hungary. Andrassy at that time, was against any interpellation of the local population (which probably had very good prospects for success) because it considered to be "a dangerous principle that could create a precedent"³⁶⁸.

Informed that the first responsible government was proclaimed in Hungary (the day before, the 17th of February 1867) the municipal authorities of the City of Fiume planned to organise a big manifestation to celebrate the event. Already in 15th February 1867, the Civic Captain B. Smaich

³⁶⁴ In Croatia, from the fall of the imperial prime minister Alexander Bach in 1860 until 1873 the bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer was the *de facto* leader of the main Croatian political organisation: the National Party (*Narodna stranka*). Strossmayer's fall from favour with the Emperor began soon after he entered public politics. In 1861 he was appointed to the so-called "Banal Conference" - a body entrusted to the convocation of the first Sabor to be held in Croatia since 1848 and thus signing a return to normal constitutional government.

³⁶⁵ In Croatia, from 1865 to 1867 bishop Strossmayer and the nationalists endeavoured to secure the formation of a subordinate Austrian kingdom comprising Dalmatia, Croatia-Slavonia and the islands of the Quarnero. The term "Illyria" was not revived in the new era of party politics. Instead Strossmayer's clerical friend and ally in the National Party, Franjo Rački popularised the new (but vague) notion of *jugoslovenstvo* - south Slavism - as the party's program. The term was coined in an article Rački published in 1860, which called for the spiritual unification of the southern Slavs in the Austrian and Turkish empires, and those of Serbia and Montenegro. The aim was "jednim narodom u duhovnom smislu postati" to "become one nation in the spiritual sense". Rački recognized that Bulgarians and Slovenes had developed their own national identities and programs; therefore the Yugoslav project realistically could only involve Serbs and Croats. The project was thus oriented to build trust between the *Narodna stranka* and the new Principality of Serbia. Franjo Rački had an outstanding role also in the question of Fiume by shaping and providing juridical and historical legitimacy to the Croatian pretensions to the City. The latest monograph is the excellent Gross, Mirjana. *Vijek i djelovanje Franje Račkoga*. Zagreb, Novi Liber, 2003.

³⁶⁶ Depoli I. P. 97.

³⁶⁷ A F Giacich, a surgeon will be very active in the public life of the City in 1860s. at the beginnings he will show some affinities with the Croats. As soon as the Croatian option will start to loose ground he will become the strongest opponent. He will be very active in publishing and writing. Several his articles and brochures will appear. Moreover he will be reporting the events from Rijeka to the newspaper from Trieste *L'osservatore triestino*.

³⁶⁸ Gross, op.cit.

decides to ban the manifestations and arrested the leaders of the pro Hungarian faction in the City. Smaich prohibited the planned official manifestations officially for security reasons, but he also added in his communiqué, that there were only Hungarian and fuman but no Croatian flags around.

Nevertheless, the 18th, Gaspare Matcovich (the leader of the Kossuthist faction in Fiume) announced and publicly read the rescript that re-established constitutional government in Hungary.³⁶⁹ Significantly, this act of civic disobedience was performed from the *casino patriottico* considered to be "the forum" of Fiume.³⁷⁰ The celebrations that followed were a provocation for Smaich and he jailed Matcovich, Sgardelli and Giacich as "leaders of the pro Hungarian party in the City".³⁷¹ The population was massively participating in the daily manifestations - supporting the arrested, and especially after the release all the three but Matcovich – the oldest among them – by March the 16th 1867 the public protests intensified.³⁷²

The move taken by the Croatian officers in the City proved to be a mistake. Captain Smaich prohibited a celebration of an event that resulted from an official decision of the Monarch, no wonder that repressive measures followed soon. With an autograph, dated the 6th of April 1867, the Emperor and King sent to the region of Fiume a royal commissary.³⁷³ Officially, the motive for the commissioning of the City and its surrounding region, was to prevent political conflicts and administrative irregularities. It was obvious, nevertheless, that the decision had been fostered by the Hungarian Government and the Magistrate of Fiume.

The royal Commissar Edoardo de Cseh de Szént Kátolna arrived in Fiume the 23rd of April - ignored by the local official Croatian authorities - but greeted with enthusiasm by the local people and the members of the Municipal Congregation. The Emperor, the Hungarian government, and the representation of Fiume effectively reduced the power of any Croatian institution with one single move: the Royal Commissioner came to control the County and the City of Fiume, the Kreis of Buccari, with the legal capacity to proceed against all the public officers. In this way the civil captain of Fiume Smaich received a direct supervisor nominated by Andrassy - not by the Croatian Sabor - confirmed by the Emperor and supporting his main opponents: the Municipal Congregation of Fiume. Things in the City started to change rapidly.

Already the 16th of March, Matcovich, after the decision of the Tribunal of second instance in Zagreb, was liberated and reportedly a mass of people were celebrating the fact acclaiming the King, Hungary and its ministers G. Andrassy and F. Deák. Reportedly, the manifestations had such a mass character that, later, the commissar Cseh will report to Andrassy that of the 15,000 people in the City, maybe 50 were against its incorporation with Hungary.³⁷⁴

³⁶⁹ Gaspare Matcovich is a very controversial political figure. A Fiuman by birth, already an active supporter of Hungarian revolution in 1848 he played a critical role in sending money and supply to the Hungarian army of Kossuth. He was the contact person of Spiridione Gopcevic a powerful merchant from Trieste (but of Montenegrin origins), supporter of independent Hungary and Serbia - in an anti Austrian fashion. He will be the leader of this social and professional group - the *artieri* - his main actors of political mobilisation. Mass politics and mobilisation were thus initiated and effectively controlled by him in 1860s, practically without competition. He remained linked to the Kossuthian nationalist faction in the Hungarian parliament even later in the age of I Deak.

³⁷⁰ Depoli, Attilio. "Il distacco di Fiume dalla Croazia", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno VIII, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1960, p. 99. The casino was built in 1848. The initiative to build a casino in Fiume was done under the blueprint of I Szechenyi's casino movement. In effect the "casino patriottico" will be the natural place of gathering for all the most important social and political events from 1848 until 1918.

³⁷¹ Depoli, Attilio. "Il distacco di Fiume dalla Croazia", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno VIII, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1960, pp. pp. 100-101, admits that Smaich was probably under the influence of other people from the Committee. Notably by the justice Avelin Cepulic.

³⁷² A fourth one (Walluschnigg) went to prison voluntarily by saying that he was not less guilty as the other three.

³⁷³ His title was *commissario organizzatore*. He stayed in office from 1867 to 1870, the year of the *provisorium*. His powers were similar to that of the governor. See V. Tomsich p. 620.

³⁷⁴ Depoli thinks he had not included all the administrative personnel, officers, and intellectuals from Croatia that were present in the City institutions of the committee the tribunal and the gymnasium. But he concluded that they were all outsiders and soon went back as the City came under Hungarian control. Interestingly, these people will bring a cultural

A couple of months later there were the elections for the Fiuman representative at the Croatian Sabor. As we have already seen, the right to send two representatives was granted already with a law from 1808 but that was never applied. In 1861 there were the elections of the *nessuno* and no Fiuman went to Zagreb. In 1865 - a single representative remained in Zagreb - the future mayor Ciotta. According to Depoli, growing criticism that was mounting in the City against his willingness to cooperate with the Croats, forced him to resignation.³⁷⁵ Now he had to be substituted, since it was the Hungarians that this time pushed the sending of Fiuman representatives to the Croatian Sabor. The idea is to give force to the prohungarian faction in the Sabor and thus to gain majority for their planned compromise with Croatia. Obviously Andrassy knew that the Fiuman members who were elected - C Cosulich G Martini and E Verneda will vote for the Hungarian (unionist) party in the Sabor. From the 1st of May until the 25th 1867 time of its suspension another Sabor was held, and they went there. There was tension. Franjo Racki, the veteran of Croatian claims to Fiume, protested that the representative of the City of Fiume was already sent to the parliament in Budapest before any settlement has been achieved with the third part - Croatia.

In this Sabor also the representatives of the City of Fiume came. Justice Ernesto Verneda addressed the Sabor in Italian (*eccelsa dieta!*). The use of Italian was not new - already Ciotta had before them used Italian since he did not speak Croatian. But Verneda and the others allegedly were Croatian speakers as well. Now after being insulted all the 4 abandoned the Sabor, the argument was that since they all knew Croatian they should have used Croatian.³⁷⁶ The situation for the ban himself was embarrassing.³⁷⁷ There was also the Veliki Zupan and Civic Captain Bartol Smaich who had to explain the situation in Fiume. He could only confess that the Commissary Cseh now held all the powers and his acting was thus severely limited.

The 25th of May 1867 by royal decree the Sabor was suspended. In its composition the anti-unionist party of Strossmayer and Racki had the majority since the last elections of the 1865. They claimed that Croatia had the same rights to national independence as Hungary leading to a "trialist" solution of the Habsburg empire composed by three entities: Austria, Hungary and Croatia that had to pose a fulcrum for a future Yugoslav national unification. Obviously, the fear was that a recognition of the Croatian right to self rule and statehood would have initiated an uncontrollable process of disintegration within the empire. The Hungarian and Croatian deputation communicated since 1866 for settlement but only through exchange of written despatches. Thus the compromise was far ahead. The King suspended the Sabor and indicted new elections with the hope that the moderate unionist party will win, and that eventually happened.

In the meanwhile, Hungarian prime minister Andrassy officially invited the City of Fiume to send its representative to the parliament in Budapest. The royal rescript arrived in Fiume on May the 27th

Croatian flourishing in the City while being there. At the time Fiume is surely one of the most active Croatian cultural centres.

³⁷⁵ Giovanni de Ciotta will rapidly become the most influential political representative in the City. As a mayor he will incarnate the policies of Deak in Hungary. Nevertheless, his personal life remains a mystery. He married one of the daughters of A. L. Adamich the great merchant and father of modernisation in Fiume. He will continue, in a way, the project started by Adamich and it seems that he followed his guidelines. He arrived in Rijeka in 1859 from Livorno, after having resigned from the Austrian army, reputedly for political reasons. He remained mayor until 1896 when he resigned again for unknown reasons. After him an autonomist mayor will be elected and the "idyll" with the Hungarians will be over.

³⁷⁶ The use of the language was for the Croats never a matter of choice but of ethnic origin, even when they granted the use of the Italian language in Fiume at the public administration it was said to be only for the part of the population which is Italian – meaning of Italian origin. In the case of Rijeka this meant that less of the 10 % of the population were of Italian origin and could have used it. Now even deputies which simply knew Croatian were forced to use it in public. Obviously this made a great impact in the electorate in Fiume but also in the surrounding regions of Dalmatia and Istria as well.

³⁷⁷ Depoli, Attilio. "Il distacco di Fiume dalla Croazia", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno VIII, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1960, p. 107 reports they took the hat and the sword, which means that they were dressed with the standard Hungarian way.

. Apart from loud protestations from the Sabor (since the constitutional position of Fiume was far from being set) the shift of power in the Hungarian side was now clear and backed by the king. The election of the Fiuman deputy for the Hungarian diet on June the 3rd witnessed the first formation of modern political organisations.

Two parties formed: one labelled "democratic" that as a candidate for the deputy of the City in the Hungarian parliament Akos Radich a Hungarian journalist with extensive legal experience. The other group lead by Luigi Peretti, one of the justice rectors of the city, appears rather an old-fashioned political faction, Labelled "pippistrelli" (bats - allegedly because of the conspiratorial attitudes in their mysterious night gatherings) or "signori" (stressing the class divide) by their "democratic" opponents.

Little is known on their relationships since most of the accounts stress the unity of the political front of the City although tensions were present. The leader of the "democratic" (Kossuthist) party Matcovich resorted to populist slogans: "oggi finalmente si saprà a Fiume che l'onesto artigiano è come negli obblighi così nei diritti pari al signore del cappello e della velada".³⁷⁸ The fairly aggressive tone, successful in mobilising artisans (artieri) and even people from the country side the "signori" soon lost any support. In what appears to be a rather intimidating climate Peretti retired "voluntarily". The speech Akos Radich gave after he was elected (by acclamation) representative of Fiume was clear - Fiume was to become for Hungary what Trieste was for Austria.³⁷⁹ He had to mediate between Budapest and Fiume, reflecting a program clearly devoted to economic and social modernisation. The 28th of May 1867, in a confidential meeting of the City municipal representatives with the Commissary Czeh, the Croatian civic captain Smaich was also officially destitute.

The main principles of the Austro-Hungarian agreement were decided during the spring of 1867; Politically, the principle underlying the agreement was that the Empire should be divided into two portions; in one of these the Magyars were to rule, in the other the Germans; in either section the Slav races - the Serbs and Croats, the Czechs, Poles and Slovenes - were to be placed in a position of political inferiority.

The 8th of June 1867 marked a great day for Hungary: Franz Joseph was crowned as a King of Hungary. The Croatian estates and the Sabor frustrated to the loss of support that had for the *nagodba* and most evidently in the question of Fiume. Therefore, they declined and refused to send the deputation of seven members appointed by the Sabor to the coronation of Franz Joseph as King of Hungary, since he refused any help to their cause. This only worsened their position in the eyes of the King.

Strossmayer was appalled. He insisted that Franz Joseph should present himself in Zagreb for separate coronation - as a King of Croatia - a demand that even offended the Court so Strossmayer went into a brief self-imposed exile in France for few months until matters had cooled down.

In the meanwhile, Strossmayer's followers were exposed to the attacks of the pro Hungarian Unionist Party claiming that a far more favourable settlement would have been achieved if they had been in charge. The elections of 1867 reflected the electorate's disappointment with the Narodna Stranka, that won only a handful of seats. The Unionist Party took over the control of the Sabor in Croatia and it stayed in power from 1867 until 1871 - in the crucial years for the settlement of Fiume.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ Depoli, Attilio. "Il distacco di Fiume dalla Croazia", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno VIII, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1960, p. 114.

³⁷⁹ We do not know what was the economic vision of Peretti. Nevertheless Edo Susmel, a fascist historian considers (probably wrongly) Peretti to be a precursor of Italian irredentism. Anyway, he reports that Peretti once claimed that the railway connection was to become the disgrace of Fiume. It is unknown where did this information come from, anyway if true will suggest a very different concept of economic development of the City probably much more isolated from the hinterland in effect his slogan was *fiumanismo* suggesting a localistic rather than a prohungarian stance.

³⁸⁰ Strossmayer returned to the *sabor* with a mandate to renegotiate the *nagodba* after the defeat of the unionists in 1871. But after failing to achieve a significant revision in 1873 he withdrew from public politics for ever, although he continued to wield enormous influence behind the scenes. Tanner pp. 98-100.

In Fiume, on the contrary, there was celebration. Moreover, the presence and authority of Cseh in the whole county and littoral was starting to produce and foster anti Croatian manifestations in other coastal towns as well, notably Buccari. The Italian vice-consul Accurti in Fiume reported that:

"Nel pomeriggio di ieri giunsero improvvisate in Città diverse (...) deputazioni di contadini di Buccari (...) che tutte chiedevano di seguire la sorte di Fiume fra mezzo a queste deputazioni spiccava con bell'effetto, uno stuolo d'una quarantina di ragazze vestite di bianco, con un nastro tricolore posto (...) sul petto, le quali cantavano in lingua croata, una patriottica canzone il cui ritornello era "noi non siamo Croati – regina d'Ungheria"³⁸¹

The Croatian representatives at the Sabor were understanding they were losing the grip on Fiume.³⁸² This will gradually motivate them to seek a compromise with the Hungarians. Croatia was risking to lose much more than it could ever gain by stressing its right to complete independence. The Nagoda with the Hungarians had to be negotiated soon since now even the Emperor was pressing. As we see Cseh was very efficient in fostering (or, at least supporting) the protestations in Fiume. The Italian vice consul Accurti in the same letter:

"Da tre giorni questa città è in festa per l'incoronazione del re d'Ungheria, e per la riunione sua all'Ungheria stessa, che si ritiene come un fatto compiuto. Non v'è finestra nelle contrade principali o sulle piazze che non abbia la sua bandiera tricolore; davvero che, a primo aspetto, facendo astrazione dalla diversa disposizione dei colori, un italiano potrebbe credere di assistere ad una festa patriottica delle nostre Città d'Italia."³⁸³

The students of the recently instituted Croatian gymnasium started a protest, that escalated into a full scale conflict ending the day after when a mob of Fiumani entered the building and destroyed the classrooms.³⁸⁴

The 27th of June 1867 the King decided to replace the Croatian Ban Josip Šokčević (officially, he was also governor of Fiume, with Levin Rauch de Nyék – who was a declared filo Hungarian.³⁸⁵ In

³⁸¹ AST, VICE CONSOLATO D'ITALIA Fiume 12 Giugno 1867. In Croatian probably: "Madarska kraljice mi nismo Hrvatice". Moreover, there were disorders in Krassiza and Praputnjak, in the surroundings of Buccari, where two judges of the Buccari and the Vice Count (Sheriff) of the Comiettee of Fiume Voncina, were assaulted. Where they went to repress the tumults against the union of the Littoral to Hungary and the cessation of dependency from Vienna resulted from the actions of Jellacic. In Luksic-Jamini, Antonio. 1972. "Contributi alla storia di Fiume 1861-1867", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, p. 51.

³⁸² An article from *La Perseveranza* di Milano from July the 5th 1867, translated From the *Narodne Novine*, Zagreb 21st June 1867 reflects how much things changed for the Croatians in Fiume: "Ai magiari preme convincere il mondo intero che il nostro polo è di sentimenti magiario, ma che la parte intelligente nutra dei piani occulti che hanno per iscopo di fondare un regno slavo del sud. Per questo aizzano la plebe di Fiume e nel Litorale. Il denaro che pagate (dicono loro) si spende a Zagabria! Se foste sotto reggimento magiario, non paghereste nulla di tutto. Il contrabbando di cui molti vivono nel litorale, non troverà repressione presso il ministero ungherese; la nuova legge della leva non sarà messa in vigore. Il clero, gli impiegati e la parte intelligente reprimerebbe facilmente tutti questi eccessi; essi ricondurrebbero la gente a migliori sentimenti se non fossi il commissario Cseh a Fiume, che come è provato dai fatti e dai procedimenti giudiziari, aizza la plebe e rende inutile ogni ingerenza bene intenzionata. Al sig. Cseh sono sottomessi tutti gli impiegati, i giudici e la gendarmeria, epperciò ha le mani in pasta. Quando istituì a Fiume un Comitato speciale "per la pubblica sicurezza", alla cui testa stanno tre personaggi popolo lodevoli; Matovich, Walluschnigg, alias "Pacairella", e Sgardelli ex legionario garibaldino. Questo comitato organizza tutte le dimostrazioni a Fiume sotto l'egida del suo capo, ed ai nostra manca la forza per opporvisi con vigore. ... Il sotto governatore Voncina fa tutto per mantenere l'ordine, ossia per conservare il litorale. Egli fa arrestare, persuade, minaccia, incoraggisce i buoni e mette la sua vita a cimento. Il signor Cseh gli negò qualunque attitudine." In Luksic-Jamini, Antonio. 1972. "Contributi alla storia di Fiume 1861-1867", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, pp. 50-51.

³⁸³ AST, VICE CONSOLATO D'ITALIA Fiume 12 giugno 1867. The Hungarian flag bears the same colours as the Italian, but they are differently oriented.

³⁸⁴ The estimates and accusations varied greatly from the sources - the City authorities minimised the damage while Croatian accounts claim that a kind of pogrom happened, with a complete destruction of the rooms and offices.

extremis an *Odbor za Rijecko pitanje* (committee for the Question of Fiume) was elected in the Sabor, before the final ratification of the Nagodba. The goal of the *Odbor* was to show that the rights of Hungary towards Fiume were not greater than those towards Croatia. With this (admittedly clumsy formulation) they underlined that in fact Fiume and Croatia could have been distinct political entities which was what ultimately the fiumans wanted - to have an equal footing with Croats.

The Croats had on their side now only the historical arguments provided by Rački, and used them extensively. Franjo Rački, a young priest from Senj, will be the most active exponent of the Croatian claims to Fiume in Croatia. Apart from political activity (he was deputy at the Sabor, siding with Bishop Strossmayer), Rački published several works on history, diplomacy, or Slavic philology, but also the first substantive historical monograph about the City – *Rieka Prama Hrvatskoj*, translated into German a year later, for obvious propagandistic reasons. His first works aimed at Fiume were published in 1850, and the claims to Fiume were made in terms of the language which was spoken a Croatian dialect of the littoral and therefore, the City was a part of the Slavic nation. But what was the nation for him? The concept of nation he endorsed was explained in an article from 1862:

*“a nation distinguishes itself by its language, mores, education, way of thought etc. all this differences constitute the national specificity and its individuality. This national individuality influences the development of a Croatian nation, and through this it influences its political life. Therefore in the history of the states of the various European nations we observe different political institutions as Roman, German, and Slavic etc. since they stem out of the individuality of the Roman, German, and Slavic nations.”*³⁸⁶

And according to him the Austrian monarchy was composed from many nations of which some are parts of larger nations that were able to gain independence and to build big self-sufficient states. Therefore:

*“the non Austrian Slavs established independent states in Russia and Montenegro, a semi-dependent one in Serbia, while in Bosnia they were still struggling for their national and political independence”*³⁸⁷.

As we can see, for him there was no specific Croatian or Italian nation in the modern sense but they were parts of much larger cultural groups divided by big linguistic and cultural barriers. Every nation had its identity that was unalienable and unchangeable even if more nations united to form an alliance or federation. For Fiume, by using the results of the population census from 1851, made the things clear to him:

“in this portion of land one nation lives. The Croatian one. In the county to which Fiume is the seat, live 89 thousand pure Croats. In the islands in front of it and in Istria there are 125 thousand more Croats. So if it had to be an Italian City it will look like an island in the middle of a Croatian sea. But this is not the case. (...) after the Croatian one the strongest nationality is the Italian one but

³⁸⁵ The Croatian "program of national integration" started to be practically realised with Jelacich. But it was with Josip Šokčević that Croatian language started to be introduced in the public administration. In Čorkalo Katica. Povijest uvođenja hrvatskoga jezika u službenu i uredovnu uporabu u vrijeme bana Josipa Šokčevića / The history of the introduction of the Croatian language into official and working use during the rule of ban Josip Šokčević / Geschichte der Einführung der kroatischen Sprache als Dinst- und Amtssprache zur Zeit des ban Josip Šokčević, and Čorkalo Katica. (ed.) Hrvatski ban Josip Šokčević, Zbornik radova, Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Centar za znanstveni rad u Vinkovcima, Posebna izdanja, knj. XI., str. 109-139, Zagreb — Vinkovci, 2000.

³⁸⁶ From an article In "Pozor", 13 January 1862 p. 1, reported from Korunic, Petar. 1989. *Jugoslavizam I federalizam u hrvatskome nacionalnom preporodu: 1835 – 1875: studija o politickoj teoriji I ideologiji*, Globus, Zagreb, p. 121.

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

with 691 persons against 11.581 they completely disappear. It is true the italianità through Venetian rule on both sides of the Adriatic has arrived here as well. It is also true that the inhabitants of Fiume are under the influence of "italianità" that become the rule in the trade, commerce, and science and with great honour has been accepted especially in the higher classes that become bilingual. But nobody is going to dispute the fact that in the greatest majority Croatian is the mother tongue and the language of daily communication for most of the people, and there are very few Fiuman who do not speak or understand any Croatian while many of them have serious problems with the Italian language."³⁸⁸

On October the 4th 1867, the Croatian flag is put on the building of the Governor (but also the seat of the County and the Commissar) lead to new demonstrations and tensions.³⁸⁹ In Fiume 14 members of the Municipal Congregation gather the 10th of October, where A. F. Giacich proclaimed that:

"essere il territorio di Fiume libero, e non confondibile con nessun altro, e non appartenente alla Croazia o all'Ungheria, ma dover esser per diritto, sancito dalle leggi e dal giuramento di S. M. reincorporato alla corona di S. Stefano, a quella corona cui per amore e reciprocità di interessi comuni, Fiume vuole appartenere."

The congregation sent a *rimostranza* (a petition) to the Hungarian Parliament where they asked for more decisive actions from the Hungarians.³⁹⁰ The Fiuman representative A. Radich presents the act in the parliament of Pest, where it ignites a polemic. The thesis of the *rimostranza* is that an "unwanted invasion" broke the old links of this free City with Hungary. According to the text, Fiume was "subjugated by force and to a defeated City unwanted governments were imposed that got no public support. Now, finally, the peoples of Hungary are again on the way to restore their glorious family in the heart of Europe. The dawn of consolation broke on February, the 18th, and the population celebrated it with immense joy. The Diet was appealed to proceed as soon as possible to the reincorporation of the City to Hungary. Now, after 8 long months of await, no patriot, from the Carpathians to the Adriatic, could negate its right, without destroying the edifice that was about to be rebuilt with the 8th of June".³⁹¹

F. Deàk, informed by the speech of Giacich from the 10th October, refuted that Fiume was to be considered a political entity independent both from Croatia and Hungary. Fiume was to be included in Hungary, and not the Crown of St. Stephen, since Croatia was also a part of that crown. Deàk told the Fiuman deputy A. Radich that now the compromise and agreement with Croatia was the priority. To solve the question of Fiume, the Hungarian diet was urged to intervene as soon as possible but, Deàk claimed, since the interests of the "Italians" in Fiume and those of the Hungarians would always remain compatible this was the least of a problem. Since the Hungarian government was ready to accept all the municipal rights of the City, the impatience shown by the municipal congregation was only complicating the negotiations.

A. Radich, the 26th October 1867, comes back from Pest, with the instructions from Andràssy – the fiumans shouldn't ask for the inclusion of Fiume to the Crown of St. Stephen since it entitles Croatia as well. Now they should ask to be connected *directly* with Hungary (*Magyarország*). What was now claimed was a direct incorporation to the Kingdom of Hungary and not to the Crown of St.

³⁸⁸ Racki, Franjo. 1867. *Rieka prama Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb, pp. 130 and *passim*.

³⁸⁹ Depoli, Attilio. "Il distacco di Fiume dalla Croazia", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno VIII, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1960, pp. 120 – 121: ...sul palazzo del Governatore, residenza del R. Commissario (Cseh), ma sempre sede degli uffici del "comitato", era stata alzata anche la bandiera croata, *espressione del carattere territoriale della maggior parte di questa amministrazione*: la cosa creò viva agitazione e non poche preoccupazioni fra la cittadinanza;

³⁹⁰ Depoli, Attilio. "Il distacco di Fiume dalla Croazia", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno VIII, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1960, pp. 121 – 123.

³⁹¹ The allusion is to the return to constitutional government in Hungary, symbolised with the coronation of Franz as king of Hungary.

Stephen. The desire of the Municipal Congregation to be separated from Croatia had to accommodate with the requests of the Hungarian leaders who claimed that, for the compromise to be effective, Fiume had to renounce to the “mythical” Crown of St. Stephen, and accept full Hungarian sovereignty. In order to be able to exclude one nation (Croatia) Fiume had to be fully included into another one - Hungary. Previously the fiuman representatives claimed, within the Crown of St. Stephen, a similar position to that of Croatia. Fiume, according to this view, was "the third factor" of the crown along with Hungary and Croatia.³⁹²

This was the most important move: Deàk successfully split a **trilateral** issue into two separate **bilateral** agreements (a Hungarian-Croatian and a Hungarian-Fiuman). They had to be negotiated separately, and in both cases Hungarian preponderance assured victory. A new nation was claiming the City, but this time the Fiumans accepted.³⁹³

The Croatians tried to include the question of Fiume in the whole negotiation package, in order to have a better bargaining position. The Hungarians (and after some ressitances were won also the Fiumans) were against the inclusion of the solution of the position of Fiume as a *conditio sine qua non* for the general agreement. They feared that possibly larger concessions from the Croatian side could have weakened their position. Their official argument was that since Fiume was not Croatian the compromise between Hungary and Croatia was irrelevant for the City.

The Croatian sabor gathered the 8th of November, and it was becoming clear that the Unionists were about to prevail. The 17th of November the Sabor debates the rescript of the King, that once more invited each of the two diets to form a deputation in order to continue with the negotiations.

Andràssy and F. Deàk were now pushing the Fiumani to send their representatives at the Sabor. According to the decree signed by Franz Joseph in November 1867 the number of fiuman deputies at the Sabor were reduced from 4 to 2. In Fiume, only 135 of the 900 electors voted on November, the 21st day of the elections. The electoral tickets had the following pre-printed instruction "*Antonio Randich (or Nicolò Gelletich) onde protesti contro qualsiasi annessione e dipendenza dalla Croazia*".³⁹⁴

On November, the 23rd, 1867, A Fiuman Deputation (A. F. Giacich, G. Matcovich, and G. Randich) went to Pest to meet the King Franz Joseph in his residence at Godollo. Andràssy informed them that in the Croatian Sabor the Unionist Party had prevailed and now an agreement with Croatia was possible. The “Question of Fiume” was still not solved because they soon learned that also the staunchest unionists were claiming that the City was undisputedly under Croatian sovereignty, appealing to the Law XLII that was enacted by the Croatian Sabor and signed by the King Franz Joseph in 1861.

By the “Fundamental Law” of the 21st of December 1867 Austria-Hungary was divided, for purposes of internal government, into Cisleithania, or the Austrian Empire, and Transleithania, or the Kingdoms of Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia. The settlement with Hungary consisted then of three parts: - (1) the political settlement, which was to be permanent and remained part of the fundamental constitution of the monarchy; (2) the periodical financial settlement, determining the partition of the common expenses as arranged by the Quota-Deputations and ratified by the parliaments; (3) the Customs Union and the agreement as to currency - a voluntary and terminable arrangement made between the two governments and parliaments. There were to be three ministers for common purposes - for foreign affairs; for war;³⁹⁵ for finance;³⁹⁶ these ministers were

³⁹² The idea mirrored the Croatian tripartist program, that considered Croatia the third constitutive entity of the whole Hapsburg Monarchy. The Fiumani (more modestly!) considered Fiume to be one of the three crownlands of the Hungarian kingdom. The project of “national integration” fostered Croatian separatism from Hungary which induced a separatist movement in Fiume, but also in the Military Frontier and Dalmatia.

³⁹³ This will later enable the Hungarian government to claim its legitimacy and right to introduce unitary measures to the City as well giving rise to the known autonomist reaction in 1896.

³⁹⁴ It was thus an imperative mandate. The municipal congregation proposed only two candidates for two seats - Antonio Randich or Nicolò Gelletich.

³⁹⁵ The Minister of War controlled the common army, but even the laws determining the method by which the army was to be recruited had to be voted separately in each of the parliaments.

responsible to the Delegations, but the Delegations were really given no legislative power.³⁹⁷ In addition to these "common affairs" the Hungarians, indeed, recognized that there were certain other matters which it was desirable should be managed on identical principles in the two halves of the monarchy - namely, customs and excise currency; the army and common railways. For these, however, no common institutions were created; they must be arranged by agreement; the ministers must confer and then introduce identical acts in the Hungarian and the Austrian parliaments. The Compromise of 1867 witnessed the triumph of the Hungarians and marked the rebirth of the Hapsburg Empire, from then on known as the *Austro-Hungarian* dual monarchy. It lasted for almost 50 years, until it finally broke-up in 1918.

FIUME AND THE CROATIAN – HUNGARIAN SETTLEMENT

The Magyars, resolved to subject Croatia-Slavonia to the Crown of St Stephen, by the end of 1867 secured the control of its finances and the electoral machinery. Still, Croatia was an exception among the imperial crownlands, since it was granted the right to negotiate a similar compromise with Hungary.

The new head of the Croatian executive, the ban Baron Levin Rauch, was an ardent Magyarist. At the elections of December 1867 a majority of Hungarian partisans was thus easily obtained, and on the 29th of January 1868 the Sabor passed a resolution in favour of reunion with Hungary.

On the session of the 10th of January 1868, the royal rescript from the 20th of October that officially indicted the convocation of the regnicolar deputations was accepted and now all the parts (the Croatian and Hungarian governments) had to form their deputations in charge for the compromise negotiations. The Fiuman deputies were also present and after perceiving that the Croatian diet was favourable to a compromise with Hungary, on the 21st of January 1868, they gave an official statement by which any right to the Croatian diet to interfere in the constitutional arrangement of the City, and any right to the Sabor to represent Fiume was refuted explicitly.³⁹⁸

As it emerged soon, the most debated issue of the compromise of Hungary and Croatia was related to the position of the City of Fiume within the Kingdom.

³⁹⁶ The Minister of Finance had to lay before them the common budget, but they could not raise money or vote taxes; after they had passed the budget the money required had to be provided by the separate parliaments. Even the determination of the proportion which each half of the monarchy was to contribute was not left to the Delegations. It was to be fixed once every ten years by separate committees chosen for that purpose from the Austrian Reichsrath and the Hungarian parliament, the so-called Quota-Deputations

³⁹⁷ The Delegation's annual meetings were to be held alternately in Vienna and in Pest. They were very careful that these Delegations should not overshadow the parliaments by which they were appointed. The Delegations were not to sit together; each was to meet separately; they were to communicate by writing, every document being accompanied by a translation in Magyar or German, as the case might be; only if after three times exchanging notes they failed to agree was there to be a common session; in that case there would be no discussion, and they were to vote in silence; a simple majority was sufficient.

³⁹⁸ Eccelsa Dieta! Gli elettori del libero distretto di Fiume, provocati d'invitare due deputati a quest'eccelsa dieta, hanno corrisposto all'invito di S. M. Apostolica. Per quanto ora i deputati di Fiume sieno mossi dal desiderio di concorrere anche da parte loro a promuovere il fretellevole accordo fra i popoli congiunti sotto la corona di s Stefano, accordo che se desiderabile per tutti, lo è al più alto grado per Fiume, tuttavia in riflesso: che ad essi incombe il dovere di attenersi strettamente all'avito diritto pubblico di Fiume, in forza del quale questa terra formava sempre un corpo separato, direttamente unito al regno ungarico; che questo diritto ottenne nell'or decorso anno una nuova sanzione, dacché l'apostolico nostro re si degnava di provocare Fiume ad invitare il suo deputato alla camera dei deputati a Pest sulla base del nostre leggi del 1848; che con tale atto venne esplicitamente riconosciuto e riconfermato, che Fiume serbava in diritto un nesso immediato con regno ungarico; che perciò la terra di Fiume non ha né il diritto, né l'obbligo di essere rappresentata a questa eccelsa dieta, i sotto firmati deputati valutando anche le più esplicite manifestazioni dei loro emittenti, consone a quelle enunciate da tutte le succedentisi rappresentanze municipali, si fanno l'indeclinabile dovere di dichiarare, come dichiarano: che dessi non possono riconoscere vincolativo quanto ai rapporti di diritto pubblico del libero distretto di Fiume nessun conchiuso che venisse preso da codesta eccelsa dieta, dovendo tali rapporti essere precisati e definiti d'accordo con Fiume dalla sola legislatura di Pest, della quale fa parte il suo deputato." in Depoli, Attilio. "Il distacco di Fiume dalla Croazia", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno VIII, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1960, pp. 126 – 127.

The 30th of January 1868, the new Sabor nominated the deputation that had to conclude the negotiations with its Hungarian counterpart. Its members are K. Bedeković, S. Vukačević, L. Pejaković, I. Suhaj, J. Brlić - all of them unionists. The Hungarian deputation comprised the most powerful members of the parliament including Deak, Andrassy, and Eotvos. The changed climate was from the fact that all of them were now represented of the unionist that is filo-Hungarian fraction in the diet and not the anti unionists as in the diets before – when they were led by Čepulić, Strossmayer or Rački. The hard line had lost its chances and the “Trialist program” had to be abandoned.

The 18th of February 1868, In Fiume, according to Depoli, the news from Pest and Zagreb of rapprochement between Croatia and Hungary “preoccupied the citizens”, since the possibility that both parts could find a compromise without Fiume was still real. The tension led the Fiuman deputy at the Hungarian parliament Radich to present an *interpellanza* that points out once again that any decision about the future of the City had to take the City into account. It was the City that joined Hungary. Therefore the City - being a subject of public law - had the right to decide for its own future.³⁹⁹

While the Croatian and Hungarian deputations negotiated in Pest, the Municipal Congregation in Fiume presented a *mozione* that was sent directly to the King.⁴⁰⁰ The document denied again the right of the Croatian and Hungarian deputations to decide on the future of Fiume without considering the position of Fiume.⁴⁰¹ The official newspaper *Pester Lloyd* disapproved, according to the Hungarian paper, to exclude or distrust arbitrarily the Hungarian deputation was an incautious move. Moreover, now that Hungary was realising that trade was to be handled over Fiume, the deputation could have been much more serene and quiet. Obviously in Fiume the article generated rumours and tension.

The Croatian and Hungarian deputations agreed in summer 1868, that the common affairs of Croatia and Hungary (for which the joint parliament in Pest was competent) were to be those already common to the Empire after the Austro-Hungarian compromise (defence, finances, central administration, trade, foreign affairs etc.). Croatia gained autonomy in the same sectors that were devolved to Hungary (internal administration, confessional affairs, education, justice). The Croatian government was responsible only for affairs within the scope of its granted autonomy, but had now the capacity to legislate.

Thus, the compromise mirrored the *Ausgleich*, and it is difficult to have imagined a better solution in terms of the degree of autonomy granted for Croatia. The only real alternative was that Croatian autonomy could have been even smaller than Hungarian one within the empire. But since this did not happen the result wasn't so disappointing as Croatian public opinion used to stress afterwards. The Fiuman county was under Croatian sovereignty (and its constitutionally guaranteed autonomy), but with the exclusion of the city of Fiume and its district, whereupon no agreement was achieved.

The 12th of September 1868, the Croatian diet gathered to discuss the official joint declaration that was made on the 3rd August 1868. The disappointment among the anti-unionist deputies for the end of the “Trialist program” led them to abandon the Sabor. The proposed solution was to ask the direct intervention of the King to protect “the indisputable Croatian right to Fiume”. The commission proposed to negotiate the position of Fiume independently from the outcome of the *Nagodba* - the compromise.

³⁹⁹ Depoli II, pp. 60 – 61: Essendoché il libero distretto del litorale fiumano, in seguito al suo diritto indipendente disposto e determinato e per libero voto divenne una parte integrante dell'Ungheria, per cui non riconoscere alla deputazione regnicolare ungherese il diritto di impegnarsi colla deputazione Croazia in trattative riguardanti questo libero distretto senza il suo assenso. Essendoché il libero distretto di Fiume legalmente mai appartenente alla Croazia, né ora appartenere vi vuole, etc.

⁴⁰⁰ Depoli II, pp. 61 – 62.

⁴⁰¹ “Sacra Maestà, Augusto Re! Giusto e provvido sempre, degnatevi clementissimamente di togliere questo paese dallo stato anomalo in cui con svariati e sensibili suoi pregiudizi versa da tanto tempo, riunendolo *direttamente* al regno cui esso per *diritto* ed *elezione* appartiene.” (italics mine), in Depoli II, p. 62.

The 25th of September 1868, the discussion that followed in the Sabor, was exceedingly interesting. Jovan Živković, deputy of the anti unionist opposition, foreseeing the Hungarian bargaining strategy, argued that the question of Fiume had to be included into the general agreement with Hungary. Otherwise Croatia would necessarily have been set into a weaker bargaining position. Moreover, if to the City of Fiume was given the right to decide its destiny (as the Hungarians claimed) this meant to give to the City a status of public law. Therefore, Croatia should have signed even a kind of international agreement with Fiume and this, according to Jovan Živković, was illegitimate and absurd.⁴⁰² Finally, after the ballot, the unionists succeeded to persuade the Sabor that even if the question of Fiume was unresolved that shouldn't have compromised the whole settlement of the constitutional position of Croatia with Hungary that offered substantial benefits. Believing in the mediation of the sovereign in the case of problems with Fiume they voted compactly for the acceptance of the compromise. Namely, F Deak in the last meeting of the deputations said that Hungary will ask for the *direct* union of Fiume with *Hungary* while Croatia will seek to unite it with the *Crown* (as the fiumans did initially!). The last word was that of the Franz Joseph, king of Hungary, who with a proposition could finally settle the dispute, and the *propositions* of the King had to be accepted.⁴⁰³

The *nagoda* was accepted the day after on the 26th of September 1868. The acceptance of the *nagoda* at the Sabor was greeted by the Emperor, as well as in Fiume since the question of the City was separated from the agreement, and also the Hungarian parliament hurried to ratify it.

Under the *nagodba* Croatia retained the Ban as the president of the Croatian government, the Sabor, the Supreme Court, the Croatian home guard (domobrani) and the right to use Croatian language as the language of administration and education.

This instrument determines the functions of the ban; the control of common interests, such as railways, posts, telegraphs, telephones, commerce, industry, agriculture or forests; and the choice of delegates by the chamber, to sit in the Hungarian parliament. Croatia-Slavonia was represented in the Hungarian parliament by thirty-six delegates, and should continue to use Croatian as the official language.

The most important change was that the ban from now on was appointed in the recommendation of the Hungarian prime minister and was responsible thus to the Hungarian government rather than to the Sabor, or the King.⁴⁰⁴ In theory the viceroy, or ban of Croatia-Slavonia is nominated by the Crown, and enjoys almost unlimited authority over local affairs; in practice the consent of the Crown is purely formal, and the ban is appointed by the Hungarian premier, who can dismiss him at any moment.

The provincial government is subject to the ban, and comprises three ministries - the interior, justice, and religion and public education, and for those the ban is responsible to the Hungarian premier, and to the national assembly of Croatia-Slavonia (the *Sabor*, but whose official name was now Narodna Skupstina). This body consists of a single chamber, composed partly of elected deputies, partly of privileged members, whose numbers cannot exceed half those of the deputies. The privileged members were the heads of the nobility, with the highest ecclesiastics and officials. The Narodna Skupstina dealt with religion, education, justice and certain strictly provincial affairs, but even within this limited sphere all its important enactments must be countersigned by the minister for Croatia-Slavonia, a member, without portfolio, of the Hungarian cabinet.

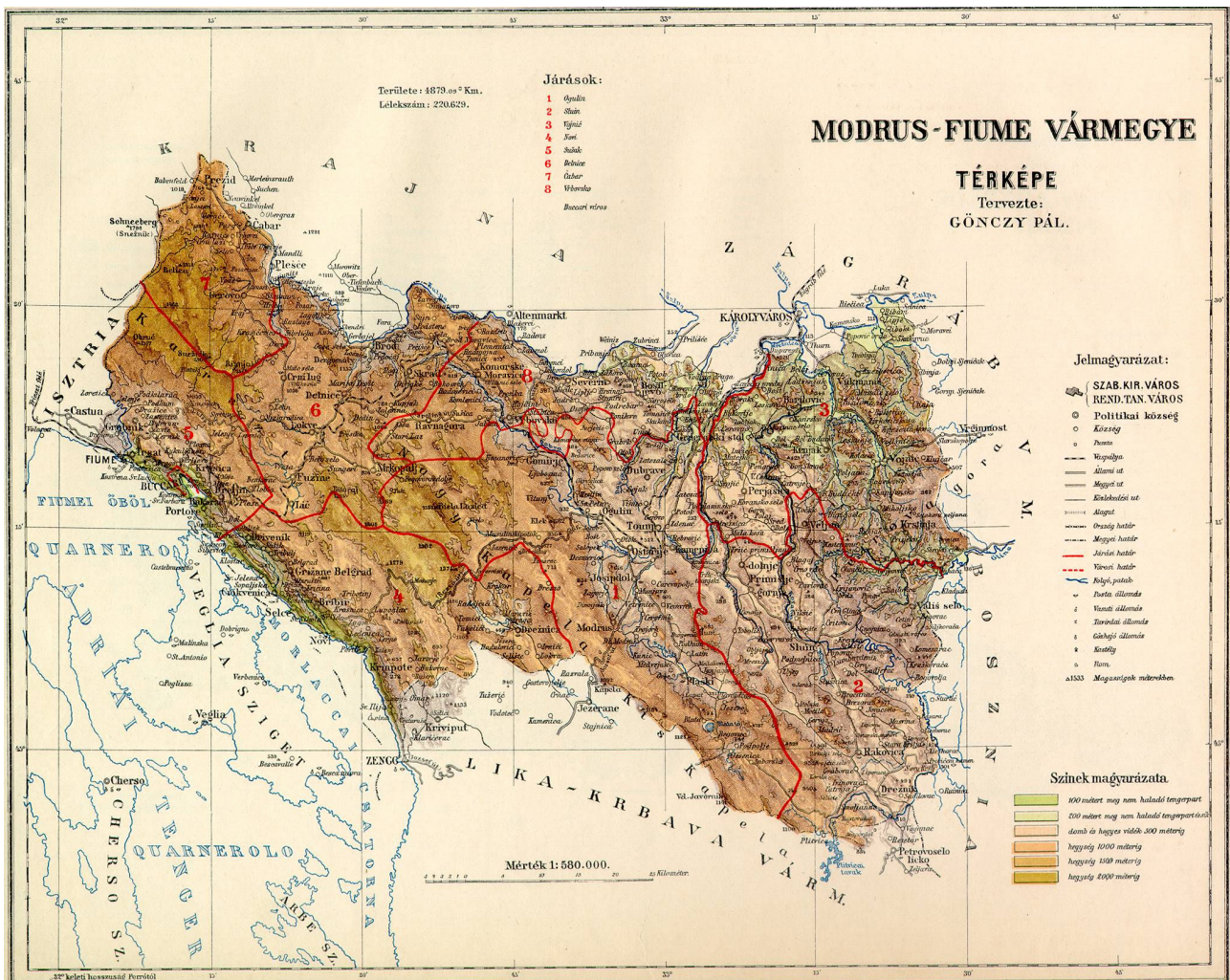
The fiscal terms of the *nagodba* were also burdensome. 55% of the revenues were allocated for the joint treasury, for mutual and imperial expenses, leaving 45% for the domestic budget. Hungary

⁴⁰² Gross, Mirjana. 1987. "Dvadeset godina bijesa i očaja ili borba za Rijeku od 1861. do 1881." *Dometi*, XX/4. Rijeka.

⁴⁰³ Depoli II, p. 65.

⁴⁰⁴ When Ferenc Deak ruled in Hungary, he was not against good government in Croatia; indeed for two consecutive times I. Mazuranic was appointed ban. Mazuranic did the greatest effort to modernise the country and paved the way for the integration of the military frontier. On the other hand the Croatian program of national integration was backed by Hungary as well since it extended the control over areas ruled by Vienna. Nevertheless, the most important office in Croatia had been placed in the hands of the Magyars, and the Croatians were reminded of the consequences of this decision when Vienna and Budapest forced Mazuranic out in 1880 and replaced him with less acceptable figures.

guaranteed that the 45% retained by the territorial government should be not less than two and a half million gulden. A further blow was the detachment of Fiume and Medjimurje from Croatia reversing the royal decisions from 1776.



Map of the Committee of Fiume-Modrus, the City of Fiume is excluded from its territory.⁴⁰⁵

THE FIUMAN PROVISORIUM

When, on the 9th of October 1868, the Hungarian Croatian compromise (*Nagoda*) was accepted in Buda, the quest of final settlement for Fiume was excluded from it since it was decided to be treated separately.

The § 65 article XXX 1868 deals with the extents of the legislative and executive autonomy of Croatia. The § 66 article XXX 1868 states the position of Fiume with respect to Croatia. The paragraph § 66, that was voted at the Hungarian Diet provisionally assigned Fiume to Hungary. The act was changed from the previous version voted at the Croatian Diet, where there was no such provision, and the position of the city was still defined as unsettled.⁴⁰⁶ The forged document was

⁴⁰⁵ retrived from: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2a/Modrus-Fiume_County_Map.jpg

⁴⁰⁶ The changed text stated: ai sensi del precedente paragrafo vengono riconosciuti come appartenenti al regno di Croazia, Slavonia e Dalmazia i seguenti territori:

1) tutto quel territorio che assieme alla città ed al distretto di Buccari appartiene attualmente al comitato fiumano, ad eccezione della città di Fiume e del suoi distretto, la qual città, porto e distretto costituisce un copro separato annesso alla corona ungarica (*separatum sacrae regni coronae adnexum corpus*), la cui autonomia speciale come tale e le cui

later known as the so called (Riječka krpica) or *cryptic*.⁴⁰⁷ Fiume was separated from the Croatian autonomy issues, and relegated to the common affairs between Hungary and Croatia. In this way the compromise, enacted by the Hungarian Parliament that now was the only institution competent for deliberation, changed.⁴⁰⁸

In Buda, on the same day, of the 9th of October 1868, King Franz Joseph received the *address* voted by the Sabor, whose president Vakanovich explicitly asked the intercession of the King to protect the rights of Croatia with respect to Fiume. According to the King, now any settlement had to include all the interested parts into account. Depoli considers it a recognition of the Fiuman municipal authorities the right to decide.⁴⁰⁹ The 12th of October 1868 Andrassy forms an informal gathering - an *enquete* where the three parts met for the first time; From Fiume four members had to be elected, and Andrassy suggested some moderate people he already knew from there: Randich, Scarpa and Ciotta. The 19th of October 1868, in Fiume the commissary Cseh at a gathering of the Congregation, suggested sending "moderate representatives" to Pest.⁴¹⁰ Interestingly, Andrassy's favourite (and future mayor of the city) Giovanni de Ciotta got only 19 preferences.⁴¹¹

The Fiuman fiduciaries arrive in Pest, the 23rd October 1868.⁴¹² The non-official meeting was fixed for the 29th of October. The Fiuman delegation presented a declaration that simply denied any right to Croatian representatives or delegations to deal with the position of Fiume, since any recognition of a Croatian right would simply give arguments to the Croatian side that the City was still under Croatian sovereignty. Since Fiume was excluded from the compromise already achieved with the Croats, its solution had to be found only at the highest state level - at the Hungarian parliament.⁴¹³

The Croatian fiduciary Suhaj was "surprised" by such an extreme position. He argued that it was in the interest of the City to preserve a link with Croatia. The decision was again on the hands of the King, since after the inclusion of the Fiuman delegation the conflict was not solved. The situation

condizioni legislative e governative riferentivisi dovranno venire stabilite di comune accordo a mezzo di pertrattazioni commissionali fra il parlamento dell'Ungheria, la dieta dei regni della Croazia, Slavonia e Dalmazia e la città di Fiume. Depoli III, p. 18;

⁴⁰⁷ Croats afterwards accused the Hungarians of forgery. This is claimed by Šišić, Ferdo. *Abridged Political History of Fiume - Rijeka*, Paris, 1919. and the argument was accepted by Seton Watson, later also by A.J.P Taylor. Still that is disputable since the cryptic was attached (by Eduard Jellacich, vice chancellor of Croatia, appointed at the court chancellery) only to the Croatian translation of the text "to spare time" in translating the whole text, but the Croatian Sabor enacted the original paper. Although the fact was noticed, by the Croatian representatives, only in 1871. in M Gross (1987), p. 199. it became a political issue in when the Croatian independentist party raised the issue, but a commission of 7 deputies found that the enactment was regular.

⁴⁰⁸ It was still accepted as valid by the Croatian deputation at the renegotiation of the Provisory in 1883. in Depoli, Attilio. "La veridica storia di una strisciola di carta (il distacco di Fiume dalla Croazia)", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno VIII, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1960, pp. 176-182. But at the time the Sabor was already suspended and Croatia was de facto put under the commissarial regime of the Ban Khuen - Hedervary who was also a staunch Hungarian nationalist.

⁴⁰⁹ Depoli II, pp. 68 – 69.

⁴¹⁰ Depoli II, p. 70; For the occasion, Vittorio Giacich said: "versare la loro missione sopra l'oggetto il più sacro e prezioso per ogni uomo: sul bene della patria. Dovere loro sacrosanto di rendersi i sinceri interpreti del voto della popolazione quello cioè di appartenere al regno d'Ungheria, respingendo nelle forme più ampie qualunque trattativa che valesse ad intaccare i diritti storici del paese, combattendo all'incontro perché a Fiume venga assentato quell'antico posto nel regno ungarico, cui ogni buon cittadino e per sentimenti e per diritto aspira e desidera conseguire." It is clear that here the *patria* and *paese* is the City.

⁴¹¹ Depoli explains Ciotta's relatively low popularity with his conciliatory stance with the Croats.

⁴¹² Depoli II, p. 71;

⁴¹³ *il voto della città e libero distretto di Fiume di conseguire la sua piena diretta riannessione di fatto al regno d'Ungheria sulla base del suo diritto e delle vigenti leggi, è universalmente noto.*

Sono conosciuti eziandio i passi fatti in ogni incontro tanto a mezzo della sua legale rappresentanza che a mezzo del suo deputato alla Dieta di Pest, ondechè sia realizzata questa sua generale aspirazione. Fiume insiste quindi su questo suo postulato, e senza immettersi in qualunque altra discussione, appoggia con piena fiducia, ad imitazione dei suoi avi, la tutela dei suoi diritti, e del suo avvenire alla legale rappresentanza del regno d'Ungheria. In Depoli II, pp. 72 – 73.

could have compromised even the settlement. So Franz Joseph wanted to solve the issue, on the other hand the City representatives had to be included. The Croatians claim that obviously this would have changed completely the position, since now 2 parts were against one.⁴¹⁴

According to a Hungarian "Proposta modificata della commissione ungherese"⁴¹⁵ the affairs of the city were of two kinds, joint and autonomous.⁴¹⁶ Among the common affairs for Fiume there was the Governor nominated by the King, a Joint Tribunal of first instance and another of appeal, half of the members nominated by the Ban of Croatia-Slavonia and half nominated by the Governor in Fiume. The Supreme Court had to be the *tabula septemviralis* in Pest and the Court of Cassation in Pest. The City of Fiume had the right to send a deputy at the joint parliament. According to the Hungarian proposal, Autonomy had to be configured in the following way for Fiume: political administration of the city of Fiume and district was subjugated to the Hungarian Governor in Fiume that, subordinated to the minister of interior, had to be re-established. For public education the Governor was subordinated to the Hungarian ministry of public education. Judiciary autonomy of the City envisaged that the appeals of the Civic tribunal went to the Court of appeal, that was also to be seated in Fiume, then to the *Tabula Septemviralis* in Zagreb and then to the Royal Supreme Court in Pest.

On November the 8th the King accepted the Rescript with the countersignature of Andrassy. The act was of decisive importance since it finally sanctioned the joint Fiuman-Hungarian position at the negotiations.⁴¹⁷ Franz Joseph announced to be pleased that the solution for the "Question of Fiume"

⁴¹⁴ M. Gross claims that Franz Joseph's contribution had been constantly supporting the Hungarian and Fiuman stance while damaging the Croatians. In every and each moment where only a decision of the King (who should have been *supra partes*) he always backed the Hungarian side. On the other hand, given the importance of Hungary for the stabilisation of the empire he probably had no choice. On the other hand mobilisation that happened in Fiume suggested the unpopularity of the Croatian plan in the very regions where it was addressed. Depoli even argues that the Croatian representatives to be elected in the committee of Rijeka had to side with the unionists. So the anti unionist alternative appears to be extremely weak even in the region of Rijeka. On the other hand, notices Depoli, in the previous period 1860-1867 the King favoured the Croats, by appointing royal commissars, who before Cseh were all purporters of the Croatian national program (Bartol Zmajic).

⁴¹⁵ Anonymous. *Le deputazioni regnicolari nella questione di Fiume negli anni 1868-1869 e 1883-1884* (§ 66 dell'articolo di legge XXX 1868), Pubblicato per cura del Municipio, Fiume, Mohovich, 1898, pp. 60-62.

⁴¹⁶ a) quelli che giusta l'accordo stipulato nel 1868 fra l'Ungheria e la Croazia-Slavonia vennero qualificati siccome affari comuni del regno ungarico e

b) quello che per i quali la città di Fiume ed il suo distretto, quale corpo separato, ha un diritto autonomo. In Anonymous. *Le deputazioni*, p. 60.

⁴¹⁷ The proposition in extenso: Cari e fedeli! Con gioia sincera e paterna consolazione abbiamo preso a notizia, che fra il parlamento d'Ungheria e la dieta dei nostri regni di Croazia, Dalmazia e Slavonia venne stabilito un accordo riguardo alle questioni di diritto pubblico insorte recentemente, col quale viene a tranquillità e soddisfazione d'ambe le parti, nuovamente assicurato e rafforzato il vincolo che esisteva da secoli fra i paesi della corona ungarica, pur anco consolidato dalla sanzione prammatica.

Soltanto riguardo alla città di Fiume, al suo porto e territorio, non riuscirono le dette due rappresentanze di portare ad effetto un soddisfacente accordo; giacché la dieta ungarica desidera che la menzionata città di Fiume, il suo porto e territorio, come spettante immediatamente all'Ungheria, venga anche di fatto prontamente reincorporata a questa, mentre la dieta della Croazia e Slavonia nel suo indirizzo del 26 settembre 1868 nuovamente ci esprime la preghiera, che l'anzidetta città col suo porto e territorio, siccome immediatamente incorporata alla Croazia, sia riconosciuta appartenere soltanto mediatamente all'Ungheria.

Stando a noi molto a cuore di togliere completamente, a tranquillizzazione di tutti gli interessati, anche quest'unica difficoltà, riteniamo di nostra speciale e reale dignità il tentare un'altra volta tra i cointeressati l'amichevole accordo.

Provochiamo quindi colla presente nostra reale proposizione le rappresentanze sì dell'Ungheria che della Croazia, Dalmazia e Slavonia, di aver sott'occhio quei vantaggi che saranno per derivare a tutte le parti da cosiffatto accordo, di avere perciò riflesso, che il diploma emanato dal nostro predecessore, Maria Teresa, di gloriosa memoria, su cui si basa l'articolo di legge IV: 1807, chiaramente dice: "la città commerciale di Fiume, unitamente al suo territorio deve essere anche in futuro considerata quale corpo separato appartenente all sacra corona ungarica, ed in tutto come tale trattata (*separate sacrae coronae adnexum corpus*)", ponendo a parte le controversie storiche e le relative deduzioni converrà convergersi nell'idea fondamentale, che ogni singola parte riconobbe senza titubanze come vera, che cioè la città di Fiume unitamente al suo territorio e porto forma un corpo separato pertinente alla corona ungarica, e disponendo quindi che colla cooperazione di Fiume venghi in via amichevole tra esse stabilito tutto ciò che richiedono i giusto desideri dei cointeressati ed i comuni interessi di tutti i paesi della corona ungarica.

was finally found. His instructions (the “Propositions”) were clear – no further historical argumentation had to be provided - since the diploma IV/1807 that had been sanctioned by the King, already stated clearly that the City was a *corpus separatum* attached to Hungary. All previous acts had to be put aside. What concerned *common* affairs between Hungary and Croatia cannot be changed only the issues within Croatian *autonomy* were still open to discussion.⁴¹⁸ From the 9th to the 11th of November 1867, the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies debated and accepted the “Propositions” of the King and finally enacted the Croatian - Hungarian compromise.

The 16th of November 1868, the representatives at the Sabor realised that now the chances to regain Fiume were even smaller, since all the executive power was now in the hands of the Hungarian government, responsible only to the (joint) Hungarian parliament. Worse, Andrassy achieved the separation of the settlement of the question of Fiume from the Hungarian - Croatian settlement. The discussion that followed at the Sabor pointed that to accept the *corpus separatum* and give to it more than an internal administrative meaning was a legal *precedent*, and since it was unknown in the Croatian and Hungarian constitutional and legal traditions, Croatia was not obliged to accept it. Moreover, if the Fiuman question could have been included into the general framework of the Hungarian - Croatian settlement a far better solution could have been obtained. Namely, if the Fiuman question was to become a constitutional issue of the Hungarian kingdom, that comprised Croatia, it should have deliberated at the joint parliament where Croats were a minority. Moreover, by accepting the legal precedent with Fiume meant that it could have been also extended also to other contested regions where the Croatian Sabor aimed to extend its competencies (Dalmatia, Krajina, Medjmurje, parts of Istria) or simply strengthen its rule (Slavonia). The fear that such “disintegrative tendencies” could in effect start was confirmed by the events in Dalmatia but also in the Littoral where the Royal Commissar Cseh still operated and was achieving success in

Speriamo che questa Nostra reale proposizione verrà accettata, e ciò tanto più in quanto che nell'accordi di diritto pubblico - già accettato da entrambe le rappresentanze legislative - è chiaramente detto che gli affari sull'armata, finanza marina e commercio, come concernenti in comune i paesi della sacra corona ungarica, si decideranno in rapporto legislativo dal parlamento comune; riguardo l'esecutivo pi, sottostaranno al comune ministero ungaro - croato.

Lo stesso vale pure rispetto alla città di Fiume, per cui la divergente opinione che attualmente susortie tra l'Ungheria e Croazia relativamente a Fiume, può riferirsi soltanto a quegli oggetti, circa i quali la Croazia ai sensi del più detto accordo, possiede propria autonomia separata legislative ed esecutive.

Siccome poi tali oggetti possono venire stabilmente fissati in guisa la più sicura ed amichevole cointelligenza fra le parti interessate, provochino colla presente le rappresentanze sì dell'Ungheria che della Croazia di eleggere ciascuna dal proprio seno un delegazione regnicolare, e Noi provocheremo pure la città di Fiume di partecipare a queste trattative di amichevole accomodamento con una propria deputazione; onde in tal modo, con vicendevole intelligenza, venga trovato un modo di allontanare quest'ultimo ostacolo del perfetto accordo.

Sino a tanto però che ciò sia felicemente compiuto, può entrare in vigore l'accordo convenuto tra l'Ungheria e la Croazia e Slavonia.

Nulla osta a che i comuni affari e interessi dei paesi della corona ungarica, designati nell'accordo, venghino pertrattati nel comune parlamento ungaro - croato; nulla s'opponne a che la dieta croata invii i suoi deputati nel comune parlamento e da questo nelle delegazioni che stanno per riunirsi, e che in questi affari comuni, il comune ministero ungaro-croato ne guidi l'amministrazione.

Del pari nulla s'opponne a che la Croazia e Slavonia comincino di fatto ad esercitare nella propria dieta e mediante il proprio governo l'autonomia riservata loro nell'accordo, rispetto a tutte le questioni, non toccati Fiume e il suo territorio.

Non v'ha quindi motivo che per le intelligenze, che in base alle comuni deliberazioni saranno da avviarsi in seguito alla presente nostra proposizione nella questione fiumana, non entrino tosto in vigore le altre parti dell'accordo di diritto pubblico convenuto tra l'Ungheria e la Croazia e Slavonia. Avvengachè siamo convinti che una dilazione in questo argomento produrrebbe delle dannose influenze sulle parti interessate, come pure su tutti i paesi della corona ungarica.

Perciò appunto desideriamo che l'accordo già accettato da ambe le rappresentanze venga sottoposto alla nostra reale approvazione e sanzione, e dopo seguita questa entri tosto in vigore.

Noi facciamo questo con quel sincero e paterno sentimento, della quale siamo guidati, per procurare ai nostri popoli durevole tranquillità e soddisfazione; onde restiamo convinti che questi nostri popoli durevole tranquillità e soddisfazione; onde restiamo convinti che questi nostri sinceri conati otterranno da ogni parte la piena riconoscenza ed apprezzamento." Given by Depoli II, pp. 74 - 75.

⁴¹⁸ Gross, Mirjana. 1987. “Dvadeset godina bijesa i očaja ili borba za Rijeku od 1861. do 1881.” *Dometi*, XX/4. Rijeka, p. 198

alienating the sympathies of the local population towards Croatia. This growing realisation within the banks of the Sabor, as even Mirjana Gross admits, was that the force and appeal of the Croatian “program of national integration”, as she calls it, was indeed much weaker than they previously thought.

From now on only a decision from the King could have shifted the balance in favour of the Croats. But the King was much more motivated to preserve the settlement achieved with Hungary an issue that was far bigger and more important than those of Croatia. For the Croat deputy Živković, having admitted the Fiumani at the negotiations meant a recognition of their right to decide their own destiny and make them thus subject of public law and giving them political sovereignty. Depoli in evaluating the significance of the Nagoda for Fiume and the §66 notices that the City was from then on considered to be the “third factor” in the constitution of the Kingdom.

The 28th of December 1868, by request of the majority of its members, the old Municipal Congregation was suspended. New elections had to be organised. Many members were missing some of them died some of them retired.⁴¹⁹ Along with the preparations two political groupings in the City emerged. Again it was the faction of Matcovich against the *Signori* but who now had a much stronger candidate - Ciotta. Nevertheless, they have a common platform that is synthesised with the motto "per Fiume e con Fiume" (for Fiume and with Fiume). The two factions that led by G. Matcovich and that of G. Ciotta gather and found a joint electoral county that has to propose the candidate and supervise the elections. In Croatia there were hopes that a split between "popolari" and "signori" will weaken the political front in Fiume.⁴²⁰

The 22nd of January 1869, the newly elected Rappresentanza is constituted. Under the presidency of G. Randich a group labelled "democratic" was constituted. Their motto was “scienza, coscienza, disinteresse” Their declared goal was the complete union with Hungary in the shortest time. The second the second group had the motto “libertà, ordine e cultura” and held that also the relationship with Hungary was to be based on the highest possible autonomy as sanctioned with the law of the 8th November 1863.⁴²¹

At the successive sessions the first group stood on the left and the second of the right. The two groups agreed fully in only one thing: in opposing any kind of Croatian rule was to be prevented. For the position of the City in the Kingdom they diverged since the democratic (rather populist) group of Matcovich was for a full and complete inclusion of Fiume in Hungary. The others wanted to preserve the traditional municipal autonomy that guaranteed a far better bargaining position for the future. Already on the 21st of February 1869, when a deputation had to be elected to be sent to Zagreb to meet the King, their relative force became clear: all its elected members were of the faction of the *signori*.⁴²² The 14th of March 1869, the King arrives in Zagreb and the Fiuman deputation is received separately: an important recognition of the city autonomy, according to Depoli.

The 22nd of March 1869, Akos Radich was about to finish the mandate and the new deputy of Fiume at the Hungarian chamber had to be elected. The two groups diverged again and proposed two different candidates. The Matcovich faction nominated as its candidate a rather obscure Hungarian Serb, a certain Vukovich Sebo, while the other proposed Ciotta. The two different strategies reappear again: the group of Matcovich wanted a Hungarian but this time with obscure liaisons in Hungary.⁴²³ The second opted for a local candidate, with the strongest credentials both in Vienna and Budapest, very much in the spirit of the *Ausgleich*, reproposing the situation seen

⁴¹⁹ The fact that almost half of the congregation was deserting the meetings has also a political meaning. However, Depoli pp. 80 – 81, for example, although being usually very accurate, here provides no answer.

⁴²⁰ Even if there was such a possibility, since the cleavage between the two factions emerged several times the most popular one that of Matcovich was also the most anti Croatian as well. The list of the elected shows an equilibrate outcome.

⁴²¹ Depoli II, pp. 85 – 86.

⁴²² Depoli II, p. 86.

⁴²³ A certain Sava Vukovich, described as an "opponent of the Hungarian government". It is not clear why Matcovich proposed such candidate, but maybe the fact is explainable only in terms of personal interests.

with Peretti versus Akos Radich. Nevertheless, even Matcovich's habitual strong supporters - the *artieri* were not convinced to have a representative a person who was absolutely unrelated with the City.⁴²⁴

Six months later, on the 15th of May 1869, the new deputation of Croatia and Hungary with a delegation from Fiume (some people were indicated by Hungarian Prime Minister Andrassy, among them then the future mayor of Fiume Giovanni de Ciotta) was constituted.⁴²⁵

The 20th of May the Fiuman representatives presented their project for the settlement. The project concerns thus the condition of autonomy that is the part of internal political administration, education, cultus and justice. That is the same parts that were left autonomous to Croatia within Hungary and Hungary within the empire. They accept that the common affairs of the kingdom the City is subject of the Hungarian parliament.

la città di Fiume col suo attuale territorio forma un corpo separato, appartenente immediatamente alla corona ungarica;

da tale sua posizione autonoma consegue spettare unicamente a Fiume di regolare col regno d'Ungheria i suoi rapporti legislativi ed amministrativi;

senza pregiudizio di questo suo diritto viene stabilito essere comuni la legislativa esercitata dal parlamento ungarico ed il potere esecutivo che spetta al ministero ungarico

Fiume sarà rappresentata al parlamento ungarico, giusta l'articolo di legge XXVII: 1848, da un deputato

per stabilire la sua interna autonoma amministrazione municipale, Fiume in base alla detta legge riservasi di compilare un proprio statuto e di subordinarlo per la sua inarticolazione nelle leggi;

come principio fondamentale viene pertanto stabilito, spettante al comune il diritto della nomina del suo presidente e di tutti i suoi organi;

il comune eserciterà la complessiva interna amministrazione indipendentemente, entro il raggio delle leggi e statuti;

il comune corrisponderà "immediatamente" cogli organi del governo e con tutte le giurisdizioni del regno;

con riguardo tanto alla diversità delle lingue quanto a molte altre circostanze, si riserva Fiume di prendere colla legislativa ungarica, per riguardo alla futura amministrazione della giustizia, accordi e provvedimenti consentanei alle speciali condizioni locali; sino allora restano invariate in vigore per riguardi di opportunità e soltanto in via d'eccezione, le esistenti condizioni nel ramo della giustizia, sino a tanto cioè che Fiume stabilirà quando e come le stesse sieno da cambiarsi e da regolarsi definitivamente;

il comune avrà l'esclusiva sorveglianza, gestione e superiore direzione di tutte le scuole da esso mantenute, attualmente esistenti o che venissero in seguito aperte, e gli spetta il diritto di introdurre quelle misure e riforme che corrispondono tanto allo spirito dei tempi quanto alle peculiari condizioni locali. Senza consenso del comune non devono esistere né venir attivate a Fiume altre scuole pubbliche. La lingua d'istruzione in tutte le scuole ha e deve essere stabilita dal comune stesso.

Le imposte addizionali provinciali e le contribuzioni per l'esonero del suolo sino qui gravitanti su Fiume verranno soppresse;

La lingua d'ufficio del comune e di tutti i suoi organi è l'italiana, e questa verrà pure usata nelle relazioni con tutti gli organi del governo;

⁴²⁴ The Artieri were a professional organisation of artisans and were frequently mobilised by Matcovich. The group was obviously a new kind of professional and political organisation, definitely not belonging to old elites as the patriciate or even the burghers. We can say that modern mass politics starts in Rijeka by Matcovich and its main mobilisation base are the Artieri.

⁴²⁵ Gross, Mirjana. 1987. "Dvadeset godina bijesa i očajja ili borba za Rijeku od 1861. do 1881." *Dometi*, XX/4. Rijeka, p. 201

La disposizione del articolo di legge XXVII: 1848, 51 in forza di cui fiume quel porto marittimo, con riguardo al prosperamento del commercio e della navigazione marittima. Venne liberata da qualunque assento militare, vien con ciò confermata;

Le presenti disposizioni entrano in attività tosto dopo la seguita loro inarticolazione nelle leggi del regno.

Pest, 20 maggio 1869

The Croatian deputation answered this proposal with the following project:

il governatore di Fiume avrà da essere contemporaneamente supremo conte del comitato di Fiume. La sfera d'azione del governo (gubernium) di Fiume deve limitarsi esclusivamente agli affari comuni, tanto per rapporto a Fiume, quanto anche per rapporto al litorale croato, premesso che la presente proposta venga accettata.

Il titolo di questo governo (gubernium) sarebbe r. ung. Governo (gubernium) per la città di Fiume e il litorale croato.

Tutto il litorale, Fiume compresa, ottiene la denominazione "litorale ungaro-croato".

La città di Fiume esercita l'amministrazione e l'esecutivo in I istanza relativamente a tutti gli affari autonomi, e sceglie perciò a suo piacere la lingua d'uffizio; - la II e l'ultima istanza in questi affari forma il governo provinciale di Zagabria - la giudicatura poi verrà esercitata in II istanza dalla tavola banale, in III istanza dalla tavola settemvirale di Zagabria.

Il governatore verrà nominato da S.M.I.R. Apostolica sopra proposta del bano, verso controfirma del comune ministero di pest.

Il governatore di Fiume riceve il suo appuntamento quale supremo conte del comitato di Fiume, dal fondo autonomo provinciale di Zagabria.

Il governatore di Fiume ha come tale voto e seggio nella tavola alta del comune parlamento, quale supremo conte però nella dieta di Zagabria.

La città di Fiume sarà presentata nelle questioni autonome da due deputati alla dieta croata - per rapporto alle questioni comuni a pest, da un deputato immediato nel comune parlamento".

Since the Croatian proposal diverged so profoundly from the Fiuman one the Hungarian deputation prepared its proposal with the idea to intermediate. The Hungarian proposal tries to avoid legal questions of public law but tries to fix some general principles:

"I. tutto quel territorio, che anche prima del 1848, costituiva il territorio del governo di Fiume, formerà d'ora innanzi un distretto solo per gli affari commerciali, marittimi cambiari ed in generale per tutti quegli affari che in virtù dell'accordo stipulato nel 1868 colla Croazia - Slavonia devono considerarsi come comuni, e lo stesso dipenderà dal comune parlamento ungarico e croato slavo e dal ministro comune.

II. in questo distretto venga nominato da sua maestà, sopra proposta del r. ministero comune, un governatore, la cui nomina dovrà venire contrassegnata dal comune presidente dei ministri

III. nel distretto venga eretto un tribunale di I, II e III istanza col necessario numero di membri. Questi tribunali eserciteranno la giudicatura per tutto il distretto negli affari mercantili, marittimi e cambiari. I membri di questi tribunali verranno nominati da sua maestà, e precisamente una parte di essi - con riguardo a Buccari, Portorè e il Vinodol - sopra proposta del bano della Croazia - Slavonia, e l'altra parte - con riguardo a Fiume - soprapposta del governatore di Fiume. I nomi di tutti i membri proposti verranno sottomessi a S. M. dal r. ministero comune, e le rispettive nomine dovranno venir contrassegnate da uno dei ministri comuni.

IV. la città e il distretto di Fiume sottostarà, nei riguardi amministrativi, anche per gli affari non comuni ossia autonomi, al governatore e nei riguardi legislativi al parlamento comune.

Ciò che concerne l'amministrazione giudiziaria: quel foro di prima istanza fungerà la città stessa, per il proprio territorio, in tutti gli affari di diritto privato e civile, nonché negli affari penali e di polizia. Quale giudizio di II istanza fungerà qual giudizio che verrà istituito presso il governo locale. In terza istanza infine giudicherà la suprema corte dell'Ungheria.

V. all'incontro, Buccari, Portorè e il Vinodol non sottostaranno per gli affari non comuni ossia autonomi, al governatore di Fiume, ma bensì al supremo-conte (vrhovni zupan) che verrà nominato dal governo croato, e tanto in riguardo amministrativo che giudiziario dipenderanno dal governo croato - slavone e dalla dieta croata - slavone; in questi luoghi adunque, per gli affari di diritto privato, penale e di polizia, che vi ricorreranno, verrà il potere giudiziario esercitato dalle autorità e dai tribunali della Croazia.

VI. la città di Fiume manda al parlamento un deputato non vincolato con istruzioni

VII. il r. ministero comune dovrà preparare i necessari statuti e progetti di legge coll'intervento di Fiume, e ciò per la città e il distretto di Fiume tanto riguardo all e condizioni ma quanto per quelle di diritto privato. Questi statuti progetti di legge dovranno venir poscia sottomessi al parlamento comune.

VIII e così pure il ministero dovrà approntare coll'intervento dei rispettivi anche tutte quelle leggi che sono richieste nell'interesse del commercio e della marina nonché dalla situazione del litorale. Queste leggi dovranno indi venire presentate esser pure al parlamento comune.

Nel punto IX, premesso che a Fiume, tanto per gli affari marittimi, mercantili e cambiari, quanto per quelli di diritto privato e penale, vigevano leggi ed amministrazioni giudiziarie diverse da quelle ungheresi, si attendevano proposte in merito alle leggi da conservare o da cambiare ed all'amministrazione giudiziaria da applicare per tutto il distretto del litorale che sarebbe stato utile sottoporre ai poteri del governatore di Fiume.

The particular setting for the solution of the political and constitutional solution for Fiume made it impossible to find a solution since all the three parts had to agree. Now the divergence between the Croatian and the Fiuman project were so deep, that there was no way to find a compromise.

The Fiuman deputies agreed with the Hungarian proposal and made only minor objections to it, the 10th of June 1869, They refused to take the Croatian proposal into any consideration since it was "in contraddizione coi loro diritti e interessi", they accepted the Hungarian proposal with the following remarks upon which they declared were not going to insist:

ad I. siccome il litorale come era esistito avanti l'anno 1848 era formato dai 3 distretti di Fiume Buccari e Vinodol si ritiene essere più corretto denominarlo l'intero territorio anziché l'intero distretto, e così pure di modificare in "corpo" oppure "complesso" la definizione "distretto".

Ad II. pienamente intesi.

Ad III. Siccome una buona giudicatura esige anche l'unità della lingua, sarebbe qui da stabilirsi, che presso questi tribunali la lingua d'affari sarà esclusivamente la lingua italiana; e ciò tanto più che il governo croato ha riconosciuto che la lingua croata non si presta ancora quel lingua di giudizio nei processi di diritto marittimo.

Ad IV. Poiché dalla stilizzazione del primo periodo si potrebbe supporre che il governatore sia il capo dell'amministrazione municipale, sarebbe lo stesso da stilizzarsi nel senso che il governatore rappresenta il governo negli affari autonomi.

Ad V. VI. VII VIII Contro tutti questi punti i deputati di Fiume non hanno nulla da obiettare

Ad IX i deputati di Fiume desiderano, come ebbero già ad esternarsi nel primo loro progetto, che sino alla definitiva regolazione tanto negli affari di diritto comune quanto di quelli autonomi riferentisi a Fiume, venga mantenuto lo stato di cose presente in ciò che concerne la giudicatura privata.

I deputati di Fiume esprimono oltreciò il desiderio che onde porre quanto prima un termine all'attuale stato provvisorio, il governo nomini senza indugio un governatore per avviare

prontamente i passi necessari atti a condurre alla definitiva regolazione tanto dei loro affari autonomi quanto nei comuni affari."⁴²⁶

The 20th of June the Fiuman representatives issued a *Memorandum* by which they claim to accept the position of the Hungarians. They refuse to deal with the Croatian representatives since the City has nothing to do with Croatia. On common affairs of the Kingdom they accepted the framework of the *nagodba*. On the autonomous ones competing to Croatia they leave it entirely in the hands of the Hungarian parliament and government.⁴²⁷

In this way by accepting the distinction between common and autonomous issues a possible sign of their belonging to Croatia was allowed. On the other hand one can argue that this were the issues to be kept separately in a culturally diverse regions from Hungary - be it Fiume or Croatia.

The Hungarian deputation proposed Fiume to be completely separated from Croatian institutions. The judicial instances for example had to be at the City level *gubernium* and last Supreme Court in Pest. One representative had to be sent to the Hungarian parliament and no one to Zagreb.

Andrassy proposed a more "moderate" proposal: the Supreme Court had to remain in Zagreb, the schooling was under Magyar supervision of ministry of cult and education. It seems that Andrassy used a classic bargaining strategy where the stakes are lowered so that the real offer appears more palatable.

Although composed by pro Magyar elements, the defeat of the Croats at the negotiations was so dramatic that forced its deputation to resign.⁴²⁸ Forseeing defeat just before that, the Croat deputation made a "declaration" with an "ultimatum" on the 18th December 1869. Thereby they demanded that, at least in terms of religious affairs, Fiume had to be included within the Croatian autonomy, and that public education had to be subdivided equally (*ripartita a parità*) between Croatia and Fiume. The Judiciary had to preserve the Tribunal of the County instituted by the Croats in Fiume, while for the joint (Hungarian – Croatian) affairs this had to a new tribunal in Fiume of the first instance whose members had to be appointed by half by the Hungarian Ministry and by half by the Croatian Ban. The Supreme Court of the joint affairs had to be *Tabula Septemviralis* in Pest, while for the civil ad penal instances this had to be the *Tabula Septemviralis* in Zagreb. The appeals followed from the tribunal of the county in Fiume to the *Tabula banalis* and then to the *Tabula Septemviralis* in Zagreb.

Had this ultimatum been refused, the Croatian delegation, proposed that the City of Fiume and district be administered directly by the central (Hungarian) government while the surrounding territory falling under the County had to be considered to the autonomous government of Croatia - Slavonia.⁴²⁹ This *ultimatum* was refused by both the Hungarian and the fiuman delegations, and at this point, the *provisorium* was made operative.⁴³⁰ According to the joint Hungarian and Fiuman proposal, presented already on the 21st to the parliament in Pest, Fiume had to be put completely outside the Croatian autonomy by the *Provisorium*. The document was the foundation upon the political and administrative position of the City was organised during the whole period 1870-1918.

⁴²⁶ Depoli III, p. 31.

⁴²⁷ Gross, Mirjana. 1987. "Dvadeset godina bijesa i očaja ili borba za Rijeku od 1861. do 1881." *Dometi*, XX/4. Rijeka, p. 202

⁴²⁸ Vedendo i membri della deputazione croata che le loro pretese non vengono condivise, tre di loro insinuarono la dimissione ... *Le deputazioni regnicolari*, p. 6-7.

⁴²⁹ Se quest'ultimatum non può venire accolto, venga sino a tempo opportuno aggiornata la deputazione regnicolare e sino allora la città di Fiume unitamente al distretto amministrata dal governo centrale, ma però tutto il circuito del Comitato di Fiume sia tosto consegnato al governo autonomo croato slavone e si a di conseguenza abrogata la cerchia d'azione del r. commissario per l'intero raggio del Comitato. Allegato K), Anonymous. *Le deputazioni regnicolari nella questione di Fiume negli anni 1868-1869 e 1883-1884 (§ 66 dell'articolo di legge XXX 1868)*, Pubblicato per cura del Municipio, Fiume, Mohovich, 1898, p. 66.

⁴³⁰ Siccome le deputazioni ungheresi e fiumana non vollero far proprio, nemmeno nelle questioni di principio, quest'ultimatum dei membri della deputazione croata, ... Anonymous. *Le deputazioni regnicolari nella questione di Fiume negli anni 1868-1869 e 1883-1884 (§ 66 dell'articolo di legge XXX 1868)*, Pubblicato per cura del Municipio, Fiume, Mohovich, 1898, p. 7

The *Nagoda* and the resulting Fiuman *Provisorium* were sanctioned with the royal rescript, enacted on the 28th of July 1870. Fiume was (again as a part of Hungary), fully included into its political system and directly represented at the joint Hungarian parliament in Budapest. With § the 66 of the Compromise it is recognized "that the city of Fiume with its territory and port constitutes a separated annexed Body to the sacred Hungarian Crown " (*separatum sacrae regni coronae adnexum corpus*), and is established that "its autonomy and correspondent legislative and administrative condition will be undertaken only with a common agreement between the Hungarian Diet, the Diet of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia and the City of Fiume". As we have seen, this was the final outcome of though negotiations between the Hungarian and Croatian representatives that saw intensive lobbying from Fiuman elites and even some direct action from the Court in Vienna as well.⁴³¹

THE STATUTE AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

Finally, on the 28th of May 1870 the King accepts and enacts the *provisorium*. The *provisorium* is anyway enacted, and the only Croatian institutions left are the Croatian gymnasium, the seat of the county of Fiume (that has no authority within the City) and some cultural associations. The *provisorium* was actually a durable settlement since it lasted until the end of the Monarchy, in October 1918.

Fiume was now represented into a much larger polity – the Hungarian kingdom and the joint parliament of the Lands of the Holy Crown of St. Stephen as it was officially named.⁴³² As a *corpus separatum* it was directly annexed to Hungary, practically without any interference from Croatia. The final sanction given by the Emperor the 28th July 1870. The day after the royal commissar Edoardo de Cseh, nominated commissioner for Fiume by resolution of the Emperor from the 6th April 1867, ceased his functions and count Joseph Zichy de Vasonykeo was nominated Governor of Fiume and the Litorale ungaro-croato.⁴³³ Zichy took office on the 10th of August 1870.⁴³⁴

In 27th of April 1872 the City statute drawn on the provisional settlement was confirmed by the Hungarian Minister of Interior. With the new Statute of 1872 the political position of the City and its administrative life was regulated for almost 50 years. The Fiuman Statute was enacted by the Hungarian Minister of the Interior with a decree dated 27th of April 1872, and thereby received by the Hungarian Governor in Fiume, Joseph Count Zichy.⁴³⁵ It is worth noting that Fiume was the second city in Hungary after Budapest to enact a Statute – a document that formally regulated the municipal government and administration. Both acts related to cities with a strong symbolic and practical significance: Budapest, a city resulting from the union of Buda, Pest and Obuda into the new city of Budapest, (administratively divided into ten wards) was born with one of the first acts of the new Hungarian government (legal art. XXXVI, 1872).⁴³⁶ Fiume, on the other side, meant a coronation of the on of the proclaimed goal of the revolution of 1848: the achievement of control

⁴³¹ The Emperor Franz Joseph sent the royal commissioners to solve the situation, and then arbitrarily accepted the Hungarian solution of the dispute over Fiume with the rescript.

⁴³² Fiume had already sent its representatives at the Hungarian diet: see Chapter 2, when Adamich and Mihanovic went to Posony (Pressburg today Bratislava, then still capital city of the Hungarian Kingdom) as representatives of Fiume. But the event was rather exceptional. Fiume sent his representatives also at the Croatian diet (Ciotta among them, as seen in Chapter 3) but they went there only to declare that the City did not wanted to be represented there as forming a separate body from Croatia. (More about this on Chapter 3). It was only from the enactment of the new statute that Fiume had a permanent representative at the Hungarian Parliament, indeed it was the first modern parliament where the City was represented, and this lasted up to November 1918.

⁴³³ Depoli, Attilio. 1961. "Il distacco di Fiume dalla Croazia", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, n. 1-2.

⁴³⁴ Tomsich, Vincenzo. 1886. *Notizie storiche sulla città di Fiume*. E. Mohovich, ed. Fiume., p. 595.

⁴³⁵ Count Joseph Zichy was born in 1841. He married Ilona Odescalchi, Princess Odescalchi, daughter of Giulio Odescalchi and Anna Auguste Susanne Rosalie Gräfin von Degenfeld-Schonburg, on 25 April 1878 in Budapest, Hungary. He and Ilona Odescalchi, Princess Odescalchi were divorced in 1895. He died in 1924.

⁴³⁶ Budapest: An Ecological Study, Erdmann Doane Beynon, *Geographical Review*, Vol. 33 no 2 (April 1943) p. 258.

and access to the sea by the Magyars as a precondition for economic modernisation of the landlocked agricultural country.

In the Preamble of the Fiuman Statute the provisional status of the *corpus separatum* was clearly stated: “Until the relationships between the Free City the port and the district of Fiume will not be regulated with a purposive law the present statute will held in force”. Without a definitive settlement achieved, the autonomy of Fiume was regulated by enforced Statutes and the successive Decrees of the Hungarian Government. The Statute Charter, that was approved by the Hungarian Government in 1872, is recalled to the sovereign and legislative acts going back from 1779 to 1868 and it reassumes to them in its *proemium*, reaffirming that the territory of the free city, of the port and district of Fiume forms an annexed separate body to the Hungarian Crown (*separatum sacrae regni coronae adnexum corpus*). The autonomy issues, that the Hungarian Diet left suspended in 1868, refer to the *political* autonomy of Fiume, whose provisory character was underlied by the *proemium*.⁴³⁷

As we have seen from the previous chapters, the interpretation differences - that go back to 1776 - between Hungarians and Fiumani from one part and Croatians from the other try to establish if Fiume belongs to the Hungarian Crown “immediately” (that is directly) or through Croatia. But, also from this particular point of view, the foundation of the autonomy of Fiume is recognized from 1779, where it is expressed solemnly that Fiume and its district constitutes a *Corpus separatum*; since the genesis of the autonomy of Fiume is all in the progressive emancipation from the provincial Diets.⁴³⁸ Moreover, the Compromise of 1868 established that the City of Fiume will have a voice when and if a definitive settlement of the mutual relationships is achieved.⁴³⁹

Moreover, according to the *provisorium* Fiume was autonomous in certain specific areas with a comparable status that was granted to Croatia by the *nagoda*. The Fiumani by voting for the Rappresentanza elected a body that had the competence to decide on the specific questions of autonomy that were excluded for Croatian cities, that had to obey the Croatian government in Zagreb. The autonomy rights in Croatia applied only at the level of Kingdom and were exercised by the Diet. The autonomy referred to the language of administration and education, the judiciary (but to a lower level compared to Croatia) and public education. Fiume combined the liberal electoral rules of a free city with the rights of autonomy that were present only at the level of the Hungarian and Croatian kingdoms.⁴⁴⁰

Fiume had the right to send one representative to the Hungarian parliament not as part of Croatia but as a part of Hungary (meaning Croatia *and* Hungary proper). Moreover, the Croatian representatives at the Hungarian parliament (29 then 40 with the annexation of the military border - the Krajina - to Croatia in 1883) were excluded (§ 38 of Nagoda) from all the gatherings relative to the internal situation in Hungary but only to the common of Croatia *with* Hungary, while the fiuman deputy attended all the gatherings.⁴⁴¹

The Hungarian governor in Fiume was a member of the Upper House of the Parliament – the House of Magnates. In this way Fiume was included in the Hungarian polity – its citizens elected a

⁴³⁷ The preamble: “Insino a che i rapporti dell’amministrazione interna della libera città, del porto e distretto di fiume, territorio che in base al diploma imperiale di Maria Teresa del 1779 e degli articoli di legge IV: 1807, XXVII: 1848 e XXX §: 1868, forma un corpo separato, annesso alla corona ungarica (*separatum sacrae regni coronae adnexum corpus*), non verranno definitivamente regolati con apposita legge, vigerà il presente statuto”.

⁴³⁸ Recognized also by the Italian socialist Emilio Caldara, (who become mayor of Milano in 1914-1918). Caldara visited Fiume in 1912 and gave an excellent analysis of the communal autonomy as defined by the statute. We shall refer therefore regularly on this paper, published in 1913 as Caldara, Emilio, 1913, *Il comune italiano di Fiume*, Fratelli Rava ed. Milano.

⁴³⁹ § 3 formando Fiume un corpo separato annesso alla corona di S. Stefano, i suoi confini non potranno essere mutati che in forza di legge, previa adesione della Rappresentanza di Fiume. According to Caldara a true acknowledgment of local autonomy, p.

⁴⁴⁰ Karpowicz argued on several occasions that Fiume could have been considered as a bourgeois mercantile republic within the Hungarian state, composed by the kingdoms of Hungary and Croatia.

⁴⁴¹ The parliamentary representatives form the national minorities of Hungary will have influence on the Fiumani in the later phase. The condition of Rumanians in Transylvania will frequently be compared to those of the Italians in Fiume.

member of the Chamber of Deputies, and the governor, nominated by the Hungarian executive, represented the City at the Upper House.

Fiume preserved, as a Free City, its flag and insignia (§ 4); but the intimate link with Hungary is stated by the explicit provision that one has to be a Hungarian citizen to become member of the commune. (§ § 5 and 15). §6 specified the political status of the population of Fiume is composed by members of the commune those that have the pertinence (for which the Hungarian citizenship was required) and foreigners. The subordination to Hungary is clear from how citizenship is defined – to become a Fiuman citizen one must be a Hungarian.⁴⁴²

In Fiume the *pertinenza* was attributed to all the persons who have a stable domicile in Fiume for at least 5 consecutive years. Alternatively have a stable domicile for at least 2 years but satisfied general criteria of propriety social responsibility or official status.⁴⁴³

The important novelty was that now the right to vote was attributed not by cooptation, as was the case of the old *cittadinanza* but it was acquired through satisfying general (administratively established) criteria. The franchise was that granted by laws of Hungary, but in Fiume it excluded the illiterate. An important difference was that in Fiume Included were also naval officers on long distance routes.⁴⁴⁴ An implicit recognition of Fiume's specificity within Hungary and of its mission within Hungary to become the gate of Hungary to the world. Also the explicit literacy requirement to become a voter in Fiume underscored the difference with Hungary where the requirement was omitted.⁴⁴⁵ To be eligible i.e. to have the "passive" voting right, the enfranchised individual had to be at least 24 years old and have an uninterrupted domicile in Fiume for more than 2 years.⁴⁴⁶

The suffrage enfranchisement in Hungary was notoriously restrictive, giving an implicit advantage to the growing Hungarian community, composed by aristocrats, nobleman or high ranking civil servants. In terms of franchise, compared with the electoral laws in Croatia or Hungary, the Fiuman statute was comparatively liberal giving voice to professionals, and also seafarers that anyway represented an important part of the local upper strata. Socially speaking compared to the rest of Hungary or Croatia the city was far more developed in economic and social terms what resulted in a higher proportions of voters among the residing population. On average, almost 10% (but the figure was usually at 8%) of the Fiumani could vote while for Croatia-Hungary the figure was substantially lower at 1,2%-2,5%. Again, this was not primary the result of liberal norms but the result from overall better conditions of development in Fiume compared with the rest of the Kingdom.

Concerning the fundamental characteristics of the Statute, Karpowicz noticed that the restrictive criteria of conferring citizenship reflected primarily a bourgeois class criterion of social exclusion.⁴⁴⁷ Citizen of Fiume could be only the economically powerful individual, or an intellectual who works

⁴⁴² The *Nagoda* defined Hungary as a national unitary state and its citizens were Hungarians who "spoke different languages". On the other hand the *Nagoda* was a reflection of a relatively moderate nationalism since it guaranteed equality before the law to all nationalities (or better linguistic groups) the freedom of usage of national languages in the upper administrative instances an deduction in the vernacular in elementary and upper schooling and the right of association and church autonomy.

⁴⁴³ They were Owners of immobile goods within the commune, or financially independent Merchants and traders, or Owners of ships for long distance trade or owners of portions of such ships. Captains or lieutenants of long trade. Doctors of one of the four faculties that give an academic title to one university of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (only Vienna, Prague, Budapest, and Graz at the time). Lawyers, notaries, engineers, architects, naval constructors (shipbuilders), sensali patentati, pubblici periti, masters of surgery and pharmacy. Those that exercise a craft mastery or industry regularly recognised by the competing authority.

⁴⁴⁴ §29: sono elettori in generale, purché sappiano leggere e scrivere: 1° Tutti coloro che godono di diritto attivo per le lezioni del deputato al parlamento ungarico. 2° I Capitani e tenenti di lungo corso.

⁴⁴⁵ The Excluded were Those under *patria potestas*, The poor receiving subsidies, Those accused of committing crime, or contravention for greedy pursuit of profit or against public morality, Those that have gone bankrupt. Also Excluded were those under military service, Condemned with the loss of civil rights.

⁴⁴⁶ Exceptions were all the strangers. The Illiterate, All excluded by §29. Also excluded were the communal contractors until the expiration of the contract, Military in active service, Indebted with the commune.

⁴⁴⁷ Karpowicz, L.J. 1985 "Lo "Stato di Fiume nel periodo del liberalismo" [The State of Fiume in the Age of Liberalism]. *Quaderni* VIII, pp, pp. 20-23

within the administrative or the economic institutions of the city. She goes so far to claim that the Statute enacted in Fiume a bourgeois mercantilist polity in which the aristocracy as such, within the city institutions, lacked any sanctioned role. It was the degree of wealth and of economic specialization and not nobility that gave social and political recognition in the Fiuman polity, and this made it very different to Hungary or Croatia.

The autonomy of Fiume, modelled on that of Croatia regarded: the **official language** (in Fiume Italian, in Croatia it was the Croatian, while for the rest of Hungary (also in Transylvania and the Slovak regions) it was the Hungarian. In terms of its municipal administration Fiume exercised it through the Rappresentanza and the Municipal Delegation. The **judiciary** was integrated within the Hungarian system and the Hungarian Supreme Court was the last judiciary instance also for Fiume (in Croatia this was the Croatian Supreme Court). As Croatia, Fiume was autonomous in terms of **public education and religion**, but as part of Hungary, and the Hungarian ministry of education could have opened Hungarian state schools in Fiume, but not in Croatia.

Constitutionally, the position of the city was rather similar to that of Siebenburgen (Transylvania) that was *de facto* an integral part of Hungary.⁴⁴⁸ Thus the fiction of the Holy Crown related only to the position of Croatia within Hungary, granted as it was with large autonomies. Fiume, on the other hand had a similar extent of autonomy as that enjoyed by Croatia towards Hungary. But for the Hungarian government this meant that the city had no autonomy status with respect to Hungary, (since it was an integral part of it), but only that it was independent from Croatia. The main task for Fiuman for the whole period was to preserve their sanctioned privileged position they gained in 1870. In fact already in 1883 Hungarian government will attempt to solve the question at the expense of Fiuman autonomy. The Statute will be held in force up to the end of First World War in 1918, although starting from 1883 the Hungarian executive will start (first formally and then substantially) to limit its range and thereby the scope of city autonomy that it formally guaranteed. For the Hungarians Fiume was a part of Hungary and not of the Holy Crown of St. Stephen, while the Fiumani preferred to think still in the terms of the Holy Crown, as they considered themselves to be a “third factor” of the Holy Crown of St. Stephen, along with Croatia.

Rappresentanza di Fiume e suo Distretto

The main representative body of the city is the City Council named “Rappresentanza of Fiume” or “Rappresentanza municipale”, entitled to represent the “Free City of Fiume and its district”, whose members were appointed by direct election. The voters of the inner-city elected 50 members of the Rappresentanza, while the voters of the suburban district (sottocomuni di Plasse, Cosala e Drenova) elected only 6 members of the Rappresentanza by direct election every 6 years.⁴⁴⁹

Every 3 years half of the members of the Rappresentanza (28 of its members) had to be replaced, and new elections had to be undertaken for their replacement. The sorting is to be done by the podestà but those sorted for elimination can be re-elected. The podestà and the two vice-presidents were not submitted to the ballot. In the case of death or resignation of a representative, he had to be replaced by the end of the current year.

The Statute cannot be modified without agreement of the Rappresentanza di Fiume, which in its turn cannot deliberate on modification proposals without the absolute majority of ballots and less than two thirds of its members are present.

⁴⁴⁸ Transylvania (Hungarian: Erdély; German: Siebenbürgen) is a historical region in the center of Romania. As a political entity, Transylvania became a part of the Kingdom of Hungary in the 11th century. It then successively became an autonomous principality under Ottoman suzerainty in 1541, a part of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1711 (Austria-Hungary after 1867, According to this division Hungary proper was divided into seven circles, of which Transylvania forms one.), and a part the Kingdom of Romania after World War I.

⁴⁴⁹ As stated by §2 of the Statute, Fiume was composed by the city and the “sottocomuni di Plasse, Cosala and Drenova” that constituted together the “City District”. The two sottocomuni were subordinated to the city as it can be seen by the different electoral weight attributed to them. The suburban districts were thus doubly penalised since less people there had the right to vote and less weight of the district itself. Since this provision never changed and the suburbs experienced a substantial growth in terms of population, their penalisation deepened.

The Rappresentanza exercises, with Commissions, the checks of powers la verifica dei poteri (censura delle elezioni), and when this is accomplished it is convoked by the Governor to swear to the King, the Constitution and the civic Statute. Then the Rappresentanza elects from its ranks a President, that bears the title of Podestà, (mayor) and two Vice-presidents. Together they constitute the Presidency that remains in charge for the whole mandate of 6 years. All the members of the Rappresentanza, have to participate to this election, in case of absence they loose their mandate. The Podestà has to be confirmed by the King, afterwards he swears. Only the Podestà (but not the vice presidents) has also a right to a stipend, and a residence in the Town Hall.

The Rappresentanza elects also the Municipal Delegation (Delegazione municipale) with the functions of a consulting and deliberative body, whose function was to replace the Rappresentanza in all the issues and competencies that it had according to the Statute, within the limits of its authority.⁴⁵⁰ The Delegation, headed by the Podestà, has 10 effective members and 5 Suppliants who stay in charge for one year. Its functions are also continuative, even of suspension or dissolution of the Rappresentanza, when its powers are augmented and it replaces the Rappresentanza also for ordinary administration. Given its quite ample attributions the Municipal Delegation effectively deliberated and decided upon all the less important but more frequent issues of the daily administration of the city.

The executive branch of the municipal administration is the magistrate (Magistrato civico), that works under the immediate surveillance and responsibility of the Podestà. It is directed by a president, and there is a number of assessors, helped by the necessary subordinate personnel. The members of the Magistrate are appointed by the Rappresentanza, for a lifelong service.

The provisions on economic and financial management the § 72 of the Statute aimed at establishing an effective financial independence of the commune and it included even demanding financial decisions and deliberations such as tenders, loans, mortgages etc. As Caldara noticed: “The municipality is in the hands of the Rappresentanza and its organs, and it is conceived and run as a private corporation”.⁴⁵¹ As the enhancement of the property of the commune the functions of the Rappresentanza do not have fixed limitations; these are only indicatively specified by the §§ 78, 79 e 80 in the civic Statute. There is for example the establishment of the communal police, the sanitary services, cooperation to maintain public safety, promotion of public education, surveillance of schools included private ones, hygiene, public illumination, fire brigades, protection against damages and, support of poor people unable to work, control of ornamental, arts and crafts and «ensure that the Monte di Pietà e la Cassa di Risparmio are maintained and properly managed».

The Rappresentanza di Fiume, represents the Commune as a corporation towards third parties. The Rappresentanza can produce deliberations, initiate reclamations. If the Hungarian government (through an official act of the governor) did not reply, the Podestà was authorised to put the deliberation (conchiuso) of the Rappresentanza in force. It is on the Rappresentanza, in this context to deal issued in public law, have opinions towards it, to communicate at other municipalities and to the government, and to present them as petitions directly to the Hungarian Parliament. Specifically, the Rappresentanza can oppose measures initiated by the central Hungarian government before they are executed «if those are against the spirit of the laws or are damaging the interests and the autonomy of the Free City and District of Fiume». If the Government persists in the application of a contested decree, the decree must be executed. Only afterwards its execution the Rappresentanza is entitled to debate and make a reclamation petition to the Hungarian Parliament against the move of the government. (§ 82).

⁴⁵⁰ § 100: la delegazione municipale è chiamata, come corpo consultivo e deliberativo, a far le veci della Rappresentanza in tutti quegli oggetti che le sono assegnati dal presente Statuto, o che dalla Rappresentanza le vengono mandati, entro i limiti della propria autonomia.

⁴⁵¹ Emilio Caldara, future mayor of Milan, visited Fiume in 1912, studied its municipal autonomy and published a booklet where he provided a detailed description of the working of the municipal system in Fiume. Caldara, Emilio. *Il comune autonomo di Fiume*, Fratelli Ravà ed. Milano, 1913.

The public safety and police in Fiume was very important and it had many functions.⁴⁵² Even more important was that it was at the direct dependency from the commune⁴⁵³. The municipal police as in many Adriatic communes, was an old institution in Fiume, already established by the statute⁴⁵⁴. Its evolution and change was fostered in the 19 century by the rapid expansion of the city.

By the end of the nineteenth century Fiume doubled its size in a few decades and the municipal government augmented progressively the numbers of policeman in active service. The head of the police is an assessor (called Questore), member of the Magistrato civico elected by the Rappresentanza comunale. Therefore, the whole service is a Section of the Magistrate.

There were always at least 160 men in service, with a small group in civilian dresses under the command of an inspector. The police in Fiume was therefore a complex and specific service whose competencies went further than it was usual for other countries. The police de facto dealt with criminal cases, industrial disputes and standards, public order, sanitary norms enforcement, and the emigration service⁴⁵⁵.

The municipal assembly (Rappresentanza municipale) and the Presidenza (podestà and the two vice presidents) were the harbingers of the city autonomy and the organs for the control of its enactment and ultimately, for its defence, as defined by the art. 90 of the Statute. In 1898 the relevance of the art. 90 will become evident with the struggle of the municipal bodies against the central Hungarian government.

The Governor

The powers of all the municipal organs come in two categories: autonomous administration of the city and powers that were transferred from the government. All these were ideally embodied in the Rappresentanza, where from emanates the Municipal Delegation and who controls the Podestà and the Magistrate. But according to § 59 Fiume formed a *corpus separatum*, annexed to the Crown of St. Stephen, it was not a sovereign political body and the Rappresentanza of Fiume and district was subordinated to the Hungarian executive represented in Fiume by the Hungarian Governor, who was responsible to the joint Hungarian parliament, and whose function was continuative.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁵² The public safety and police competencies were regulated still in 1914 by the Patente di Bach and the § 176 of the Hungarian criminal code. Soon it was decided to reorganise the service. To this an commission of enquiry was organised to transform the service by collecting suggestions regarding its betterment. The result of the commission was a complete reordering plan. Nevertheless, the plan was not accepted by the government, but the Rappresentanza took it as a blueprint for the reorganisation of the police. In 1913 though, the government hindered it by introducing the State Police in Fiume. From that time on there will be a progressive reduction in competencies performed by the local police in Fiume, a process that the war will only accelerate.

⁴⁵³ The governor and the Consiglio governatorile can only inspect the associations, foundations and the public institutions and give licenses for introduction in the commune of weapons and explosives. They also had the right to control and limit the activities of Wandering sellers and emigration agencies (§ § 10 e 11 dell'Ordinanza 2 luglio 1901).

⁴⁵⁴ The head of the police was called Satnico(1) (Slavic name meaning centurion, namely in Slavic *sto* means hundred). He was the head of the communal militia helped in this by the Capi delle quattro Contrade, who controlled the 4 city districts and were responsible also for the cleaning. All the adult males were subject to a night watch service, those older than 40 could have been substituted if they paid for a substitution.

⁴⁵⁵ The Hungarian criminal code deferred to the police authorities all the activities related to criminal investigations. Even more demanding the so called “industrial attributions”. Regulated by a law from 1884, and dealing especially with labour regulation concerning the status of workers, apprentices, servants and strangers, control of their documentation, registration and review of all the requests for implanting new industrial activities, resolution of controversies among employers and employees, on surveillance of registration of the workers in the mandatory worker’s insurance and, on the water quality surveillance, control of the application on application of industrial laws, control of water quality, on public services etc. A law from 1876 and the successive decrees regulated the Security and police competencies in sanitary affairs, not only in control but also in dispute resolution.

Moreover, there is also the emigration service, the police has to check the respect of the procedures done by the agents, control the arrival, permanence of the emigrants their effective stay in the hotel, control the embarkment and their destinations etc.

⁴⁵⁶ § 59: La città di Fiume, quale corpo autonomo, è chiamata ad esercitare: 1° la sua amministrazione autonoma. 2° le attribuzioni delegate dal Governo dello Stato. In ambo le mentovate direzioni, il Governo esercita i rispettivi diritti ad

The Hungarian governor bearing the title of “Governor of Fiume and of the Hungarian Croatian littoral” (Litorale Ungaro – Croato) was proposed by the Hungarian prime minister, but nominated by the King. He was responsible only to the Hungarian government, competent for all political matters in the city. As such he heads the maritime jurisdiction for the whole Hungarian Croatian littoral stretching from Fiume to Carlopago. The Governor himself was a member of the Hungarian Upper House of the magnates.

The Hungarian government can order the dissolution of the Rappresentanza in any moment through a decision transmitted to the Governor. The new elections for the renewal of the Rappresentanza had to be indicted within 4 weeks.

The head of the political administration of the *corpus separatum* (the City of Fiume and its district) was the Governor, whose competencies, in the field of commercial and maritime jurisdiction, extended to the whole Hungarian-Croatian Littoral. Croatia had no coastline under its direct administration and control, since Dalmatia and Istria were under the Governo triestino. He is also head of the Governo di Mare, subordinated to the Hungarian minister of traffic and trade.⁴⁵⁷

The Governor is appointed by the King, with countersignature by the Hungarian Minister President, on proposal by the Hungarian Government. The Hungarian governor had to mediate between the city and the central government in Budapest. As such he was responsible of the elections at all levels - municipal as well as for the Hungarian parliament in Budapest. The Municipal Council and the major who administered the city were under the supervision of the governor.

The powers of the governor were subject to augmentation, with the institution of the Gubernatorial Council (Consiglio governatorile), not mentioned in the civic Statute. On the relations between the Governor and the Gubernatorial Council and the Commune on the other it is necessary to be explained since here is the key to assess the extent of the autonomy of the municipality of Fiume. Its origins are in the year when the government instituted a *Giunta amministrativa governiale* in 1899, that was a midrange authority that had to deal in police and pupillary affairs. The Giunta amministrativa was composed by half of officers from the governor's offices and the other half from the municipal government (representatives and employees from the magistrate). The institution of this office was violently contested by the municipal authorities though the Rappresentanza, leading to its suppression.

As a response the Hungarian authorities issued the “Ordinanza Szell” in 1901 that replaced it with the Consiglio governatorile.⁴⁵⁸ The office is not a separate authority but rather it is an integrated part of the governor's office in Fiume, whose competencies even after the Ordinanza Szell in 1901 remain the same as they were fixed by the Statute; on the other hand, the Consiglio governatorile is a thoroughly governmental office and all its members are nominated by the Hungarian ministries. The Minister of the Interior nominates the political-administrative referent, The Minister of the Finances nominates the financial referent, Minister of the Cult and Public Education nominates the referent for the schools, the Joint Ministries of commerce and agriculture nominate the referent for the economy. In religious and educational affairs, Fiume was under the direct dependency of the ministry in Pest, with the exception of the Croatian gymnasium, still maintained in Fiume with common funding.⁴⁵⁹

The Governatore and the Consiglio governatorile, jointly constitute the «Governo di Fiume», that at the same time holds the function of the State executive and representative in Fiume. As such, apart

esso spettanti, mediante il suo organo responsabile qui residente, il Governatore di Fiume. Nel caso di impedimento od assenza del Governatore, il r. Ministero lo supplirà con persona che verrà partecipata alla Rappresentanza.

⁴⁵⁷ Modelled on the Governo di mare of Trieste, similarly under the Austrian minister

⁴⁵⁸ From the name of the author Széll Kálmán - Kálmán Széll de Duka et Szentgyörgyvölgy (1845-1915) was a Hungarian politician who served as Prime Minister of Hungary from 1899 to 1903. A close associate of Deak, he was a deputy from 1867, minister of finance (1875-78), and later premier.

⁴⁵⁹ The reference was of course to the Croatian gymnasium in Fiume. “escluso però quel ginnasio che sin manteneva fin cui a Fiume da fondi comuni. Questo ginnasio rimarrà anche in seguito come finora un ginnasio croato dipendente dal governo croato-slavone cessando però le comuni fondazione e l'annua sovvenzione da parte della città, che per il suo mantenimento finora veniva erogata, p. 6.

from the properly *stare* functions, it supervises and controls the local “Autonomous Administration of the Commune”. Such control is performed, at the level of jurisdiction of appeal and also at the level of direct administrative intervention.

The jurisdiction of appeal is of second and third instance respectively for the acts of the *Rappresentanza* o del *Podestà* depending on the matter. Specifically the jurisdiction is of second instance in *pupillari* affairs, and in all the issues that the *staere* delegates to the city: such as the hunting permission, building concessions etc. it is of third instance in sanitary police, contraventions of the hunting police, wine adulteration, etc.

The intervention of the Governor in the administrative actions of the Municipal is manifold. He can convoke the meetings, the first meeting of the *Rappresentanza*, receive its swear (oath), he can take the word, and make proposals (§95 of the Statute and § 7 of the *Ordinanza* 2 luglio 1901), and he can also take actions in order to suspension of the deliberates of the *Rappresentanza*. In effect, this point is crucial: in general terms the deliberates of the *Rappresentanza* (*conchiusi*) are valid and have executive power only if they are approved by the majority.

Others require also the approval by the government: the planned expenditure and the budget, any introduction of new or a rise in the existing municipal taxes, the acquisition and alienation of real estate property, the statutes and rules of conduct of associations and corporations, tolls, locations and usage rents for more that 12 years, expenses that are in the budget for more than 6 years. But if the government (that is the office of the governor) does not reply within 40 days the act is considered to be approved and the *Podestà* has to execute it. On the other hand, the deliberates of the *Rappresentanza* can be suspended both by the *Podestà* and the Governor, if they repute that these are breaking the laws or are damaging the national interests, or the civic statute. If the suspension is executed by the *Podestà* for one of these reasons, the decisions has to be approved also by the governor, and against the decision of the governor, the *Rappresentanza* could make a petition to the competent Hungarian ministry. If the *Podestà* or the Governor suspend the deliberation because it is considered to be damaging a important communal interests, the *Rappresentanza* has to put it under examination for once again, and it has to be discussed within 8 days and, if the *Rappresentanza* persists in its decisions and confirms the deliberation with a majority needed for the most important decisions, the deliberation has to be executed. From this it appears that the *Podestà* was an isolated figure, torn in between the often contrasting interests of the municipality and the state.

The Governor is the responsible organ of the State and as such it has continuative functions. In case of impediment or absence of the Governor, the Minister replaces him and the nominated substitute participants at the sessions of the *Rappresentanza*.

Also the communal organs are continuative. The *Delegazione* substitutes the *Rappresentanza* when it is not gathered, and the members of the *Magistrato* *civico* were public functionaries with lifelong mandates. If the government suspends the *Rappresentanza*, this is not to be replaced by any governmental Commissary for no reason or mandate. It is again the municipal Delegation that stays in office with the faculty to adopt in case of specific urgency these measures that are reserved to the *Rappresentanza* by the Statute, but with the mandatory approval form the governor before it executes them (§ 105 Stat. civ.). if the *Rappresentanza* is suspended, within 4 weeks new elections are to be indicted (§ 27 Stat. Civ.).

The Judiciary

Fiume was autonomous in terms of jurisdictional affairs and public education and religion. Notably, in terms of its internal administration nothing was specified. This was to be settled by the Municipal Statute, enacted in 1872 that was not considered an act of public law by the Hungarian government when the conflict upon the extent of the Fiuman autonomy was raised. As we shall see, the Statute was *de facto* suspended by the Hungarian government during the failed attempt at the renegotiation of the *provisorium* already in 1883.

Jurisdictional affairs were divided in two branches: for the first related to the commercial and maritime affairs that belonged to the joint affairs of the Lands of the “Holy Crown of St. Stephen”, the second pertained to the civil and penal jurisdiction that pertained to the fuman autonomy.⁴⁶⁰

The Hungarian tribunal inherited the Tribunal of the County in Fiume, instituted in 1854, that after the change of the political position of Fiume in 1868-1870, lost its jurisdiction upon the districts of Fiume, Buccari and the Litorale. Upon decision of the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies of the 15th March 1870 and the Croatian Slavonian diet (Hrvatsko-slavonski sabor) of the 20th May of the same year. Also in Fiume in 1871 a royal tribunal was instituted (Regio Tribunale in Fiume, Kiralyi torvenyszek Fiumeban). In mater of civil an penal jurisdiction of first and second instance for the City and District it inherited the Croatian county tribunal.

Its jurisdiction comprised:

1. The City and District of Fiume, Buccari and the Litorale Ungaro-Croato in maritime issues;
2. The City and District of Fiume for civil and e penal issues.

The Tribunal in Fiume was directly subordinated to the Hungarian Ministry of Justice. Court of second instance was the royal Tribunal in Budapest, while the third and last instance was the Hungarian Supreme Court (the *Tabula Septemviralis*) also cassation in cases of cancellation of civil processes in Fiume. In the *Tabula Septemviralis*, a new member from Fiume had to be nominated by the King under proposal of the Ban of Croatia – Slavonia. In its sphere of judiciary autonomy Fiume was therefore, equalled to Croatia, but included into Croatia as a sort of separate body.⁴⁶¹ This was justified with practical reasons given that the courts of Fiume and Croatia - Slavonia operated on the same codes and that it was irrational to have two courts one for the city and another for the Littoral.

In case of conflict of competence of judicial authorities of Fiume and Croatia decides in agreement with the Banus of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia. In case of conflict of competence of judicial authorities of Fiume and Hungary the Hungarian ministry of justice held the exclusive competition, in agreement with the Hungarian ministry of interior.

The royal judiciary table of Hungary (the *Tabula Septemviralis*) exercised administrative powers upon the lawyers of Fiume that had to complete their study in a Hungarian university. If a fuman advocate had chosen the Croatian fore he could represent its clients only in relation to maritime right, and the same rule applied to notaries. The official language of the fore was the Italian. In 1873 the fuman fore become competent also for financial issues of the city and district, while in second instance deliberated the tribunal of Budapest. In 1882 the fuman fore become competent also in maritime right of the ceased Military Border in maritime right (district of Segna).

Public education

The municipality, within its autonomy, administred an independent school system. The School Council of Fiume was a major expression of the communal autonomy in the field of the public education.⁴⁶² The Governor and the Gubernatorial Council have on the communal schools limited vigilance functions.

⁴⁶⁰ The formulaiton was somehow unclear: gli affari di diritto civile e penale, relativamente ai quale, cadendo essi nella sfera di attribuzione dell'autonomia generale del paese, la città di Fiume potrebbe ne proprio territorio disporre da sé quale *speciale ed indipendente* parte *integrante* della corona ungarica. *Le deputazioni regnicolari*, p. 5.

⁴⁶¹ I fori giudiziari da istituirsi in Fiume dipendono in attinenza alla legislatura, in affari di diritto cadenti nella sfera dell'autonomia della dieta croato-slavone, in cui Fiume è autorizzata di farsi rappresentare. , *Le deputazioni regnicolari*, p. 6.

⁴⁶² The immediate surveillance, the inspection and the administration of the communal schools are submitted to the School Council of Fiume, elected by the communal and Representation for three years. It is constituted from seven representatives, two family heads and two professors of the local higher schools. Every constituted religious cult in

Also the central government could open its schools, and therefore there was a raising number of Hungarian schools in the city. Finally, Hungarian was introduced even at the elementary schools, with the argument that Fiume within the reach of its autonomy was a part of Hungary. A definitive settlement between Croatia and Hungary about Fiume was never achieved. And thus this ambiguous situation persisted for decades.

The relationships between the teaching body and the municipality of Fiume, the functions of the Governor are circumscribed like every other manifestation of governmental interference in this field. Besides the administrative autonomy of Commune the political authority of the State raised its competencies; since, the Decree 2nd July 1901, the teachers can be subject to inquisition (and the Governor has to examine and review the sentences), also "for profession of contrary tendencies to the State" and "every action directed against the constitution of the State, its national character, its unity, its territorial integrity, etc".

In Fiume, therefore the school system was three tiered: there were the communal schools in Italian, the Croatian gymnasium at the county level (although the city was not part of the county with its name!), and the state-run Magyar school system that comprised all the educational levels from elementary to the high schools.

An Italian gymnasium was founded immediately in 1870. From the year 1875 teaching in Hungarian and German become mandatory "giving rise to apprehensions" according to S. Gigante.⁴⁶³ Nevertheless, increasingly, the number of Hungarian professors and students rose, but especially more and more Fiumani went to Hungarian schools for the advantages this gave for their professional careers.

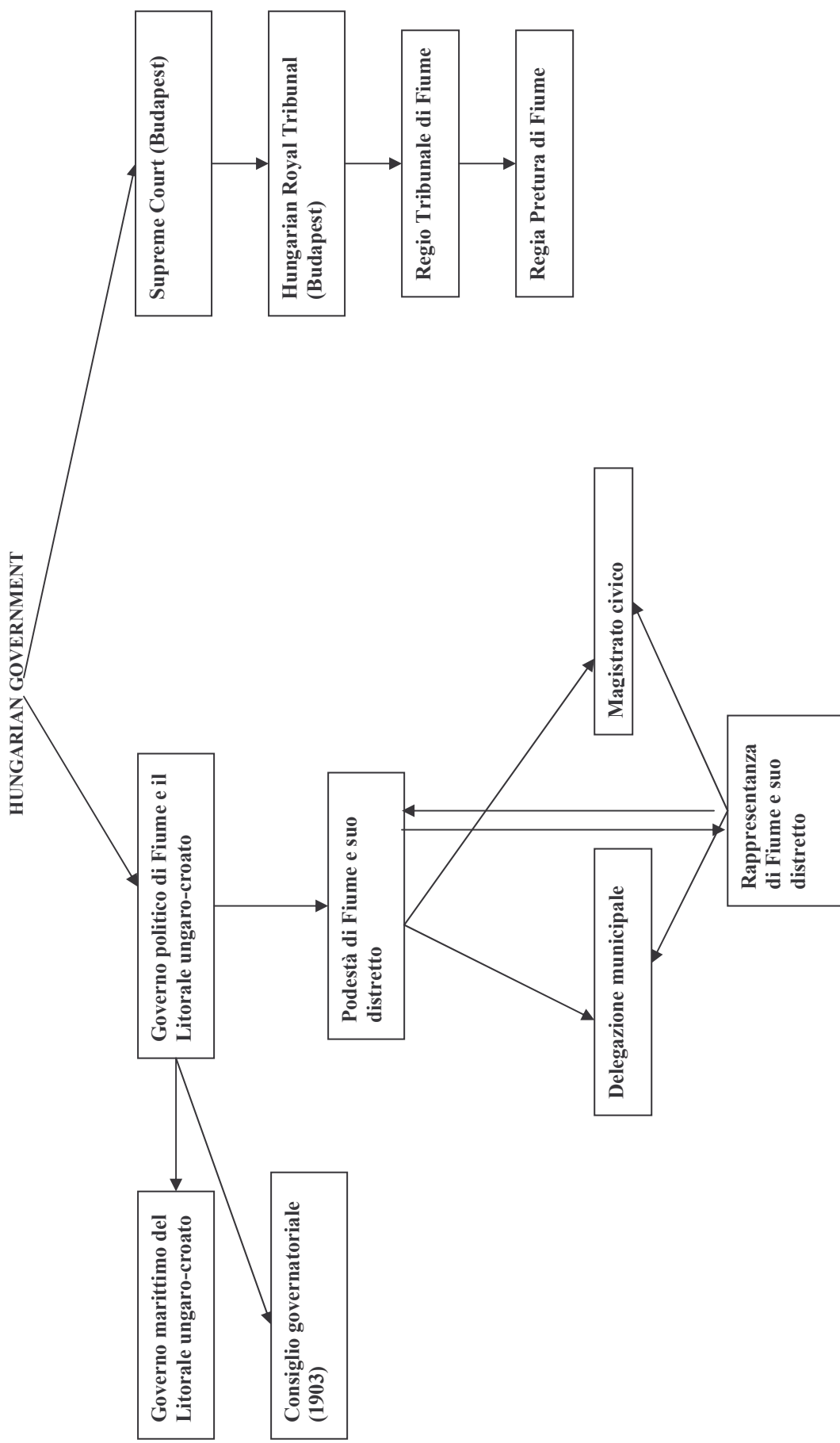
Not surprisingly it was the gymnasium, as a main upper educational institution, that shows clearly the influence of the centre in Fiume. When Fiume was aggregated to Croatia, the gymnasium that opened was Croatian, when the city was handed to Hungary the influence of Magyar language was rising proportionately. An Italian counterpart will open only in 1912 due to a long battle. In 1912 a communal Gymnasium in Italian, besides that governmental one in Hungarian was instituted, in effect it existed also a Croatian gymnasium remnant of the Croatian period in the city and that closed in 1899.⁴⁶⁴ Public education Fiume was under the supervision and competence of the relative Hungarian ministry with the exception of the Croatian gymnasium - that received Croatian and Fiuman funding. It remained the only Croatian educational institution within the city walls dependent of the Croatian government and Sabor in Zagreb, until it was moved from Fiume to Sušak, a new suburb that was rapidly developing on the east bank of the Recina in Croatian territory.

Magyarization policy continued apace: the Language Laws of 1879, 1883, and 1891, made the teaching of Hungarian compulsory in state primary and secondary schools. In 1907, an additional Education Law (called "Lex Apponyi.") was introduced further restricting the use of non Magyar languages for instruction within state schools. Graf Apponyi, who had twice been the Minister of Public Education and Religion. His term saw the strengthening of the government's Magyarization policy, which is illustrated by the 26th and 27th statutes of the 1907 education bill, called "Lex Apponyi." These statutes made the Hungarian language compulsory at all primary schools, and heightened cultural and political conflicts formerly considered to be educational differences. Now all schools in Fiume, had classes in Hungarian, while those from the state tier intensified it much more.

community can delegate a member, when that joins opportune for the number of the professanti citizens an other religion.

⁴⁶³ Gigante, Silvino. *Storia del comune di Fiume*, Bemporad, Firenze, 1928, p.114.

⁴⁶⁴ Initially this was justified by defining them state schools but in Italian to respect the official language of Fiume. Later Hungarian schools were introduced for the Hungarian residents in Fiume, afterwards the system was introduced after the suspension of the Rappresentanza in On the other hand schools system in Hungary did not had the provisions for national minorities in a given polity. For example, when the Hungarians of the Belovar Kreutz committee demanded a school in Hungarian they were refused by the Croatian provincial government with the argument that that was illegal.



Power Diagram of the Fiuman Provisorium 1870-1918

CONCLUSION

The 1867 *Ausgleich* divided the Monarchy into two parts: one under the control of the Austrian capital of Vienna and the other (smaller) under the control of Budapest, labelled after that *Cisleithania* and *Transleithania* thereby putting an end to the state of exception that came at the end of the 1860s. Croatia-Slavonia fell into the Hungarian part. This relationship was formalized and reflected in 1868 with the Croat - Hungarian *Nagoda* (later *nagodba* meaning compromise or agreement) presented as a reduced version of the austro-hungarian *Ausgleich* that preserved albeit reduced Croatian statehood to a bare minimum. Under its provisions all concerns and prerequisites of statehood, such as external affairs, finance, defence, and trade were subject to the joint parliament in Pest where Croat deputies held one tenth of the seats.

The most interesting feature of the *ausgleich*, is the nation building processes it generated. the *nagodba* between Hungary and Croatia and the *provisorium* between Hungary and Croatia and Fiume are its results. With the first Hungary gained a state independency within a confederation, with the second Croatia preserved autonomy within Hungary, and with the third Fiume preserved autonomy within Hungary and Croatia.

As N J Miller remarks politics in the Habsburg political tradition focused on corporate competition.⁴⁶⁵ People instead of conceiving themselves as individuals, rather thought in terms of religious, territorial, or feudal groups. Thus peoples were subordinate to nations in the case of the Hungarian or Croatian political nation. Although all nationalists in Croatia rejected the "Nagoda", the compromise of 1868 within the Croatian Sabor and the Hungarian government, "it was the type of agreement all Habsburg subjects understood, because it was negotiated by elites in the name of corporate rights."⁴⁶⁶

On the other hand, the Sabor retained control over the internal affairs over Croatia – Slavonia. Moreover, the Croatian ban (viceroy) as head of the executive was appointed by a Hungarian prime minister, and thus he had no responsibility towards the Sabor. Dalmatia and Istria remained administratively separated from Croatia as parts of the Austrian part and Fiume was lost under the direct control of Pest.

According to M. Gross the City was not really a *corpus separatum* but an integrated part of Hungary, since what defined Croatian autonomy, in Fiume was devolved to Hungarian state organs. In legislation and all other aspects of political life the "will of the (Hungarian) state" was directly exercised in Fiume. The governor was an organ of the Hungarian government responsible for all affairs beyond the autonomy of the City. Justice, cultus and education were already detached from the Croatian autonomy and thus directly subordinated to the competent Hungarian ministries. Depoli on the other hand, claims that Fiume formally and legally preserved the right to autonomy on this competencies of Justice, cultus and education, but it was only for practical reasons that they were transferred to the Hungarian ministry.

M. Gross claims that Fiume had no part in the sovereignty of the state, as Croatia and Slavonia did but a *municipium* with self-government as the other *municipia* of Hungary. With certain important aspects the fiuman autonomous rights and privileges were more limited than those from the other Hungarian *municipia*. Namely the statutes were compiled by the governor the administrative and governing organs were not elected but nominated, Fiume had no direct links with the government except through the governor.

On the other hand, also M. Gross admits that the degree of autonomy and specificity in the City was in many aspects larger than in other *municipia*. The explanation she provides is not wholly convincing. The cause for the fiuman peculiarity was in the "traditional Mediterranean City rule"

⁴⁶⁵ Miller Nicholas J. 1997. Between Nation and State. Serbian Politics in Croatia Before the First World War, University of Pittsburgh Press.

⁴⁶⁶ Miller Nicholas J. 1997. Between Nation and State. Serbian Politics in Croatia Before the First World War, University of Pittsburgh Press.

combined with the needs of the Hungarian state while the power was still in the hands of the “Italian oligarchy”.⁴⁶⁷ The Hungarian state took the local conditions into consideration only because of the great importance of the City as the Hungarian port.⁴⁶⁸

More convincing is Karpowicz that concludes that the Hungarian government as noticed by Karpowicz sincerely attempted to achieve consensus of the Fiumani at least of their elites to whom they principally addressed.⁴⁶⁹ The Hungarian authorities were extremely accurate in the juridical aspects of the administration in the city.

The official language of the fore and the administration was Italian what was believed to be the strongest guarantee of the City autonomy. All the public documents acts and laws; the speeches of the Fiuman deputy at the Hungarian parliament were translated into Italian. The linguistic difference paradoxically points (Caldara) the nexus between the Hungarian state and the Comune autonomo di Fiume. According to the § 60 of the decree 2 July 1901, the Governor and the Consiglio governatorile — that as state authorities in Fiume supervision on the communal administration — are obliged to use the Hungarian, in Hungarian the decisions and decrees have to be written; but the § 60 also adds that: «all the acts that are sent to the Città di Fiume e alle sue Autorità have to be written in Italian that is the “lingua d'uffizio del Municipio”».

On the other hand, it seems true that the degree of autonomy the City elite bargained from the Hungarian government (in opposition to the Croatian deputation) is not very different from the degree of autonomy Croats were granted with the *Nagodba*. The fact that the governor is the holder of the executive power and responsible of all affairs beyond the autonomy makes his powers not very different from that the Croatian ban, who also was appointed by the king on the recommendation of the Hungarian prime minister. The “traditional Mediterranean City rule” could have been suspended and ignored as well, but this was not the case. The power of the “Italian oligarchy” did equally well and the degree of support they had at the time of the negotiations and for many years later will be such that Hungarian governor will have to take them into consideration. If it was an oligarchy, anyway it was an exceptionally popular one, since it was never contested by the masses.

The City had the right to elect one representative for the Hungarian parliament and two for the Croatian Sabor but the latter right was never used. What was then the constitutional status of the City? As all the other constitutional debates in the Hapsburg Empire it has never been definitely settled. For example the status of Hungary within the Empire could have been seen as a possession of the Emperor who was also the King of Hungary or alternatively (by Hungarians) as a wholly independent kingdom who happen to be united with Austria via personal union that is sharing the same sovereign who was at the same time Emperor in Austria and King in Hungary.

The position of Croatia was also subject to diverse interpretations - Hungarians tended to reduce the significance of its autonomy and considered it a mere province of the Hungarian kingdom with a grater degree of autonomy; while the Croats considered it to be another kingdom who, similarly to Hungary in the empire, happened to share some institutions with the kingdom of Hungary and that of Siebenburgen which together constituted the "crown of St. Stephen". By analogy, the position of Fiume within the crown was subject to an array of different interpretations, all used by political forces in different moments.

The failure to gain Fiume, remained one of the most debated questions at the Croatian diet for decades, with their always proclaimed goal to put the "provisory" to an end. Why was Fiume so important to be later labelled "the biggest Croatian problem"? Probably because it enabled a good bargaining position given the importance Fiume had in the Hungarian plans. After all, Dalmatia was

⁴⁶⁷ Gross, M. 1987. “Dvadeset godina bijesa i očaja ili borba za Rijeku od 1861. do 1881.” *Dometi*, XX/4. Rijeka, p. 208.

⁴⁶⁸ Gross, M. 1987. “Dvadeset godina bijesa i očaja ili borba za Rijeku od 1861. do 1881.” *Dometi*, XX/4. Rijeka, p. 208.

⁴⁶⁹ Karpowitz, LJ. *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, 1986, (unpublished PhD thesis), p. 105.

far bigger, Croatia had to integrate the whole area of the Military Frontier since it effectively cut the country in three parts.

This is suggested by the fact that as in May 1870 Fiume was annexed to Hungary, already in 1873 the Croats received as compensation an increase of their guaranteed revenue to £350,000, an addition of seven to the number of their representatives at Budapest, and a promise that the military frontier should be incorporated in the existing civil provinces. In 1877 a convention with Hungary regulated the control of public estates in the military frontier, and on the 15th of July 1881 the frontier, including the district of Sichelburg claimed by Carniola, was handed over to the local administration.

The bargaining among the Hungarian Croatian and Fiuman political bodies shows clearly the influence of institutional control. The outcomes of the bargaining were in fact decided by the king Franz Joseph. We can say that the Croatian influence was fostered by the court in 1860 only because the relationships with Hungary were exceptionally bad. When things improved the support passed thorough the Hungarians and they quickly reacted and seized the opportunity.

As we have already seen with the case of Adamich, outside pressures proved crucial in influencing the composition of the internal political forces, the nature of the divergent options and their relative success. The chief player of Kossuthians in Fiume during these troubled times will be Gasparo Matcovich a major political leader until the compromise of 1867 which gave power to the followers of F Deak, lead by Giovanni de Ciotta, reflecting thus the shifts in power distribution in Hungary.

According to Depoli⁴⁷⁰ the following guidelines for the negotiations of the deputation: First, Fiume was a separate body united with the Hungarian crown. Second, it had to posses accordingly, an autonomy that had to be negotiated by the 3 parts. In terms of the constitutional position of the City. This solution had to be a compromise of the 3 parts, it had to approve by the Hungarian parliament and sanctioned by the king, but also the approbation of the Croatian diet and the Fiuman representation as well.

Depoli considers the first point as deriving from the Theresian diploma of 1779. Fiume was then a part of the Holy Crown. As such it was apart of condominium where the kingdoms of Hungary and Croatia - Slavonia were members. But if the separate character of the position of Fiume was emphasised than the City could have been considered as one of the *partes adnexae* to the crown as Croatia.

This was already claimed by Tivadar Botka the historian who presented the response to Racki' s. after a series of examples he concluded that Fiume constituted an body of public law that was not aggregated to any provincial institution. Only technical and financial reasons were against the institution of a complete administrative and legislative autonomy in Fiume. The solution he proposed (was adopted) was that the Hungarian parliament was the legislative body for Fiume and the Hungarian ministry for the executive.

According to Depoli this was the reading the Fiuman deputation had. In fact he notices that the members of the Fiuman deputation were followers of Matcovich and not of the prudent Ciotta. In a later document the esposto (*presentatio*) that the municipal counsellors Randich Giacich Thierry presented on the 31st of July 1871 to the commission that had to write the new statute, this appears confirmed what they want is a degree of legislative and executive autonomy comparable to that of Croatia.⁴⁷¹

2) This was the strongest argument the autonomy had to be special - greater than those for the other jurisdictions in Hungarian local bodies.

⁴⁷⁰ Depoli III, p. 19;

⁴⁷¹ il diritto di una propria legislazione, di una separata dieta e capo, la libera ed indipendente amministrazione di tutto cio che non è compreso nella cerchia degli affari comuni, un proprio rappresentante ed un proprio dicastero presso il governo centrale, l'uso e il rispetto della propria lingua spettano indubbiamente alla autonoma Fiume, se i diplomi sovrano 1779 - 1848 non sono parole prive di senso. in Depoli III, p. 20; he also refers to Antal Csengery who affirmed that the City had the right to a full legislative and executive autonomy - "piena autonomia governativa e legislativa, non diversa da quella riconosciuta alla Croazia. The competency of the Hungarian parliament was due mainly to practical reasons.

3) Fiume was the arbiter of its destiny. The fact that during the negotiations stick to the Hungarian position was due only for the reasons to show the greatest possible distance from the Croatian positions. The City becomes one of the "three factors" of the Holy Crown of St. Stephen.

It appears how the myth of the City of Fiume as the "third factor" of the kingdom and crown of Hungary (along with Hungary proper and Croatia) was more than an effective political slogan or a metaphor. Actually the City had a deal of sovereignty in the kingdom. The argument stressed by Depoli, that the rights of Croatia to represent a sovereign political body are more or less comparable with that of Fiume, sounds as a provocation (and was intended as such) but it has a kernel of truth.

In this context Fiuman urban elites were by far the most successful in the kingdom of Hungary to develop their own program of preserving political and administrative independence in an age of "nation building".

The argumentation made by both sides – Hungarian and Croatian extensively referred to feudal institutions and rights to protect what (according to Gross) are modern capitalist interests. She underlines the fact that in the feudal arguments also modern economic discourses have to be present. It is characteristic that the nation building ideology selects only that arguments from the feudal age that are useful to it and which could be understood by the participants of the debate.⁴⁷² Gross sticks to the modernist paradigm⁴⁷³ and considers the national ideology (*drzavnopravna ideologija*) to be an essential instrument of social and political modernisation although she does not explain why the vast majority of its representatives are nobles or magnates and why so many of its exponents (especially in Croatia) were openly resisting modernisation.⁴⁷⁴ National ideology is necessarily aimed at modernisation, even when the great majority of its representatives come from the estates and manifestly are against it. The elites of Fiume took part in the negotiation, and were successful since their interests were fitting well those of the Hungarians who obviously had much more bargaining power. The discourses produced in the phase up to 1868 and later were indeed of this type. All addressed urgent needs of modernization but the justification was sought to be found in old imperial agreements, pacts or rescripts. History and its legal political interpretation played there a most important role.

Even more striking is that Hungarian historians claims the same for Hungarian politics.⁴⁷⁵ In my opinion, cases where political modernisation was initiated and controlled by feudal elites (and such was the case in both Hungary and Croatia) cannot be explained in terms of the modernist paradigm. Rather the opposite is true: it was not the capitalist interests which had to be shaped into a feudal discourse to gain support from "the nation", but premodern, feudal ones that used a modernisation discourse and agenda that enabled them to survive well into the XX century.

The way the political debate was conducted is revealing for politics in both Hungary and Croatia. A Croat historian author of the biography of Lj. Gaj - the champion of the Croatian *Preporod* (*Risorgimento*) commenting Croatian politics said that Hungarian program of modernisation induced a reaction in the Croatian estates but only because as such it threatened their position and as a national program they will have been excluded since they did not know Hungarian. They feel the danger but they also know they are alone since in Croatia there is no public opinion no any educated middle class that could oppose some resistance. Already in 1827 they commissioned the proto notary Kusevic to investigate the historical relations of Croatia with Hungary - the *jura municipalia*. The caveats of the municipal rights, from old acts and diplomas are the only political weapon at their disposal. The political struggle is conducted in the same way as a judicial process. The similarities with the situation of the 1860 and Fiume and Franjo Racki commissioned to find the

⁴⁷² Gross, Mirjana. 1987. "Dvadeset godina bijesa i očaja ili borba za Rijeku od 1861. do 1881." *Dometi*, XX/4. Rijeka, p.191

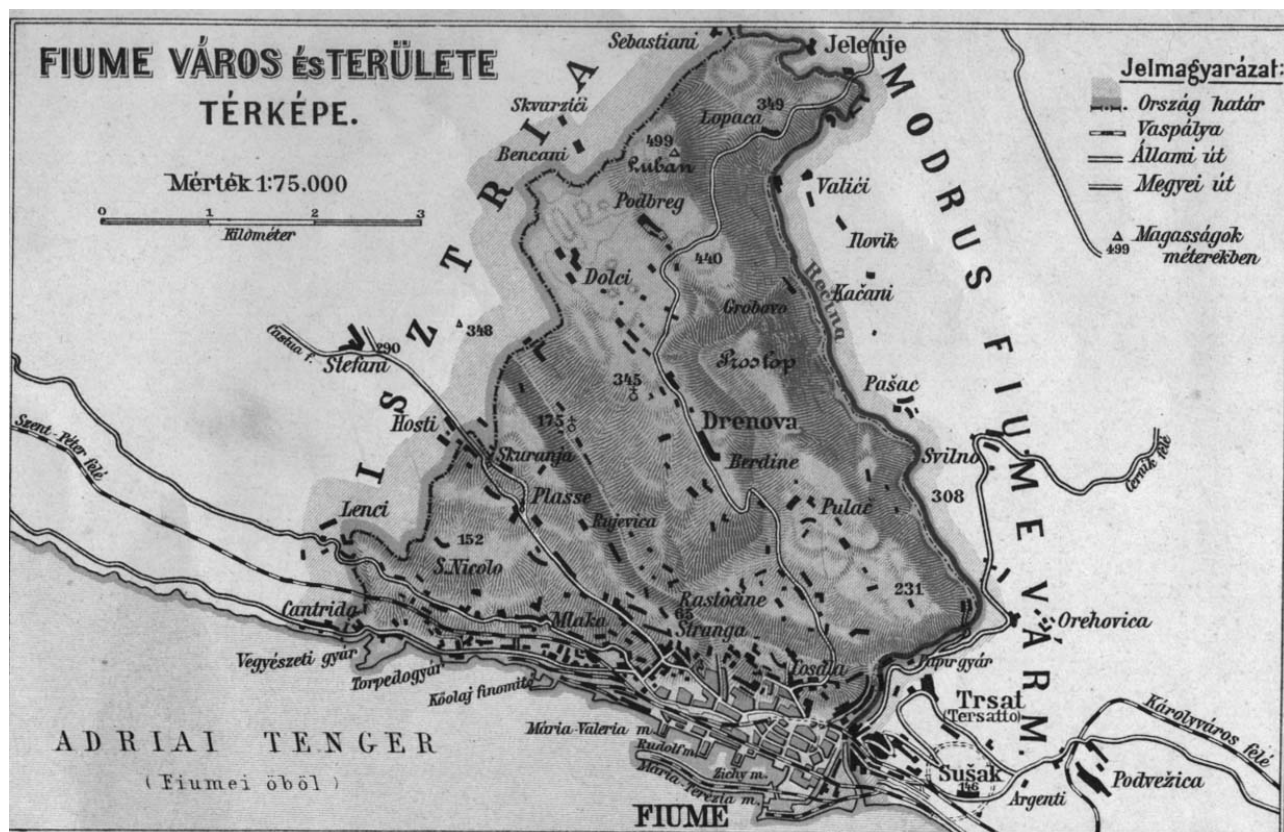
⁴⁷³ see Gross on Hroch

⁴⁷⁴ The main national leader, Starcevic will explicitly refute any necessity for economic modernisation in Croatia even in the 1880s. nobody of course is denying that he was a nationalist.

⁴⁷⁵ Andrew Janos *Political Backwardness in Hungary*, Princeton University Press, and Laszlo Peter, "Die Verfassungsentwicklung in Ungarn", In *Die Habsburgermonarchie*, Vol VII Verfassung und Parlamentarismus, Vienna 2000, pp. 239 - 540.

historical proofs for relations of Fiume with Croatia ("Fiume prema Hrvatskoj") are striking. Political life was thus predictable through much of the nineteenth century. People were divided primarily as social classes: aristocracy, peasantry, city dwellers, only after that as national or religious communities. Never as citizens and individuals.

CHAPTER 4: THE CORPUS SEPARATUM (1870 - 1918)



The *Corpus Separatum* of Fiume.⁴⁷⁶

IDYLL: GIOVANNI DE CIOTTA AND THE RULE OF THE LIBERAL PARTY

*“Badate alle elezioni, e riflettete che l’avvenire felice di Fiume dipende soprattutto dalla concordia dei popoli che ci stanno a tergo”*⁴⁷⁷

The period that will be investigated in this chapter is marked by unprecedented economic and demographic growth, but is also the least investigated and known, probably because the nationalistic or irredentist movements (where the fiuman historians came from) stayed marginal. The activity of the Partito liberale and the Partito Autonomo, the pre-eminent political forces of the period, were reinterpreted by both Italian, and Croat-Yugoslav historiography in nationalist terms. Comparatively few studies have been devoted so far to this period. The relevant exception is Ljubinka Karpowitz with some remarkable articles and a (still unpublished) doctoral dissertation from 1986.⁴⁷⁸ Another important study devoted to Fiume in the second half of the nineteenth

⁴⁷⁶ Map retrieved from: <http://lazarus.elte.hu/hun/maps/1910/fiume2.jpg>

⁴⁷⁷ From the electoral program of Giovanni Ciotta, future Major of Fiume, 3 July 1865.

⁴⁷⁸ Karpowitz, LJ. 1986, *Rijecki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis. Published papers from the dissertation: Karpowitz, LJ. 1985 “Lo “Stato di Fiume nel periodo del liberalismo” [The State of Fiume in the

century is that of Mirjana Gross, but her reconstruction is principally done on Croatian sources and interpretations stopping with year 1883, crucial for Croatian history with the beginning of the 20 years long dictatorship of Hedervary, that made impossible any Croatian effort towards Fiume.⁴⁷⁹ The focus is on the perception on the Fiuman question during the struggle and to it was devoted attention in the previous chapter. For cultural life the relevant exception is Ilona Fried's recent monograph.⁴⁸⁰ Italian authors have studied exclusively the life and genesis of the irredentist groups and associations from the period, but neglected the proper Hungarian political contexts where those took place.

From 1870 Fiuman politics follows the evolution of Hungarian politics. During the Seventies, which may be considered the *Gründungszeit* of Fiume, the local elites seem indeed to be tuned with the central government in Budapest. Major Ciotta, the Fiuman leader of the Hungarian Liberal Party of Francis Deak, convincingly marked the age, staying in power for more than three decades during what has been (a still unrivalled) period of growth and prosperity.

From its beginnings liberalism in Hungary combines with its program the strive for independence from of more autonomy inside Austria-Hungary. The two "realist" camps - the Deákists and the Kossuthists- differ in their attitude towards the Austrian rulers. Both groups are have a conservative liberal or even conservative philosophy, even in the beginning of the 20th century. The period of the "idyll" in Hungarian Fiuman relations is marked by the local section of the Hungarian liberal party of Ferenc Deak that with its Fiuman leader Giovanni de Ciotta, dominated the political life in Fiume until the end of the XIX century.⁴⁸¹

At its beginnings, during the Vormarx in 1847, liberal opposition led by Ferenc Deák and Lajos Kossuth formed the Opposition Party, but after the defeat of the Hungarian revolution in 1849 the party is banned. The outcome ignites a split among the Hungarian political forces. In 1849 the Radical liberals formed the illegal Radical Party, while Ferenc Deák engaged in politics of passive resistance against absolutism, which ensued following the fall of the War of Independence. Ferenc

Age of Liberalism]. Quaderni VIII, pp. 17-30; Karpowitz, LJ. 1988, Riječka iredenta na mirovnoj konferenciju u Parizu 1919, *Dometi* XXI, nr. 9, 1988, pp. 483-491; Karpowitz, LJ. 1989 "La concezione della Nazione e dello Stato nell'interpretazione degli autonomisti fiumani (Contributo allo studio del movimento autonomista di Fiume nel 1899-1918)" [The Concept of the Nation and the State from the Interpretation of the Fiuman Autonomists (A Tribute for the Study of the Autonomist Movement in Fiume 1899-1918)]. Quaderni IX, pp-19-34; Toševa-Karpowicz, Ljubinka, "Ekonomska uvjetovanost autonomnog pokreta Rijeke : (1890-1903)" *Zbornik Dometi* : književnost, kultura, društvene teme / [glavni i odgovorni urednik Ervin Dubrović]. - 1 (1993) ; pp. 39-46.

⁴⁷⁹ Gross, M. 1987. "Dvadeset godina bijesa i očaja ili borba za Rijeku od 1861. do 1881." *Dometi*, XX/4. Rijeka.

⁴⁸⁰ Italian translation: Ilona Fried, *Fiume. Città della memoria 1868/1945*, Del Bianco Editore, Udine, 2005. Originally published in Hungarian:

⁴⁸¹ Giovanni de Ciotta (1824-1903) magnate and a Mecenat of arts and crafts was the men to realise the dream of Adamich in transforming Fiume the exclusive maritime outpost of Hungary, was the firstborn son of Lorenzo de Ciotta and Adriana Maria de Adamich daughter of the foremost Fiuman merchant Andrea Lodovico de Adamich. The family de Ciotta originated from Livorno (Leghorn) where Giovanni served the Austrian army in quality of engineer. Graduated at the military academy in Vienna, after finishing the military service where he served as a captain of the engineering he came back to Fiume, where he lives as a landlord and commercial agent for his brother Lorenzo who runs a trading company in Leghorn. From 1872 to 1896, apart from a short interruption in 1884 he was the mayor of the city. In 1885 the sumptuous new theatre was finished modelled on that of Budapest and Vienna, costing him a political crisis in 1884 for the raising building costs. While on army service he met John Leard, another fiuman of English origins. Ciotta with Leard in 1889 pushed forward the *piano regolatore* the comprehensive urbanisation plan for the city. The new plan laid down the plan for a modern commercial city, destroying most of the older buildings and roads and introducing the regular planning as it was done in Budapest and other cites of the time. In 1891 the Acquedotto Ciotta was finished providing the city with modern sewage and water supply system. He was also active in the economic life of the city being one of the initiators of the Whitehead torpedo factory, as well as a founder of several philanthropic initiatives and institutions.

As one Croatian author remarked: "Giving the citizens what they wanted Giovanni de Ciotta was indisputable as the head of Fiume from 1872 to 1896 and he used that time to build roads, parks, modernize waterworks, sewage systems, in short to establish a real European centre. By its industrial capacity at the beginning of his mandate Fiume equaled that of all Croatia, and the mayor was always able to find a way to be a good Hungarian, to speak Italian and to obey only Kaiser Franz Joseph."

Deák rejected the attempt at a conservative settlement in 1860 and the Letters Patent of February 1861. He insisted on the restoration of the Laws of 1848 and the constitutionality achieved then. Passive resistance, in his opinion, had two objectives. First, the termination of absolutism and, second, the recognition of the status of Hungary based on its restored constitutionality, but with its continued presence within the empire.

In 1861 the moderate followers of Ferenc Deák formed the Address Party, also known as Petition Party (in Fiume “Partito dell’indirizzo”). Deák was elected unanimously deputy for the Hungarian diet of the inner city district of Budapest on November the 23rd 1865. At first, he planned to merge the parties of the 1861 Diet: the “Petition and the Resolution parties” (the “Radical Party”). However, his plan was wrecked because of the resistance on the part of his closest followers. In December 1865 to have his plan accepted, under the name “Deák Circle”, formed a club (including Eötvös, Lónyay, and Ghyczy). Deák thought to expand the club into a club for deputies on 10 December 1865 in order to deprive it of its political character. However, this endeavour of his was defeated as well.

By 1865, the Deák Circle formed the greatest camp within the Diet with 180 members, followed by the left-centre camp led by K Ghyczy, K Tisza, and Nyáry with 94 members, the extreme left group led by László Böszörményi with 20 members, and the conservative group led by Apponyi of a similar-sized membership. The left centre and the extreme left worked together at first, but then gradually separated. The same happened in the relations of the Deák Circle and the left centre as well. Finally in 1866 after a compromise with the Austrian rulers whose chief architect was Deák, appeared finally in sight, the party is reorganized into the (conservative liberal) “Deák Party.”

The party existed also in Fiume (known as “Associazione Politica Club Deak”) and its importance is suggested by the fact that the first modern political association founded in Fiume in 1870 was the *Associazione politica Club Deak*, two years before the enactment of the municipal statute, most probably drafted within the very same party circle. From the Statute of the *Associazione Politica Club Deak* we know that it was founded after a public called for the founding county in May 1869, thus before the enactment of the Fiuman provisorium.

The goals of the *Club Deak* were to promote and strengthen the equality of all citizens before the law; its aim was to foster the principles of freedom and progress, but also to keep the citizens of Fiume informed about current political events and processes with the aim to promote their interests and economic betterment. This was to be achieved through regular meetings of the members of the *Club Deak* association, where each member had the right (and the duty) to participate.⁴⁸²

As noticed by Karpowicz, both the Statute of the Club Deak and the Statute of the city were formal documents that marked the beginning of a new age in Fiuman politics.⁴⁸³ Enlightened by liberal ideas they represented a *caesura* with the previous (she calls it “medieval”) tradition that rested on concrete political decisions and inequality rather than on universal rules intended for enlightened individuals. In other words it was a political organisation inspired by the positivist principles of the nineteenth century.⁴⁸⁴

Karpowicz notices that the roots of the future political and ideological development in Fiume, often so difficult to disentangle due to paucity of sources, are here – there will always be a tension in the city between the enlightened positivists, urban professionals and the frustration of the excluded that will seek in emotional and irrational appeal of nationalism (first Croatian, then Italian irredentist). The spirit of positivism will continue to live within the fiuman autonomists, well into the 1920s.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸² Unfortunately, we do not have the members list of the *Club Deak* association, therefore we do not know its social composition, but arguably these were professionals, involved in trade or industry.

⁴⁸³ Karpowicz, 1986, p.85.

⁴⁸⁴ Through all this process of modernization, British society appeared to liberal Hungarians as a political, economic and cultural model: a parliamentary democracy, the home of liberal political thinkers such as John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, the industrial capital of the world. When the 1848-9 revolution failed, Kossuth in 1851 travelled to England where he was greeted with enthusiasm. The enduring image of Britain that 1848 image of a middle-class radical, a manufacturer and man of business, above all, an enemy of ancient Habsburg rule.

⁴⁸⁵ Karpowicz, 1986, p.83.

Significantly, the head of the *Club Deak* (in effect the first modern party organisation in the city that was to become the local branch of the Hungarian Liberal Party) was the future mayor of the city (his mandate lasted for the whole period of idyll - from 1872 to 1896, but with an interruption in 1884) Giovanni de Ciotta.⁴⁸⁶

Giovanni de Ciotta was already actively involved in the political life since the 1860s where he showed (for fiuman standards) a remarkable readiness to compromise also with the Croats. This had to be functional to his plans to connect Fiume with Hungary, to which it seemed at the time Croatian consensus was to be crucial as already pointed out by Barcich in 1861. In those years he published two works dealing with the problems of economic development of the city, that, as he rightly saw, was hampered by the lack of modern and efficient connections with the hinterland.⁴⁸⁷



Giovanni de Ciotta, posing in Hungarian magnate uniform, as Deputy of Fiume at the Hungarian Parliament, in 1865.

Following the financial crisis of 1873, that culminated in 1875, the party of Deak had to face a crisis from which it survived only with a merger with the more numerous party of Kalman Tisza.⁴⁸⁸ It got stronger in 1875, when the conservative liberal Deák Party merged with the conservative *Left Center* of Tisza into the conservative liberal *Liberal Party*, that was to rule Hungary from 1875 to 1890.⁴⁸⁹ The Partito Liberale in Fiume under Ciotta sticks to the “new” Liberal Party of Hungary, popularly called “verdolino” (the little green one).⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸⁶ For a biographical entry, see S. Celia: “Ciotta Giovanni”, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 25.

⁴⁸⁷ J.C. (Ciotta Giovanni), *Fiume und Seine Eisenbahnfrage*, Fiume Stabilimento Tipolitografico, 1864.

⁴⁸⁸ Hungarian political groupings rather than parties were *de facto* factions centred upon a single leader that bore his name.

⁴⁸⁹ Fino ad allora aveva tenuto campo a Fiume il partito “liberale” sezione di quel grande partito liberale d’Ungheria formatosi nel 1875 dalla fusione di quello di Francesco Deak, fautore dell’accordo tra le due parti della Monarchia e, e quello di Colomanno Tisza, che, in origine, non voleva saperne d’alcuna transazione con l’Austria. Sicché, in realtà, era il partito dei moderati. Altri partiti, possiamo dire, a Fiume non esistevano, se si eccettui un piccolo partito croato, poco numeroso ma molto battagliero, che però in città aveva pochissimo seguito. In Gigante, Silvino. *Storia del comune di Fiume*, Bemporad, Firenze, 1928, p. 118.

⁴⁹⁰ Also in the liberal camp there were secessions: In 1876, the liberal wing of the Liberal Party formed the *Independent Liberal Party*. In 1878 it joined the more conservative groups and the *United Opposition* was formed. In 1881 the party

In Hungary in the left there is still the Party of Independence (also called “Party of 1848” or “Party of Kossuth”, or of the “extreme left”) that refused the Compromise with the Hapsburgs aiming at a complete independence of Hungary from the Monarchy. In Fiume they were represented by Stanislao dall’Asta and Antonio Walluschnigg, and were the main opponents of Ciotta in Fiume. The Kossuthians were for the achievement of complete independence of Hungary from Austria and the Hapsburgs. This was the kernel of the “laws of 1848” that they never withdrew, and for this reason they appeared more permeable to the idea of autonomy both in the case of Croatia and Fiume.⁴⁹¹

THE FIRST CRISIS: THE FAILED RENEGOTIATION OF THE PROVISORIUM AND THE RESTRICTION OF FIUMAN AUTONOMY

In May 1870 Fiume was annexed to Hungary, but in 1873 the Croats received as compensation an increase of their guaranteed revenue from two and a half million to three and a half million gulden, and an addition of seven representatives at Budapest, together with a promise that the Military Frontier should be incorporated in the existing civil provinces. For different reasons: for Croatia it meant the integration of the national territory, for Hungary it was a dangerous military outpost of the Hapsburgs, wherefrom Jellacic and his *Grenzer* troops came and attacked Hungary.⁴⁹²

In 1877 a convention with Hungary regulated the control of public estates in the Hungarian part of the Military Frontier, and on the 15th of July 1881 the Frontier, including the district of Sichelburg (Zumberak) claimed by Carniola, was handed over to the local administration. For a glimpse, Croats and Hungarians were united on a common project - that of enlarging the territory under control of Zagreb (which meant also of Budapest, since Croatia was a part of Hungary) by reacquiring control over the Military Borders - the Krajina.

At the beginnings of 1880 the financial *nagoda* between Croatia and Hungary had to be renegotiated. According to the previous one, Croatia had to pay the 7,5% of its taxes to the joint Hungarian budget, and Croatia-Slavonia should pay 55% of its revenue to Hungary for mutual and imperial expenses. The moment appeared to be appropriate since the Hungarian kingdom had to renegotiate itself the financial *Ausgleich* with the joint financial ministry. The Croat Sabor seized the opportunity to foster the reintegration of the Military Border region (the Krajina), since it was still held by the Austrian (Joint Imperial and Royal - K u. K.) Ministry of Defence in Vienna.

After the conquest in 1879 of the bordering Bosnia from the Ottomans ended the *Raison d’être* of the Krajina, since it was instituted precisely for protecting the Hapsburg lands from continuous Ottoman attacks and harassment.⁴⁹³

is reorganised into the *Moderate Opposition*. In 1891 the party is renamed *National Party*. In 1899 it joined the *Liberal Party*. In 1904 the party seceded from the *Liberal Party*.

⁴⁹¹ The (Kossuthist) Radical Party (known also as the “1848 Party” in Fiume as the “Partito del ’48”), stayed in Opposition, and rejected any compromise with the Hapsburgs, and therefore also the *Ausgleich*. Its internal evolution was much more turbulent and marked with frequent secessions and factions. From Extreme Left to Kossuth Party. 1867: Going back to the traditions of the Opposition, liberals formed the *Independence and 1848 Party*. After that was achieved in 1868, the party joined with “The New 1848 Party”. In 1868: The party united with the former radicals into the *Independence and 1848 Party*. In 1874 a faction of the 1848 Party formed the *Independence Party*, and in 1884 the parties reunited into the *Independence and 1848 Party*. In 1909, a conservative faction formed the *1848 Independence Kossuth Party*. But in 1913 the *1848 Independence Kossuth Party* returned in its camp and formed the *United Independence and 1848 Party*.

⁴⁹² Da quasi un secolo questa istituzione non aveva più motivo di esistere, ma essa venne mantenuta e conservata dall’assolutismo austriaco, che in essa voleva ancora vedere quasi un avanzo Dei pretoriani. L’Ungheria ha sempre considerato come una minaccia per la sua libertà questi confini militari, e sovvenendosi di Jellacic, dal 1867, cioè da quando essa ebbe a riacquistare la propria indipendenza, tutti i governi ungheresi hanno fatto sforzi grandissimi per condurre all’abolizione di questa istituzione. *La Bilancia*, 17 gennaio 1881.

⁴⁹³ The Croatian Krajina is a territory formed in the 16th century on the border of the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire, part of the Military Frontier. The Military Frontier was a borderland of Habsburg Austria which acted as the

The Hungarian government accepted to back the issue of Krajina but as a condition it intensified its push in “magyarisation” introducing the obligatory bilingual scripts in Hungarian along with Croatian throughout Croatian territory, leading to rising tensions between Hungary and Croatia since 1881.

Since the incorporation of Military Border in Croatia saw both Hungary and Croatia as interested parts, fears in Fiume grew that Croatia and Hungary could have ended the *provisory* at the expense of the municipal autonomy. The Rappresentanza, in an extraordinary meeting on February the 9th 1881, gathered to protest any eventual incorporation of Fiume in Croatia, since the Croats, while negotiating the number of their delegates at the joint parliament, explicitly mentioned Fiume.⁴⁹⁴ The Rappresentanza deliberated to entrust a commission to draft a memorial to address the Hungarian government with the explicit request that the situation had to be restored to prior 1848 and put an end to the *provisorium*.⁴⁹⁵ In the same day on the 9th, the fiuman deputy at the parliament Csernatony, gave a public speech on the issue.⁴⁹⁶

Hungary was certainly not ready to loosen the grip on Fiume, designed to become its commercial emporium, only to accomplish the Croats: it was the paper *Egyeteres* of the Hungarian “extreme left” (that is the Kossuthist party) that published under the pen of Rudolf Havas (he wrote also for the *Bilancia*) the first of a series of articles on the fiuman question. The first, titled “Things from Zagreb” that treated extensively about Fiume. The article is interesting to how the Hungarian nationalists perceived Fiume and its position. The Kossuthians recognised the Croatian national rights, but that meant that also the others rights had to be respected. Fiume on the contrary to the Croats was grateful to its mother country (Hungary). The Croats proved to be egotistic even when Hungary renounced to its committees (Slavonia). Fiume was compared to Gibraltar and not to be abandoned by the Hungarians.⁴⁹⁷ Refusing Croatian “ethnographical” arguments, it was the common interest that kept united Fiume to Hungary.⁴⁹⁸

The liberal *Pesti Naplo* continued the debate with an article titled “The Question of Fiume”, promptly translated by *La Bilancia*, on January the 17th, 1881. The article departed from the fact that it was the City of Fiume who officially asked the definitive settlement in order to put an end to the *provisorium* to be reached. The Croats had the right to rule their country, and since they were historically and ethnically different, they did not consider Hungary as their mother country. But according to the same kind of argument, both historically and ethnographically, Fiume was not

cordon sanitaire against the Turks from the Middle Ages (Croatian Krajina) or from the late 17th and 18th centuries (Slavonian and Banat Krajina) until the 19th century. The Croatian Parliament made numerous pleas to demilitarize the Frontier after the Turkish wars subsided. Finally, the demilitarization began in 1869 and officially ended on August 8, 1873 under Franz Joseph, when Banatian Frontier was abolished and incorporated into the Kingdom of Hungary, while part of Croatian Frontier (Križevci and Đurđevac regiments) was incorporated into Croatia-Slavonia. The decree in which the rest of Croatian and Slavonian Frontiers were incorporated into Croatian-Slavonian crownland was proclaimed on July 15, 1881, while incorporation was performed in 1882. See Gunther E. Rothenberg **The Struggle over the Dissolution of the Croatian Military Border, 1850- 1871**, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Mar., 1964), pp. 63-78.

⁴⁹⁴ “La mozione si volgeva su quel passo del progetto di legge relativo al numero di deputati che la Croazia e la Slavonia avranno da mandare al parlamento di Budapest dopo la reincorporazione del Confine nel quale è detto “non compresa la città di Fiume, per i motivi indicati al §. 66 dell’ artic. Di legge XXX del 1868”. *La Bilancia*, 10 febbraio 1881.

⁴⁹⁵ The *Bilancia* backed the act “giacché dopo 12 anni di provvisorio ci pare sarebbe bure equità lo ammettere anche la città di Fiume alla mensa costituzionale, da cui essa sola è esclusa in tutta la vasta monarchia austro-ungarica”. *La Bilancia*, 10 febbraio 1881.

⁴⁹⁶ *La Bilancia*, 12 febbraio 1881.

⁴⁹⁷ “La Gran Bretagna non abbandonerà mai la sua Gibilterra, come gli ungheresi non abbandoneranno la loro, poiché ormai Fiume è una Gibilterra indispensabile per lo sviluppo economico-commerciale dell’Ungheria”. *La Bilancia*, 14 febbraio 1881.

⁴⁹⁸ “Se non che il vincolo cordiale, continua l’*Egyeteres*, che sussiste tra l’Ungheria e Fiume, non è dettato da puro affetto platonico. Esso è cementato anche da interessi comuni”. *La Bilancia*, 17 gennaio 1881.

Croatian, it was an Italian *Colony* on the Croatian shores.⁴⁹⁹ Moreover, Fiume was completely subject to the Hungarian government, it was under the Hungarian legislation, and professed an Hungarian sentiment and it had not patria but Hungary. Therefore the time was mature to settle definitely the question, since otherwise the Croatian pressure was about to continue what could even ignite Italian irredentist sentiments. In a sinisterly prophetic statement, the Fiumani, put in front of a Croatian threat, would have opted for Italy.⁵⁰⁰

The article pushed the government to enact a law where finally and definitely the constitutional position and administrative settlement of the city was to be defined, certainly not through the regnicolar commissions.⁵⁰¹ The Tisza executive had the duty to do it since now that Croatia was united with the Military Frontier it was as dangerous as ever, as shown from the recent acts of the Sabor. Fiume could prosper only with Hungary and, by that, it could serve better also the Croatian interests.⁵⁰² On the other hand, Hungary was not to renounce at his rights, given that Fiume wanted to become Hungarian.⁵⁰³ Most importantly given the investments that Hungary made in Fiume, the port was certainly to be abandoned.⁵⁰⁴ Fiume was to become what Trieste was for Austria, and in this way pave the way for Hungarian complete economic (and politic) emancipation.⁵⁰⁵ Moreover, Fiume had a brilliant future: in a case of Italian annexation of Trieste it would have remained under Hungarian control and in way the only port of the Monarchy.

The debate continued: the *Pesti Naplo* recognised that the Croats were not going to be stopped, and were *de facto* exploiting the Hungarians for achieving their goals of national integration: they wanted Dalmatia, Fiume Bosnia and Herzegovina to make the Illyrian Kingdom.⁵⁰⁶ The compromise of 1868 was an error, and the decision of Tisza to hand down the military border to Croatia was only the last in a series of errors.

⁴⁹⁹ Ma Fiume non è croata; di provenienza è colonia italiana sulle sponde croate; prolungate montagne la dividono dalla Croazia, ed è ridotta a trarre dal mare le sue risorse; i suoi abitanti per lingue e costume sono italiani; dal lato di diritto pubblico politico, dappoichè vennero sotto il dominio della dinastia degli Asburgo, in sul principio era la loro provincia una provincia indipendente, ma sotto Maria Teresa – già cento anni addietro – essa è stata unita direttamente all’Ungheria quale giurisdizione e distretto separato. *La Bilancia*, 16 febbraio 1881.

⁵⁰⁰ I croati, finché esisterà la questione di Fiume non cesseranno di reclamare quella città, ed i fiumani sino a che non sia definita saranno sempre esposti alle agitazioni. E poi l’agitazione croata apre la via alla propaganda italiana, perché i fiumani soprattutto sono avversi ai croati, e sebbene sappiano che il mare e le Alpi li dividono dall’Italia, e l’avvenire nonché la floridezza della città dipendono dall’Ungheria, piuttosto che diventare croati, farebbero l’occholino all’Italia. *La Bilancia*, 16 febbraio 1881.

⁵⁰¹ All’incontro, poi, non possiamo abbandonarci a discussioni regnicolari riguardo Fiume, perché diffatto Fiume non si è unita alla Croazia, ma forma una vera provincia ungarica, e poi anche perché dalle discussioni regnicolari non possiamo attenderci un risultato pratico. *La Bilancia*, 16 febbraio 1881. On the other hand, *La Bilancia*, reporting the Pester Lloyd, recognised that Croatia had to be included in the negotiations: “Una disposizione di legge la quale vincola più fattori non può essere sorpassata senza il consenso di tutti i medesimi”. *La Bilancia*, 16 febbraio 1881.

⁵⁰² Se viene aggregata all’Ungheria la Croazia non perde che un molto problematico titolo di diritto. Fiume è chiamata a divenire un porto rilevante, e questo può esserlo soltanto quando l’Ungheria sarà per dirigere colà i suoi prodotti, proteggendola anche in avvenire largamente. Così anche la Croazia la potrà meglio sfruttare, dappoiche servirà a lei come a noi: all’incontro se l’acquista la Croazia, e l’Ungheria la perde, Fiume non risorgerà ma decadrà per divenire un piccolo luogo di riviera come le città dalmate, e gl’interessi croati ne soffrirebbero. *La Bilancia*, 16 febbraio 1881.

⁵⁰³ È vero che Fiume non è città magiara, ma è però città di buoni sentimenti ungheresi, ove non suonano a stormo per una carta di corrispondenza scritta in ungherese, non gridano la croce per un corso aperto in lingua ungherese, non perseguitano gl’impiegati ungarici, e non mettono sulla strada un funzionario per essere unionista o amico dell’Ungheria. Anzi, Fiume procura d’istruirsi nella lingua ungherese, di divenire ungherese, affine di essere tale non solo di cuore e di anima ma anche per nazionalità. Un tanto sia detto a sua lode. *La Bilancia*, 16 febbraio 1881

⁵⁰⁴ Noi non abbiamo costruito a Fiume il porto, i magazzini e le ferrate, non assunto la ferrovia Carlstadt Zagabria, non progettato il canale di Temesvar, non quello del Danubio e della Sava e della Kulpa, non data la sovvenzione al Lloyd ed alla società inglese per poi Perdere Fiume. *La Bilancia*, 16 febbraio 1881.

⁵⁰⁵ Divenuta una volta Fiume emporio ungarico, noi potremo emanciparci dalla tutela austriaca, non saremo obbligati di tollerare le tante oppressioni cui soggiace di presente il nostro commercio; dappoichè se non ci lasciano libero il passaggio per l’Austria, troviamo la via per l’importazione e per l’esportazione via mare. *La Bilancia*, 16 febbraio 1881.

⁵⁰⁶ *La Bilancia*, 22 febbraio 1881.

Finally, the Rappresentanza produced a *Memoriale* to be consigned to the fiuman deputy at the parliament in Pest.⁵⁰⁷ The deputation (elected with 27 out of 31 ballots) was I.V.P. Fed. Cav de

⁵⁰⁷ Memoriale al parlamento, votato dalla patria Rappresentanza e che una deputazione della stessa fra giorni consegnerà al deputato di Fiume, perché questi la presenti al Parlamento. *Eccelsa Camera!* Dodici anni sono trascorsi da quando si attuò uno stato provvisorio per Fiume.

Né si vuole addivenire ad una cessazione di questo stato di cose straordinario, poiché si esige la concorrenza dei tre fattori chiamati per legge ad esternarsi.

Sebbene l'avita costituzione sia stata ripristinata in tutto il regno, pure a Fiume, e solamente a Fiume, gravita ancora in parte il sistema di un potere illimitato che si riscontra principalmente nelle istituzioni legislative.

Questo peso viene maggiormente risentito, perché accompagnato da spiacevoli anomalie, le quali né devono né più oltre venire tollerate, senza ledere i nostri diritti.

È nostro sacro dovere di adoperarci con tutte le nostre forze, onde a fiume venga ripristinato uno stato costituzionale, pieno ed intatto con debito riguardo alla sua autonomia – ed allontanate quelle istituzioni, allo stesso contrarie, che qui tuttor sussistono.

Non stà nella mente della Rappresentanza di Fiume di riepilogare li indiscussi diritti di questa città, derivanti dalle antiche leggi e da diplomi, - emanati negli anni 1779, 1807, 1822, 1825 e 1848; - né tampoco il soffermarsi col risalire i tempi della nostra storia. Sarebbe questa una ripetizione superflua, dopo le tante volte che si ebbe occasione di pronunziarsi sull'argomento, collo enumerare le leggi ed i diplomi riguardanti la incontestabilità della immediata pertinenza di fiume alla Sacra Corona di Santo Stefano. Cotali emanazioni sono indiscutibili, né possono essere ignorate e tanto meno intaccate.

Noi ci dipartiamo dalla legge XXX: 1868, in quanto a noi accenna il § 66 p. 1., onde a tenore di questo, fare sentire i nostri intendimenti e le nostre vedute in proposito.

La posizione di diritto pubblico di Fiume viene ad essere confermata nel § 66 p. 1. della legge XXX: 1868, quindi consenziente pure la Croazia, la quale stipulò mediante questa legge un definitivo accordo con l'Ungheria. Fiume pure riconoscendo, che in questo § 66 di legge viene confermata e precisata la pertinenza politica di fiume col suo porto e distretto = *quale corpo separatamente annesso alla corona ungarica* (*separatum sacrae regni coronae adnexum corpus*) = trova pertanto di suo diritto il pretendere, che tale pertinenza, quale indiscutibile ed incontrastabile diritto di stato, abbia a venire inarticolata mediante una legge speciale, onde una volta di più, richiamandosi al diploma di Maria Teresa 23 aprile 1779, ed all'articolo di legge IV: 1807, sia confermata la annessione diretta di Fiume e del suo Distretto all'Ungheria, quale corpo separato della Sacra Corona di Santo Stefano.

Il medesimo § 66 di legge vuole pure, che riguardo alla speciale autonomia di fiume e dei suoi rapporti legislativo-amministrativi sia da raggiungersi, mediante negoziazioni di deputazioni regnicolari, un comune accordo tra il Parlamento ungarico, la dieta croato-slavone-dalmata e la città di fiume.

È qui che insorger potrebbero le nostre giuste apprensioni, giacchè Fiume nutre ben minime speranze di vedere un'altra volta le nuove negoziazioni coronate di migliore successo.

Senonché noi fidenti nutriamo la speranza, che anche l'eccelsa camera troverà la verità nel riconoscere, che finalmente non sia più lecito d'ignorare l'inefficacia della disposizione del più detto articolo di legge in quanto concerne la modalità delle negoziazioni; e che per naturale conseguenza, debba venire abrogata, rispettivamente mutata la detta disposizione.

Quale sarà l'espedito che l'eccelsa Camera troverà di sostituire a questa disposizione? Noi non ci arroghiamo di segnalarlo e tanto meno di definirlo. Siccome però fiume non può né deve dubitare della giustezza dei propositi dell'eccelsa Camera, né della saggezza sua, che le dovrà suggerire non doversi né potersi più oltre temporeggiare nel definire i nostri rapporti; così questa rappresentanza con serio intendimento invoca, onde l'eccelsa camera voglia disporre, venga, senza altro indugio, inaugurata un'epoca di stabilità nei nostri destini.

Eccelsa Camera!

Dal premesso avranno certamente attinto i rappresentanti della nazione il convincimento quanto sia incompatibile l'attuale stato di cose provvisorio in Fiume.

Egli è intanto che la rappresentanza trova di suo dovere l'accennare a quelli inconvenienti, che dovrebbero e tantosto cessare. È certo un'anomalia, che nel mentre Fiume col suo distretto è riconosciuto quale corpo separato della corona, e non ha quindi alcunché di comune col limitrofo comitato croato, questo abbia tuttavia da portare il nome di "Comitato di Fiume". È parimenti inconsulto, per le regioni stesse, che si abbia a permettere più oltre, che le autorità di questo comitato croato, appartenente alla giurisdizione della Croazia, abbiano ad avere la loro sede in Fiume. Così pure vengono lesi i diritti autonomi di fiume relativi all'istruzione, colla presenza ancora in Fiume – ed in un edificio di cui la Rappresentanza è l'amministratrice – del ginnasio croato, che non trovasi in qualsiasi rapporto di dipendenza dalle autorità qui costituite. Non possiamo infine sottacere, come fiume sia sempre ancora retta in parte con leggi, ereditate dai tempi assolutisti: basti il dire, che per introdurre il codice penale in questa città, si dovettero calcare vie tali, da non urtare i diritti dei fiumani e le pretese illusorie dei croati. *Fiume è ormai città ungarica*, e quindi i suoi rapporti amministrativo-legislativi, salve le condizioni particolari e la parte spettante alla cerchia della sua autonomia, devono essere regolati nello spirito che addimandano la costituzione e le leggi del regno. L'eccelsa camera – non lo dubitiamo – vorrà prendere in benigna considerazione le nostre domande, e di tal fatta decretare il togliimento del provvisorio.

Thierry, and dr. Nicolò Gelletich, (after Walluschnigg renounced).⁵⁰⁸ The *Pester Lloyd* noticed that the mandate of the chamber was about to expire and that therefore the memorial was to be only recommended by this chamber to the next session.⁵⁰⁹ The presence of the Fiuman Deputation was noticed in Budapest and the *Pester Lloyd* recommends to the Fiumani not to attack the Tisza executive.⁵¹⁰ It was the newly appointed parliament that only could produce a solution, and this depended on the willingness of the Croats to cooperate. But even if the Croats were refusing nothing was to be changed, since the provisory *de facto* could stay there and Hungary was to protect its interests in Fiume. Paraphrasing the *Pester Lloyd* the correspondent of *La Bilancia* exhorted the Fiumani to open anti Croatian manifestations, since they had to solve *internally* its problems with the Croats, where agitation was not excluded.⁵¹¹

The cause was an article from the *Pesti Naplo* (from the Kossuthist opposition) on the situation in Fiume.⁵¹² The Croats were organising and mounting again, and the Hungarian government failed to prevent that two of their candidates of “blatant Croatian ascendancy” who resulted elected “against the interests of Fiume”.⁵¹³ The Croatian candidates got most of the ballots.⁵¹⁴ Reportedly, the Croats also had the support from the local French consul in the city.⁵¹⁵ The responsibility was in the

E suffragata dalla convinzione degli indiscutibili suoi diritti, questa rappresentanza insta: voglia concludere questa eccelsa Camera: 1. sia dato l'incarico al governo di sottomettere all'eccelsa camera un progetto di legge, nel senso che – richiamandosi al diploma di Maria Teresa del 23 aprile 1779, all'articolo di legge IV: 1807, nonché al confermante § 66 p. 1., della legge XXX: 1868 – venga una volta in più inarticolata, mediante legge speciale, la pertinenza diretta di Fiume all'Ungheria, quale *separatum sacrae regni adnexum corpus*.

2. venga incaricato il governo di sottoporre altro progetto di legge, concernente la regolazione definitiva dei rapporti amministrativo-legislativi circa la speciale autonomia di Fiume.

3. e per tanto venga autorizzato il governo di fare cessare in fiume tutto ciò che è incompatibile colla sua posizione autonoma. From: *La Bilancia*, 15 aprile 1881.

⁵⁰⁸ *La Bilancia*, 22 aprile 1881.

⁵⁰⁹ *La Bilancia*, 26 aprile 1881.

⁵¹⁰ “Noi non dubitiamo menomamente del sentimento patriottico dei nostri amici fiumani; però possiamo assicurarli, che si può essere eccellenti patrioti ungheresi senza fare all'unisono coi giornali dell'opposizione e gridare contro Tisza”. *La Bilancia*, 26 aprile 1881.

⁵¹¹ “Se è vero poi che la propaganda croata tenta in Fiume di farsi strada p.e. nel municipio o nelle scuole, dove si tenta di avvelenare i sentimenti della gioventù, perché lasciano che pulluli la mala pianta? Noi raccomandiamo ad essi una conseguente agitazione, nei limiti della legge, nel vero senso patriottico”. *La Bilancia*, 26 aprile 1881.

⁵¹² Il provvisorio ha preso radice e consistenza, e sappiamo per pratica cosa significhi il provvisorio in Austria-Ungheria. Osserviamo soltanto l'artic. Di legge XXX dell'art. 1868 con cui si stabilisce, che l'amministrazione della giustizia debba rimanere tale quale si trovava in allora; visto ciò, noi da quell'epoca presso di noi non fu introdotta una legge, o novella di sorta; rimasimo stazionarii nelle nostre condizioni giudiziali. Il r. tribunale giudica dietro il codice austriaco. La legge sulla stampa è l'ungarica del 1848, ma, non essendo attivati i giurati, le trasgressioni di stampa – *horrible dictu* – vengono giudicate dietro la patente del 1852 di Bach d'infelice memoria. Tale è l'amministrazione della giustizia anno salutis domini 1881 sul territorio della più fulgida perla della corona di S. Stefano, sotto il leberale governo dello stato ungarico. *La Bilancia*, 26 aprile 1881.

⁵¹³ “Di recente stava all'ordine del giorno la elezione suppletoria per tre rappresentanti municipali; da settimane i fogli ne portavano i candidati, che anche sortirono dall'urna. Due fra gli eletti sono di spiegato sentimento croato, e quindi contrarii alle aspirazioni di Fiume. Con tale elezione la breccia fu aperta. Finora il corpo rappresentativo della città veniva risparmiato dal contatto con membri di conosciuto sentire croato; e ciò avvenne in grazia e sotto gli occhi del locale governo ungarico, senzachè, come sarebbe stato fattibile, esso lo abbia impedito, e quindi si deve dire ch'esso lo approvasse, altrimenti avrebbe trovato di certo il modo di sventare le agitazioni croate, come ha saputo finora valere la sua influenza all'atto di ogni elezione del deputato al parlamento, mandando ex officio ai capi uffizi i nomi dei candidati benvisi, i quali, stante il preponderante numero di impiegati regi, ogni volta spuntarono”. *La Bilancia*, 26 aprile 1881.

⁵¹⁴ Il 15 febbraio elezioni municipali di supplemento; di 651 elettori prelevarono le schede 268 ma usarono il loro diritto di voto soltanto 233. Risultarono eletti. Catti dr. Giorgio con voti 138, Minach Benedetto 121, Domini conte Vincenzo 116, Burgstaller Paolo 107, *La Bilancia* 15 febbraio 1881

⁵¹⁵ “Da oltre venti anni trovavasi qui, in qualità di console della Francia, il barone Du Regne, da poco passato in quiescenza. Questo signore fu sempre giurato nemico di Fiume, e non meno di ogni idea ungarica; ma all'incontro patrocinatore di tutto quanto sapeva di croato. Nell'anno 1860 si recò a Zagabria, ove i croati prendendolo per rappresentante della Francia, gli allestirono un apposito seggio nell'aula dietale. Il signor console agitava tanto contro l'Ungheria, che il conte Andrassy si vide costretto, mediante l'ambasciatore francese in Vienna, di farlo abbandonare Zagabria e ritornare al suo posto”. *La Bilancia*, 26 aprile 1881.

Hungarian government and its emanation in Fiume – the *gubernium*. The *Memoriale* of the Fiumani was not even officially registered at the Parliament in Budapest, and the executive in Budapest had to indict a conference on Fiume with urgency when it could still count on the support from the Fiumani.

Finally, the *Memoriale* of the Fiumani was received “with satisfaction for their patriotic desire to put an end to the provisory” by the petitions commission at the parliament in Budapest on May the 1st 1881.⁵¹⁶ Moreover, the *communiqué* stated that everything that was incompatible with the autonomy of Fiume (that is the office of the Croatian committee and the gymnasium) had to be ceased as soon as possible.⁵¹⁷

The *Pesti Naplo* commented the positive stance, and remarked the penetration of Croatian nationalism among the upper classes in Fiume.⁵¹⁸ Moreover, the Croatian gymnasium was having success also among the poorer Fiumani by granting them subsidies.⁵¹⁹ The historical rivalry with Buccari, as in 1848 and 1868 re-emerged again, when its municipality following that of Tersatto sent an official protestation for the memorial of the Fiumani. *La Bilancia* promptly recalled the occupation of 1848 performed by Buccari.⁵²⁰ According to the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, Hungary was to refuse the annexation of the Military Border to Croatia if the Croats were not to refuse the pretensions on Fiume.⁵²¹

On Saturday May the 14th the *Memorial* of Fiume was discussed in the chamber in Budapest, where also Hungarian Minister President Tisza publicly reassured that the Fiume issue was to be solved in the sense of the preservation of its autonomy not if but only on the modes through which this had to be achieved.⁵²²

On June the 22nd *La Bilancia* had a translation of an article from the *Pester Lloyd* titled “Ungheria Croazia e Fiume”. The point was that Croatia was ungrateful for the efforts that Hungary made in helping her in reacquiring the Military Border. As shown from the mobilisation campaign for

⁵¹⁶ *La Bilancia*, 2 maggio 1881.

⁵¹⁷ *La Bilancia*, 3 maggio 1881.

⁵¹⁸ “Constatamo con profonda nostra consolazione che la grande maggioranza della popolazione fiumana è tuttora penetrata d'inconcussa fedeltà alla madre patria; a questa sola vuole appartenere, da questa aspetta la sua prosperità, il suo benessere. Le cose stanno finora in questo modo, ma chi può garantirci, che reseteranno così anche in avvenire? Non dobbiamo cioè dimenticare che il partito ultra croato ha anche fra noi alcuni zelanti aderenti, e precisamente nelle classi piuttosto elevate, i quali con instancabile perseveranza e con raffinata astuzia scavano il suolo sotto i piedi del governo ungarico. Costoro hanno un foglio scritto in lingua croata, che si pubblica nella vicina comune croata di Sussak; in questo foglio si pubblicano settimana per settimana articoli compilati in lingua italiana, nei quali si lanciano vituperii e calunnie d'ogni sorta al governo, al parlamento ed in generale a tutta la nazione ungarica; essi sono anzi giunti ormai a tanto da distribuire gratis per le vie della città centinaia di copie di un pamphlet, scritto in dialetto fiumano e contenente insulti contro la nazione ungarica, senz'altro che il governo locale abbia trovato modo di picchiare sulle unghie gli indegni mestatori”. *La Bilancia*, 6 maggio 1881.

⁵¹⁹ “Ora dobbiamo sapere, che questo istituto, nel quale la gioventù si educa in uno spirito di ostilità verso l'Ungheria, è frequentato da numerosi giovani fiumani. I più ragguardevoli uomini della Croazia, come per esempio il vescovo Strossmayer, dedicano somme vistosissime per adescarvi la gioventù fiumana: distribuiscono gratis e con profusione libri, vestiti ed anche aiuti di altro genere”. *La Bilancia*, 6 maggio 1881.

⁵²⁰ “A voi, o croati, Fiume piace, e non potete dimenticare, che la teneste occupata per ben due decenni; ma quell'occupazione non figura tra le più belle pagine della sedicentesima colta città di Buccari, che mena tanto scalpore invitando gli altri comitati e comuni croati a protestare contro l'annessione di Fiume all'Ungheria, forse nella speranza d'un ritorno dei bei giorni d'Aranjuez (il 48) quando i buccarani fecero tanta bella mostra di loro. - memori delle beatitudini godute sotto la vostra paterna protezione non ci sembra vero di essercene liberati.

L'Ungheria è quella che ci ha redenti; all'Ungheria ogni onesto fiumano deve essere grato se Fiume oggi gode dell'autonomia sua libertà, se Fiume può accettare la lotta di concorrenza in linea commerciale. Sotto la dominazione croata avremmo avuto un Odbor ed altri consimili gingilli; ma certo l'erba sarebbe cresciuta per le nostre vie, e di porto e ferrovie si parlerebbe oggi come di cose dell'avvenire. (...) Non capite che Fiume è città ungherese perché lo vuol essere, e che a se unita la vuol pure l'Ungheria? È inutile che vi arrabbiate; fate buon viso a cattivo gioco e ci guadagnerete; che se poi non vi trovaste bene nella Fiume ungarica, passate il ponte, andatevene in santa pace, e nel partire non dimenticate di prendere con voi il vostro ginnasio, il vostro Comitato ed il vostro geniale istituto chiamato la Citaonica”. *La Bilancia*, 7 maggio 1881.

⁵²¹ *La Bilancia*, 17 maggio 1881.

⁵²² *La Bilancia*, 17 maggio 1881.

preventing the incorporation of Fiume with Hungary.⁵²³ The article in effect announced that the style of Hungary in dealing with Croatia was about to change.⁵²⁴

In effect Fiume was at centre of the debate at the Sabor on its session from the June the 23rd 1881. The Croatian committee in charge to refer on the petition sent from Fiume had Mirko Hrvat, Mrazović, Ivan Miškatović, dr Starčević, dr Subotić, dr Spevecz and Vončina. The day before the Committee of Rijeka Fiume was forced for security reasons to avoid that the gatherings took place in the city and held an extraordinary meeting in Delnice. Given the situation in Fiume, where attacks against Croatian institutions were conducted on a daily basis, the ban Pejačević permitted the gathering only after pressures from Tisza.⁵²⁵

La Bilancia from June the 25th communicates that the deputy at the Hungarian parliament the only candidate Csernatony had been elected.⁵²⁶

Much more interesting appears the coverage from the workings of the Sabor in Zagreb. According to the deputy Folnegović it were the provocations from Fiume that led to the protestations throughout Croatia. But Jovan Živković in effect thinks it is exaggerated since nothing can be deliberated on Fiume without a consensual agreement between the parts mentioned in the *Nagoda* and the relative article on the *Provisorium*. Then Vrbanić declares publicly among “great sensation” of the delegates that the §66 is a forgery. It was the first discussion of the kriptic. But Jovan Živković observed that anyway the texts as such was accepted and signed by the diet in 1873. Than the debate heated on as Starcevic declared to accuse the Hungarian government. At this point some others proposed to introduce the “state of siege in Fiume”, or, as in 1848, to make restore order with “the help of the Seresaner”.⁵²⁷

The fact that the deal from 1868 was forged, according to the deputy Folnegović justified the state of agitation in Croatia further exacerbated with the explicit request of Fiume to eliminate any Croatian institution from the city, although they had the right to stay there. Jovan Živković declared that the Croatian government (that is the ban) had to give precise answers to 4 points: expulsion of the Croatian gymnasium, the offices of the Committee, change of the name of the Committee of Fiume, modes of solution of the “Fiuman question”. Starcević anyway noticed that with the gathering of the Committee of Fiume in Delnice instrad Fiume, the Croatian executive has in fact already renounced to Fiume to the Magyars. But Živković answered that although the Ban wanted to have it in Fiume, Tisza declared that he could not guarantee for the public safety in fiume.⁵²⁸

⁵²³ “Giornalmente uno o l'altro foglio reca telegrammi e corrispondenze da tutte le parti del paese, in cui si riferisce che questo o quel municipio, questa o quella autorità di comitato, città o di comune hanno deciso di rivolgersi con risoluzioni energiche alla dieta ed al bano, perché non aderiscano al distacco di fiume dalla Croazia.” *La Bilancia* 22 giugno 1881.

⁵²⁴ “Colla politica sentimentale fatta sinora da noi, siamo felicemente arrivati al punto, che in Croazia si nutrono per l'Ungheria sentimenti tutt'altro che cordiali; - in futuro faremo prove colla politica dell'interesse; chi sa che ambedue le parti non ci guadagnino!” *La Bilancia* 22 giugno 1881.

⁵²⁵ *La Bilancia* 24 giugno 1881.

⁵²⁶ “La banda cittadina percorse suonando, in piena tenuta di gala, le principali contrade della città, preceduta da due persone portanti bandiere col nome del candidato, lodovico Csernatony, e seguita da numeroso popolo. Alle 8 precise l'onorevole D.r. Gelletich, presidente della commissione elettorale, che siede nella sala municipale, dichiarò aperto il procedimento elettorale e fece dare lettura della proposta con cui 10 elettori candidavano quale deputato per il prossimo triennio legislativo l'on. lodovico Csernatony. La banda cittadina, schierata sulla piazza dinanzi al locale dell'elezione, suono durante la mezz'ora di attesa, che prescrive la legge, vari pezzi musicali. Nel frattempo numerosi elettori entrarono nella sala, per essere presenti all'importantissimo atto. In punto alle ore 8 ½ nel momento in cui entravano nel locale dell'elezione S.E. Il Governatore, il Podestà e il consigliere ministeriale D.r. Vallentsis, il presidente della commissione elettorale, alzatosi, osservava, che era trascorsa mezz'ora senza che fosse stata presentata alcun altra proposta di candidatura, all'infuri di quella già annunciata, e dichiarava chiuso il procedimento elettorale ed eletto per acclamazione a deputato di fiume alla dieta del regno, l'on. Lodovico Csernatony.” *La Bilancia*, 25 giugno 1881.

⁵²⁷ *La Bilancia*, 25 giugno 1881.

⁵²⁸ *La Bilancia*, 27 giugno 1881.

And indeed the initiative came from Hungarian side: on March the 21st 1882 Kálmán Tisza, the Hungarian prime minister,⁵²⁹ initiated at the joint parliament the renegotiation of the issue of Fiume in a sense of a possible definitive settlement of what was still known as *provisory*.

The regnicolar deputation was nominated on the session from March the 25th 1882 of the Hungarian parliament. Members from the chamber of deputies were Gustavo Viszolyi, Maximilan Falk, Ferdinand Eber, and Count Janos Cziraky from the magnates. The Croatian Deputation had Karlo Mihalović, Ivan Miškatović, Spevecz and the count Kosta Vojnović. The Fiuman deputation were Giovanni Ciotta, Federico de Thierry, Nicolò Gelletich, Edmondo Sterczig.⁵³⁰ The Hungarian and Croatian deputations were composed by people new to politics while the Fiumani sent experienced people who participated during the struggles for autonomy from the 1860s.⁵³¹

The deputations gathered in Budapest. Even before starting the work, the Hungarian government made a very important move: the statute law XXXVI with which the status of Fiume and Budapest were regulated with a specific statute was suspended, until the new law of communal regulation was enacted. Therefore, the previous competencies of the Fiume communal affairs ceased to be legally binding for the Hungarian government. With this act the Hungarian government *de facto* suspended the statute from 1872 and in this way announced its position before the regnicolar deputations started with their work. The negotiation was kept secret, what we know was only published later in Fiume at the later by the paper *la Difesa* edited by Maylender.⁵³²

Maximilan Falk, who was the referee of the commission⁵³³, explained the purpose of the gathering – since 1869 there was a *project* about Fiume that was accepted by the Hungarian and Fiuman delegation and that was refused by Croatia.⁵³⁴ Since 14 years had passed the delegations were invited to express their views about the *project*. The Hungarian representative précised that the position of Fiume was not a subject for negotiation. But Falk also pointed out that what had to be discussed was only the technical details of execution of the art. 66 of Law XXX on the Fiuman provisory. In other words, what was discussed was not the constitutional position of Fiume as such the city simply had been annexed to Hungary, only the still pendant issues of its autonomy could have been revised. These issues were the same attribute to Croatia. Moreover, the Hungarian delegation was not there for making proposals, but Hungary would be act as an arbiter between the Croatian and the City proposals.⁵³⁵ The regnicolar deputations were *de facto* consultive bodies.

⁵²⁹ Kálmán Tisza (1830-1902) was Hungarian prime minister between 1875 and 1890. He is credited for the formation of a consolidated Magyar government, the foundation of the new Liberal Party (1875) and major economic reforms that would both save and eventually lead to a very successful government with populous support. When Kálmán Tisza came to power in 1875 he consolidated the economy in many ways similar to his power consolidation in government reform. He opened up taxation reforms that saved the state from bankruptcy. In 1887 Alexander Werkerle became the minister of finance worked with Kálmán Tisza to develop a new tax system that focused on taxation of land. The successes of these reforms were tremendous, even though land tax increased by 30% the revenues of the government increased by 330% (Janos 108) and between 1880-1895 public revenue doubled due to successful tax reforms. Though Tisza-Werkerle system saved the government from bankruptcy the tax system was way too harsh and eventually prevented the rise of a domestic market for the products produced by Hungary. In Andrew C. Janos, *The Politics of Backwardness in Hungary 1825-1945*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

⁵³⁰ Anonymous. *Le deputazioni regnicolari nella questione di Fiume negli anni 1868-1869 e 1883-1884* (§ 66 dell'articolo di legge XXX 1868), Pubblicato per cura del Municipio, Fiume, Mohovich, 1898, p. 76.

⁵³¹ With the exception of Edmondo Sterczig, whose biography is unknown.

⁵³² As Karpowicz rightly remarks, the material was carefully edited and prepared for publication and in a sense it sets the blueprint of the argumentation of the autonomists (later) and it can be considered a proof of their self perception and the reconstruction of the genesis of their movement in the Nineties. In Karpowicz 1986, p.118

⁵³³ Maximilan Falk was also the director of the Pester Lloyd and one of the most influential liberal members of the Parliament, expert in legal and administrative issues.

⁵³⁴ The “project” was the joint fiuman hungarian document refused by Croatia in 1868, from then on frozen in the “Provisory”.

⁵³⁵ Given that Hungarian government suspended the statute it is clear that it had its own vision of the project, a vision that although seemed positive for the fiumani at the beginning providing them protection from the Croatian pretensions, soon it put them in a definitely subordinate position. The premises for the future Fiuman – Hungarian conflict were all there, already in 1883.

The **Croatian** representatives restated on their positions from 1868 - in insisting that Fiume was an integral part of the Triune Kingdom, that is Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia that was *de facto* completely detached being an Austrian Kronland. Thus it was clear from the beginning that a compromise was impossible the Hungarian delegation (supervised during the whole duration of the gathering by the Hungarian prime minister the minister of the interior and the governor of Fiume) invited the Fiuman and Croatian delegation to express their positions in a written form.

Contrarily to the Croatians, who simply refused any discussion to what was enacted after 1868, the **Fiuman** delegation stressed the positive effects that the union with Hungary produced as far as it concerned development. The Fiuman representatives also stressed that the Maria Theresa diploma and the laws from art IV 1807 and the Law XXVII 1848 were fundamental constitutional acts that regulated the position of the city. In this was they were stressing the **autonomy of Fiume from both Croatia and Hungary**, or rather as subject to Hungarian administration, but with the specific status of a *corpus separatum* as defined by its: legislation, administration, religion, education and judiciary administration.

As the **legislative** was concerned it was stated that Fiume was already within Hungarian legal framework since the City was represented at the (upper) House of Magnates by its Governor and in the House of Deputies by its Representative, elected by the citizens. Now as for the civil code in Fiume (until a Hungarian code was to be enacted) in Fiume had to remain in force the Austrian civil code that the city had from the times of Maria Theresa. Fiume had therefore its specificity in having (in issues regarding property and civil disputes) an Austrian civil code, as it never had the Hungarian feudal code. Thus the inclusion of the City within the Hungarian lands as an act of public law, already settled and sanctioned by the donation of Maria Theresa and several times sanctioned by acts of the Emperor was never disputed. What was disputed was the internal constitution of the city. Once more the specificity of the City against the surroundings was stated. The city truly was another type of polity: it was a modern urban community of free citizens. It never experiment feudalism, in its legal tradition it was different from both Hungary and Croatia. In terms of public law it was donated as a *corpus separatum* – an autonomous entity already within the Hapsburg lands - by Maria Theresa to Hungary (meaning the lands of the Holy Crown of St. Stephen). As such autonomous separate body with a public subjectivity (i.e. *pro separata dinastia*, as they referred) it was as other such entities (i. e. Hungary Croatia or Dalmatia) it had juridical constitutional personality. The Fiumani proposed a mixed Fiuman Hungarian commission that will be involved in the “interpretation” of the Hungarian laws with the Fiuman context. These laws had to be translated in Italian before adoption.

The **administration** of the City had to be done on a basis of statutory laws, that is laws limited by the Statute seen as the fundamental legal act for the *corpus separatum* that had to be enacted as a law.⁵³⁶

As for **religion** (affari di culto), the deputation agreed that it was to be put under the competent Hungarian ministry. To give force to this the city had to become independent from the actual position within the diocese of Senj (Croatian) and be thus be annexed as an independent capitol to a Hungarian bishopric.⁵³⁷

The fourth point **education** they agreed that higher education was to be put under the Hungarian education ministry.

For the last point administration of **justice**, they explicitly asked for the institution along the tribunal of the first instance already presenting the city a tribunal of the second instance especially for the commercial and maritime disputes. These tribunals would perform the function also for penal tribunals. While the third instance tribunal would have been in Budapest. Its members would have been nominated in Budapest and seated in Fiume.

⁵³⁶ La città e il distretto di Fiume regola in base alle vigenti leggi la sua interna amministrazione mediante lo statuto convenuto col governo ungarico e che dovrebbe venir inarticolato in legge. P. 125.

⁵³⁷ Essendo urgentemente reclamato nell'interesse di una durevole buona intelligenza colla Croazia di rimuovere ogni non chiaro punto di contatto., p. 126.

It was a complete political program with a vision. Later on, the autonomists in the Nineties (Maylender but also Zanella) will frequently return on the very same issues. The autonomist vision will show a remarkable persistency once it had been formulated by what was an obviously capable team of lawyers and juridical experts. The “5 points”, presented in 1883, will remain the guideline for political action in Fiume, until the end of the Monarchy: Fiume, in terms of public law was a part of the lands of the Holy Crown of St. Stephen. It had its specific *Grundgesetz* - the statute that had to be the blueprint of any act promulgated in Budapest that referred to the city. The city was specific in terms of civil and commercial jurisdiction it had to have its own jurisdiction. Elementary schooling was a competency of the city executive - the civic Magistrate. Higher schooling was to be put under the Hungarian competent ministry. The church was to become independent from Croatia, possibly directly annexed to a Hungarian bishopric.⁵³⁸

The **Croatian** delegation had a much milder contention at the negotiation table: The Croatian delegation accepted to leave the all the financial issues related to Fiume and its trade to the joint parliament, that is the Hungarian government. Thus the most important issue was considered solved by the Croatian delegation. On schooling they proposed that all the three interested parts that is the Fiuman the Hungarian and Croatian retained their rights upon it within the city. This means that children would have been given a choice if they wanted to frequent schools in Italian, Hungarian or Croatian language. The Croatian delegation wanted their Sabor have the right to participate in the debate on the nomination of the governor in Fiume as they had for the case of nomination of the ban since the Hungarian ministry of the interior proposed both. The Criminal Court Tribunal had to remain in Zagreb with the right for Fiume to send its delegate judges in Zagreb.

Nevertheless even this was refused by the Fiumani, who had to give up to Hungarian claims of supremacy because Croatia had a *de facto* made much more constructive proposals that could have had a chance of being taking into serious consideration. The debate could only touch the relative issues of autonomy of Fiume and Croatia within Hungary, it was not clear how should an eventual settlement be achieved or arbitrated. Therefore, the **Hungarian** delegation assumed the position of an arbiter in the Croatian – Fiuman dispute. With this statement of supremacy, the delegations finished their work and the consultation was on July the 2nd 1883 officially closed.⁵³⁹ As an effect after 1883 – the City was not able to bargain and negotiate the nation since the city was definitely assigned to Hungary.

To make things better for the Fiumani, the reintegration of Krajina with Croatia was far from smooth and strife soon escalated in a veritable civil war. In thus conditions it was clear that the capacity of strategic partnership of the Croatian diet and the Croatian elites to pose any kind of threat were nullified. Soon the Sabor was suspended by royal decree after the proposal of the Hungarian minister of the interior and the foreign affairs ministry. On the 23rd January 1884 the Croatian diet was forcefully closed. The Bilancia in commenting it used the typical fiuman style of argument, drawn from economic utility: given the vehement and primitive level of debate displayed at the Sabor, with its estimated yearly cost was at 40.000 guildens it was were little more than a waste of public money that could have been much better spent with building of roads or other purposes.⁵⁴⁰

Finally, when the Hungarian Government threatened that it would introduce martial law in Croatia, King Francis Joseph I appointed (under proposal of Hungarian Prime Minister Count Tisza) Károly Count Khuen-Héderváry to the office of the Ban of Croatia. Khuen-Héderváry was a native Magyar, cousin of the Prime Minister Tisza, not linked to any political organization in Croatia and he administered the country in something which could be defined as a colonial rule.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁸ Esztergom – the centre of Hungarian Catholicism was frequently envisaged as a possible solution.

⁵³⁹ The Hungarians pointed that the Croatian delegation confused the prerogatives of the Croatian Sabor (*Landtag* or diet) with that of the (Hungarian) parliament.

⁵⁴⁰ *La Bilancia* 24 gennaio 1884, “Sullo scioglimento della dieta croata.”

⁵⁴¹ Károly Count Khuen-Héderváry de Hédervár (23 May 1849 - 16 February 1918) was a Hungarian politician who served twice as Prime Minister of Hungary before World War I. He was also the Croatian Ban from 1883 to 1903.

The conquest of Bosnia, the reintegration of Krajina and the pacification and control of Croatia changed the overall strategic picture for the Fiumani, in 1883. The Hungarian authorities will deny any legislative capacity or authority to the Fiuman Rappresentanza. The report of the Hungarian regnicolar commission presented at the parliament in May 1884 only confirmed the fact that the juridical space of the provisorium (that was a juridically undefined space) had to be enlarged as much as it was possible. It was clear now that the power and influence of Hungarian governed and central authorities was practically unlimited. The possibility for the Fiumani to use the threat of Croatia as leverage against Hungary disappeared. It was only a matter of time when the city (used to negotiate with nations) was to clash with the Hungarian government, that under the prime Minister Kalman Tisza to foster a decided program of centralisation both in Croatia and Fiume.

Since both Croatian and Fiuman delegations failed to produce any workable agreement, the Hungarian regnicolar commission gathered in Budapest almost a year later the 13th May 1884 - "knowing very well what was to do in the interests of the Hungarian state" – and this was to extend as far as it was possible the extant *provisorium*. The answer was that as the legislative was concerned, all the laws enacted for Hungary had to be operative for Fiume as well, although "in principle there were no difficulties" to translate them in Italian (non può sussistere alcuna difficoltà di massima).⁵⁴² According to the Hungarian regnicolar commission, the convocation of Fiuman deputies both to the Hungarian parliament and the Croatian Diet was an absurdity. The commission accepted the pretence to regulate the administration of the commune with a statute on the basis of the actual laws. But such statute had yet to be drafted, and the old was suspended as long as it concerned the Hungarian government. The expenses of the Hungarian political government on Fiume, were so far inclined as separate in the state budget as those of the diet of *corpus separatum*, from now on, to stress that the city is part of Hungary this had to be changed.⁵⁴³ As the Church was concerned, the commission promised support and pressures by the government.⁵⁴⁴ Finally, the commission urged that also without the adhesion of the Croat-Slavone Diet everything to assure the strictest link of Fiume with Hungary within the limit of the laws had to be done.

It was obvious that the authoritarian rule of Khuen was there to last. He stayed in office for 20 years, during which Croatia was neutralised politically. In the twenty year absolute regime he put in action (1883 – 1903). Khuen-Héderváry sought to perpetuate the division of Croat lands thereof against the unification of Croatia with Dalmatia and was himself a promulgator of various separatist tendencies within the lands the Sabor claimed such as Slavonia, Fiume, but also the Serb minority in Croatia and Slavonia, which was successfully alienated from Croatian institutions.

As a first move, from 1885 to 1887, the Croatian judiciary was reorganized and put under the control of the executive that is the ban. Censorship was introduced. In 1886 on his initiative the territorial administration of the countys was reorganized (*Zakon o ustroju županija i uređenju*

Born in 23 May 1849 at Grafenberg by Freiwaldau (today Jasenik in the Czech republic). Khuen graduated in jurisprudence at the universities of Zagreb and Pozony (Bratislava). His public service starts in 1875 as member of the district council at Sziget, up to 1881 when he become high sheriff of the committee of Győr. From this period he starts to support manifestly the Hungarian politics of magyarsiation of Croatia ie. - The project of a greater Hungary from the Carpathians to the Adriatic. His reputation raise among the Hungarian nobility and the King Francis Joseph I.

⁵⁴² Anonymous. *Le deputazioni regnicolari nella questione di Fiume negli anni 1868-1869 e 1883-1884* (§ 66 dell'articolo di legge XXX 1868), Pubblicato per cura del Municipio, Fiume, Mohovich, 1898, p. 81.

⁵⁴³ Anonymous. *Le deputazioni regnicolari nella questione di Fiume negli anni 1868-1869 e 1883-1884* (§ 66 dell'articolo di legge XXX 1868), Pubblicato per cura del Municipio, Fiume, Mohovich, 1898, p. 82.

⁵⁴⁴ I rappresentanti di Fiume si lagnano che come cooperatori vengono applicati sacerdoti tali che non sanno l'italiano che a Fiume venne introdotta la liturgia slava, mentre nelle prossime chiese corate è di uso la lingua latina, che muoiono dei canonici senza che vano prese disposizioni per il rimpiazza mento dei posti vacanti, che l'abate mitrato di Fiume non istà nel benché minimo contatto né col governo né col municipio, che essi non vennero nemmeno informati della sua nomina, che non vennero inviati alla di lui installazione e che anzi lo stesso non ebbe nemmeno a presentarsi a loro, che nominamente il canonico Giovanni Fiamin venne nominato nel 1877 a preposito del capitolo collegiato e ad arcidiacono di Fiume, esclusivamente sopra proposta e colla contrassegnatura del bano della Croazia ecc. ecc. Anonymous. *Le deputazioni regnicolari nella questione di Fiume negli anni 1868-1869 e 1883-1884* (§ 66 dell'articolo di legge XXX 1868), Pubblicato per cura del Municipio, Fiume, Mohovich, 1898, p. 83.

uprave u županijah i kotarih). According to the act Croatia was divided in 8 countys (županije), headed by a high sheriff (župan) with great powers, similar to the prefects in Italy and France. In 1888 the electoral law based on fiscal and property census meant that franchise comprised 2% of the population.

He governed Croatia with the help of the pro-Hungarian *Narodna stranka*, that granted him the majority also within the Croatian sabor. At the polls, all votes are given orally, a system which facilitated corruption; the officials who control the elections depend for their livelihood on the ban, usually a Magyarist; and thus, even apart from the privileged members, a majority favourable to Hungary can usually be secured.

On the other hand, the authoritarian (almost dictatorial) regime of Khuen-Héderváry was not perceived by Fiumani as a threat (never used in that form by the Hungarians) but rather as a solution, since it effectively excluded Croatia from the game for Fiume. For the Fiumani Croatia never appeared as an alternative, the main problem was rather how to exclude it.



Stanislao dall'Asta (1845-1911), a member of the Kossuthist faction in Fiume.

A strong Hungarian government started to be felt in Fiume as well. In 1884 the coalition of Ciotta will come to a crisis that was caused and raised by apparently futile motivations. The conflict was raised by Emerico de Nemeth (from the, the Supreme Maritime Authority (Regio Governo Marittimo), who was close to the Governor, August Zichy. Nemeth, backed by the Governor, violently contested Antonio de Vallentisis (supported by Ciotta) upon certain game rights on the island of Veglia.⁵⁴⁵ On March the 13th the Bilancia issued the analysis on the case - namely, the police action in Fiume was initiated upon mandate conferred by the magistrate in Veglia trough the Government of the Littoral seated in Trieste.⁵⁴⁶ In this way the Austrian laws were applied, instead of the Hungarian ones – a major flaw in the age of Tisza. According to the Hungarian law it was a

⁵⁴⁵ Vallentsits Antonio de (1829-1902) consigliere del governatore, figura di consulenza ed intermediazione tra governo e commune. Later govnrnemntel comissaary when the Hungarian executive refused the installemnt of Maylender as mayor.

⁵⁴⁶ “Sequestro capi di selvaggina provenienti dall'isola di Veglia su requisitoria del magistrato politico di Veglia”. *La Bilancia*, 13 marzo 1884.

case of (contravvenzione di caccia) while for the Austrian laws a contravvenzione di furto, “violando la separazione in materia di leggi tra Austria e Ungheria”.⁵⁴⁷

Apart from “The Woodcock Dispute” (*Disputa delle beccacce*) as it was ironically labelled, *La Bilancia* reports also on the daily attacks against Ciotta from March also for the expenses of the building of the city theatre. Finally, on the 4th April 1884, Ciotta resigned as podestà and member of the Rappresentanza.⁵⁴⁸ Ciotta had to be replaced as mayor at the elections for half of the Rappresentanza in 15th October 1884. Ciotta was even initially excluded from the list of candidates by his Liberal party.⁵⁴⁹ Nevertheless, after a “tremendous clash”, as reported by Pausi, Ciotta resulted elected and, after his installation, refused a handshake with the governor.⁵⁵⁰ The Liberal Party won all the 25 candidates were elected, upon 28 members of the Rappresentanza who had to be replaced.

Surprisingly, Ciotta was one of the less voted among the elected candidates. He got 285 ballots (upon 900 voters) being the 23rd upon 25), but, as usually, within the Rappresentanza he triumphed: upon 58 voters he got 37, the second Pallaua 11, and the Kossuthian archrival Walluschnig got just 1 ballot.⁵⁵¹ In Fiume the political polarisation of Hungary between the Liberal (“Party of the Government”) and the Radical (“Party of the 1848” of the Kossuthians) was also present: the original opponent of the Liberal Ciotta was Gasparo Matcovich one of the most influential politicians in Fiume. Stanislao dall’Asta, and Antonio Walluschnigg, followers of Matcovich faction even after his death will attempt to challenge the power and authority of Ciotta on every occasion.⁵⁵² In effect there will be a veto of the construction of two schools deliberated by the Rappresentanza. After the veto Antonio Walluschnig will start a public campaign against the government, but aimed against Ciotta.

Already at the next elections held in November 1887 there appears to be a much more articulated scene: along with the Partito Liberale there is a “Comitato dei Benpensanti” and a “Partito Autonomo”. The “Comitato dei Benpensanti” appears to be a gathering of moderate pro Hungarian forces.

⁵⁴⁷ *La Bilancia*, 13 marzo 1884.

⁵⁴⁸ *Bilancia* del 4 aprile 1884:

1) Rescritto del r. governatore sull'ordinanza di controllo e di sorveglianza della selvaggina proveniente dall'isola di Veglia.

2) Rinuncia del sig Giovanni de Ciotta dalla carica di Podestà

⁵⁴⁹ *Bilancia* 13 ottobre 1884:

⁵⁵⁰ The diary of Pausi is now lost, but parts were published by Silvino Gigante and is one of the rare sources we have, apart from some pamphlets and the *Sloboda*. In Gigante, Silvino. “Memorie frammentarie di un vecchio fiumano”, in *Studi saggi appunti*, Deputazione per la storia patria per le Venetie: Sezione di Fiume, Fiume, 1944.

⁵⁵¹ *Bilancia* del 4 novembre 1884

⁵⁵² Antonio Walluschnigg was known as a Kossuthian, also “Garibaldino di Quarto”, and was an agent of Matcovich. Dall’Asta, Stanislao (1845-1911) was a lawyer, graduated in Graz. Very active in the social venues and political life of the city. Member of the Rappresentanza, one of the founders of the Pilatura di riso and the Cassa Popolare di risparmio. Director of the Casino patriottico and the Filodrammatica. Acted as legal consultant for several banks and bigger industries in Fiume. In 1873 he married Carmela, sister of the Fiuman printer and editor Emidio Mohovich, and therefore their actions had resonance within the public. Emidio Mohovich (1838-1898) journalist, printer and publicist. In 1863 he initiated the Stabilimento Tipo-Litografico Fiumano that he owned till his death. In 1867 he starts what became the main daily paper in Fiume *La Bilancia*, issued till 1919.

Concittadini Elettori!

Voi siete nuovamente chiamati a compiere un debito grave e solenne verso la patria vostra.

La cittadina rappresentanza si ricostituisce nella metà dei suoi membri!

Nel periodo triennale, ora trascorso, voi avete agito di apprezzare l'operosità feconda degli uni, la negligenza colpevole degli altri; il franco ardimento da una parte, lo incondizionato servaggio dall'altra.

Traete pertanto profitto dal presente momento, per sanguinare di nuovo amore quell'ente, che presiede ai vostri pubblici destini.

La senilità dello spirito, l'ignoranza della mente, la infedeltà del carattere, convien che scompaiano da quell'aula, dove una risoluzione inconsueta può trarre a rovina la patria.

Noi abbiamo diritti a difendere, aspirazioni da realizzare!

A tale uopo la vostra scelta cada sovra uomini, che, all'intelletto della concezione accoppino l'energia degli atti.

Saldi nella nostra fede, riconosciamo nell'unione all'Ungheria il supremo bene per l'amata nostra patria, epperò le nostre parole non racchiudono alcuna intenzione occulta.

Eccovi 30 nomi di uomini, le cui cittadine e private virtù, vi offrono garanzia della loro condotta nei pubblici cimenti.

Concittadini Elettori!

Sabato 26 corrente adunque, munitevi in tempo utile delle schede di legittimazione, e scevri da qualsiasi preoccupazione, diffidando di coloro, che vi bisbigliano negli orecchi la insinuazione bugiarda, accorrete all'urna col grido in bocca e la fede nel cuore:

**Viva Fiume Autonoma unita all'Ungheria!!!
E..... Vincerete!!!**

Fiume, 23 Novembre 1887.

Il Comitato elettorale del partito Autonomo Fiumano.

Cittadini Fiumani!

Sabato 26 corrente siete chiamati all'elezione della metà dei nostri rappresentanti municipali.

Che il benessere della nostra amata Fiume dipenda dalla Rappresentanza Municipale, rispettivamente dalle persone che la compongono, lo sa ognuno, come ognuno deve ritenere per fermo che soltanto ai fiumani ed a coloro che qui hanno stabile domicilio sta maggiormente a cuore il benessere di questa amata nostra città.

Noi fiumani dobbiamo cercare i nostri rappresentanti in fra i Fiumani stessi, perchè il fiumano che qui è nato e che qui desidera morire sente meglio d'ogni altro l'amor di patria e cerca la prosperità del proprio paese, se non per se poi propri figli.

Si è con questo indiscutibile convincimento che il sottoscritto si rivolge ad ogni buon fiumano raccomandandogli di votare per persone fiumane, le quali attaccatisime alla corona di Santo Stefano lavoreranno con corrali col Regno d'Ungheria per la comune prosperità.

Rispetto e riguardo dobbiamo ad ogni forestiero, ma la nostra ambizione ed il nostro decoro ci impongono di porre il fiumano per il primo a difendere e proteggere i nostri interessi.

Accorrete adunque all'urna, Fiumani, col pensiero: Fiumano per Fiumano!!

Dopo le suddette sacrosante verità e colla coscienza di far bene alla nostra amata città, Vi proponiamo a rappresentanti municipali i signori, compresi nella qui acclusa scheda.

Le persone proposte sono Fiumani e come tali Vi assicuriamo che non hanno altro scopo che la prosperità della nostra Fiume, per cui vi raccomandiamo di votare per essi col grido:

**Viva Fiume Autonoma!!
Viva l'Ungheria!!**

Il Comitato Dei Benpensanti Fiumani.

Fiume, 23 Novembre 1887

Progressively the idyll came to an end. In effect, already at the next elections, held in 1887, there appears to be a much more articulated political scene: along with the Partito Liberale we find a "Comitato dei Benpensanti" that seems to be a gathering of moderate pro Hungarians. There is also a "Partito Autonomo", that appeared as a faction already in 1884: a good decade before the age of Maylender.⁵⁵³

Cittadini Elettori!

Domenica, 23 corr., siete chiamati all'Urna ad esercitare uno dei più gelosi diritti costituzionali, a votare, cioè, per mezza rappresentanza municipale. Nell'esercizio di questo principale diritto fa d'uopo che un solo sentimento vi guidi: l'incoscienza fede e gratitudine verso la cara Ungheria, nostra patria comune, che sola in tutti tempi rispettava la nostra origine italiana, e che, sola può essere, ed è chiamata a rendere felice e grande questo lembo di terra, che dalla Nazione stessa, cui ci pregiamo d'appartenere, veniva chiamata la parte del Quarnero.

Oggi, come sempre, vi raccomandiamo uomini intelligenti, amanti del loro paese, meritevoli per ogni aspetto della vostra fiducia; uomini, che ci dettero prove indubbe del loro affetto verso Fiume; uomini che **furono Ungheresi quando l'esercito era delitto**. Fra loro vi sono persone che per costante attaccamento all'Ungheria **languirono nel carcere e nell'esiglio**.

Vi preghiamo, dunque, di schierarvi sotto la nostra bandiera, ed è insegna di fede, d'amor patrio, di concio dia, e di votare compatti per i seguenti candidati:

Bellen Dr. Andrea
Blasich Giuseppe di A.
Benzan Dr. Giovanni
Cante Giuseppe senior
Catti Dr. Giorgio
Ciotta comm. de Giovanni
Corossacz Giovanni
Dall'Asta Dr. Stanislao
Donáth Emerico
Fletzer Francesco
Gelletich Dr. Nicolò
Giacich Dr. A. F. cav.
Gerbaz Ermano
Gregorich Otmáro
Leard de Giuseppe

Maderspach Alessandro
Malle Andrea
Ploech Annibale
Poschich A. F.
Reppach Giuseppe
Schlemmer de Carlo
Simonich Antonio
Urményi de Bernardo
Verzenassi Giuseppe
Vivant Raimondo
Walluschnig Antonio
Weber Federico
Wild Antonio
Zaccaria de Adamo
Zängerle G. R.

**Viva Fiume Ungherese!
Viva la gloriosa, la nobile, la cavalleresca
Nazione Ungarica!**

Fiume, 22 Novembre 1890.

Il Comitato Elettorale del partito Popolare Fiumano Ungherese.

Tipografia P. Botta - Fiume

Választó polgárok!

Holnap hivatra lesztek gyakorolni feltékenyen érzött alkotmányos jogának egyik leghőbbikét, a szabad választási jogot, 30 városi képviselőre adván szavazatokat.

E magyaros jogotok gyakorlásánál csak egy szándék: **a kedves magyar hazánk, mindnyájunk közös anyahazája** iránti rendületlen hűség és hűb-érzete vezéreljen; mert hisz csak Magyarország tartotta tisztelben, becsülte meg mindenkor olvasz eredetiségünket. Egyedül kedves magyar hazánk az, mely hivatta lehet és van hön szeretett Fiumánkat hollégi és maggyá tenni!

Ez alkalommal is, mint mindig, oly férfiakat ajánlunk nektek, kik úgy honszeretet, mint értelmesség tekintetben egyaránt érdemeket teljes bizalmatokra!

Jelöltjeink közt vannak oly lelkes fiumei polgárok, kik **szívevel és lélekkel magyarok voltak akkor is, midőn magát magyaroknak vallani vétek volt**; oly férfiak, kik a magyar hazához való hűb-érzettelük magyarságkodásuk, a magyar szent ügy iránti lelkesedésükért **áldozatkészen szenvedtek fogságbitetést s száműzetést is**.

Kérünk tehát benmeteket sorokoztatok ziszlónk alá s szavazatok teljes őszszertartékon egyhangnág következő jelöltjeinkre.

Bellen Endre jogtudor
Blasich József
Benzan János orvostudor
idősb Cante József
Catti György orvostudor
Ciotta János
Corossacz János
Dall'Asta Szaniszló jogtud.
Donáth Imre
Fletzer Ferencz
Gelletich Miklós jogtudor
Giacich A. F. lovag
Gerbaz Armin
Gregorich Othmár
Leard József

Maderspach Sándor
Malle Endre
Ploech Hannibal
Poschich A. F.
Reppach József
Schlemmer Károly
Simonich Antal
Urményi Bernát
Verzenassi József
Vivant Raimund
Walluschnig Antal
Weber Frigyes
Wild Antal
Zaccaria Adam
Zängerle G. M.

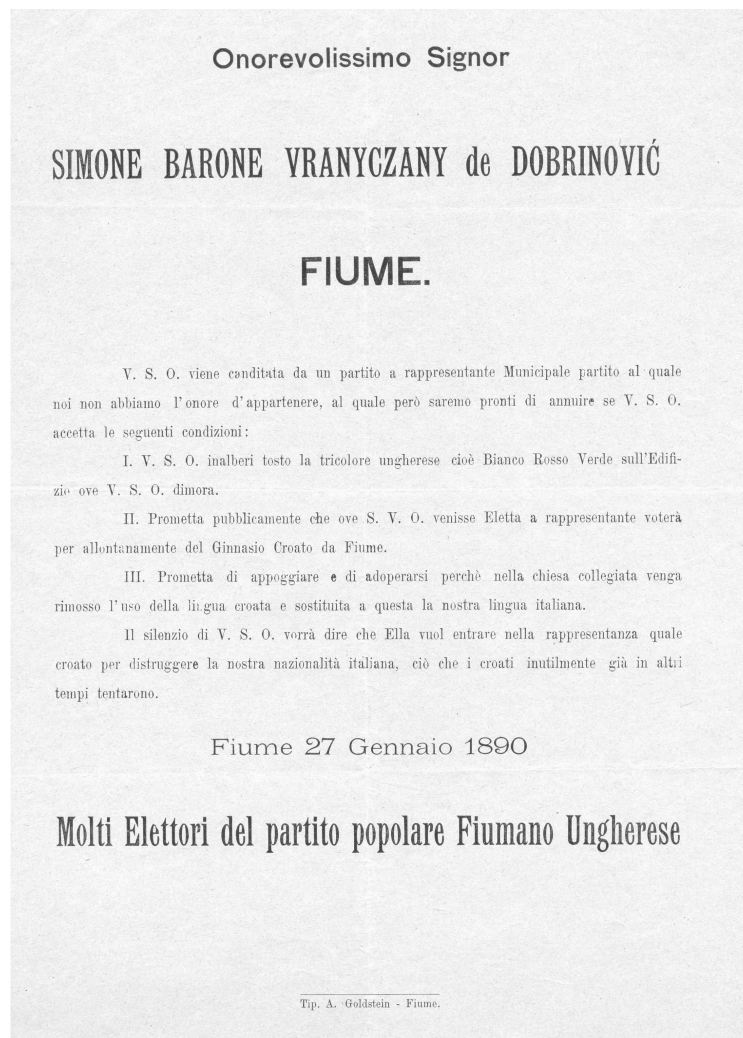
**Éljen a magyar Fiume!
Éljen a dicsó, a nemes, a lovagias
Magyar Nemzet!**

Fiume 1890 November 22-én

A fiumei Magyar nép-párt választó bizottsága.

Botta - Magyarországi - Fiume

⁵⁵³ Bilancia del 15 ottobre 1884 riporta dell'attività manifestazioni contro il governatore Zichy e A.U.: "noto caporione del sedicente partito autonomo" chi è?



A political pamphlet of the “Partito Popolare Fiumano Ungherese” (the party coalition of Tisza) in Fiume.

In 1890 Ciotta still appears to be the absolute leading politician in Fiume. He managed to survive what after all could still have been considered a local conflict. What was clear was that the idyll was not something that was guaranteed but that ultimately rested on compromise.

Ciotta is now an exponent of the Hungarian “Partito Popolare Fiumano Ungherese” (the party coalition of Tisza) in Fiume.

Centralisation in Hungary proceeded in effect apace with general modernisation and centralisation throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The Fiumani nevertheless felt that the loss of the privilege of the Freeport was a damage that could have been reduced or at least negotiated knowing that it would have negative effects to the local economy especially upon certain classes.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁴ The reference was on the loss of Freeport status of Fiume. On April 30th 1889 with the law XVI from 1887 it was sanctioned to cease the status of free ports to both Fiume and Trieste. Therefore their status as free ports was ceased and then on they were included into the joint Austria Hungarian tax zone. The act was therefore only a local application and repercussion of a much minor ambitious project of fiscal standardisation that included the all monarchy. Nevertheless

In 1892 the status of free port was revoked for Fiume as it was for Trieste and the Kossuthians (led by Walluschnig and Dall'Asta) were in open clash with Ciotta.

In 1892, the future leader of Fiuman autonomism, Michele Maylender will have a chance to emerge for the first time in public. When the Hungarian government proposed (as it had been usual so far) the Fiuman deputy at the Hungarian parliament (the late Cserantony, allegedly an old ally and friend of Kossuth, having served as his personal secretary) was not expecting opposition. Nevertheless, with the argument that he had done nothing while seating in Budapest, (he was Fiuman deputy continuously from 1878). In January 1892 the Municipal Assembly proposed the candidate Lajos Batthyany against the government's favourite Lajos Cserantony.⁵⁵⁵ Cserantony, who was already deputy of Fiume in Pest, allegedly "did nothing" according to the oppositions within the Rappresentanza. Lajos Cserantony was a Kossuthian, and supported by the Kossuthian faction in the city.⁵⁵⁶ Maylender, one of the still rare Fiumani able to speak a fluent Hungarian having studied law in Budapest, organised the opposition movement within the Rappresentanza, and the candidate won overwhelmingly.⁵⁵⁷

the cessation of the privilege in Trieste and Fiume that were only parts produced widespread fears and agitation especially among the small local commercial shopkeepers and other middlemen that prospered on the protection etc. Article of the 1st paragraph of the law XVIII 1891 ceases the territory of the Freeport Fiume thereby annexing it with the fiscal area of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The ultimate goal was to favour the export of domestic (Austro-Hungarian) goods and to reduce the dependence on importations. Thus goods manufactured in Austro-Hungarian lands were freed of taxes. The move was that of classic economic modernisation that was interpreted locally as a loss of traditional privileges and liberties.

⁵⁵⁵ Tivadar (Theodor) Batthyany was from one of the most illustrious Hungarian aristocracies known for its liberal positions and was also fluent in Italian and in fact the Fiuman local reality having studied and served there as a maritime Captain.

⁵⁵⁶ Later, Gigante, Silvino presented it emphatically: La prima manifestazione di questo spirito nuovo, che incominciava a diffondersi, si ebbe nelle elezioni politiche del 1892. allora ben venticinque consiglieri municipali, erano in tutto cinquantasei, presentarono un loro candidato contro quello sostenuto dal governo. (...) i candidati erano tutti e due ungheresi, anzi quello del governo era un vecchio rivoluzionario: Lodovico Cserantony, segretario del dittatore Kossuth nella guerra d'indipendenza, poi esule e, nel '60 garibaldino; l'altro, il candidato dell'opposizione era il conte Teodoro Batthyany, capitano marittimo, che avendo fatto i suoi studi a Fiume, poteva essere considerato mezzo fiumano. In Gigante, Silvino. *Storia del comune di Fiume*, Bemporad, Firenze, 1928, p. 119.

⁵⁵⁷ Gigante reports a propagandistic leaflet from the 24th of January 1892, probably drafted by Maylender: "dopo molti anni ecco non fallaci segni di risorgimento politico e di indipendenza di pensiero ... I fiumani hanno dato espressione della loro volontà di inviare nella legislativa un rappresentante capace di rendersi interprete dei loro interessi e di assumerne la tutela, principalmente perché li comprende ... in Gigante, Silvino. "Memorie frammentarie di un vecchio fiumano", in *Studi saggi appunti*, Deputazione per la storia patria per le Venezie: Sezione di Fiume, Fiume, 1944, pp. 119-120

1896: THE HUNGARIAN MILLENNIUM AND THE END OF THE “IDYLL”

When, on the 14th of January 1895, Dezsò Banffy became Prime Minister of Hungary, it was clear that his government marked a departure from the previous liberal governments.⁵⁵⁸ The process accelerated markedly as the year 1896 - the year of the Magyar Millennium approached.⁵⁵⁹ The climate in the City was tense after the announces made by Hungarian Minister-President Dezsò Banffy to introduce to Fiume the Hungarian judicial, penal, civil legislative acts without handing them translated in Italian for evaluation and approval by the civic Rappresentanza.

Gradually, in 1896, the conflict matured: officially because of two laws enacted at the parliament of Pest, introduced without any previous contact with the Rappresentanza. The introduction of the Superior Administrative Tribunal on July the 27th 1896 was the first move - a new institution in between the municipal and the central government, considered necessary after the cessation of the prerogatives of the civic Rappresentanza.⁵⁶⁰ The second was the law on the civil marriage, enacted the previous year, from the Hungarian minister of justice Szilagy, by decree, rather than with the procedure established by the Hungarian regnicolar deputations in 1868-69 and 1883-84 and from other agreements that regulated the fiumano-Hungarian relations. Croatia-Slavonia, in the negotiations of 1868-69 and 1883-84, was granted that Hungary could not introduce unilaterally Hungarian laws to Fiume. According to the procedure fixed by the Statute, and confirmed by the deputations from 1868-69 and 1883-84, the Hungarian Government, before the execution or an application of a law to Fiume had to give it for examination to the Civic Rappresentanza, in order to assure its compatibility with the “particular conditions” of the *Corpus Separatum*.

Although the law of the civil marriage was considered progressive by many, others in Fiume did not approve its clause of divorce.⁵⁶¹ It was considered a “political offence” that the Government of Budapest could impose a law in Fiume by force. As in fact it did bypassing both the opposition of the Rappresentanza and the Governor count Lajos (Lodovico) Batthyany – who, on the 10th of October, resigned. On the 30th October 1896 – Giovanni de Ciotta, Podestà of Fiume and district resigned, after nearly 25 years in charge. The age of the Liberal Party in Fiume was over, as fiuman political life was to be dominated by local parties that formed after the crisis and never again from a local branch of a Hungarian political party.

The Law of Penal Procedure, enacted on December the 4th 1896, put an abrupt end to the “idyll”. Dezsò Banffy instituted a new governmental organ, named “Administrative board” or *Giunta governiale amministrativa* that deprived the civic Rappresentanza of the authority of second instance in administrative affairs. In this way the evaluation of Hungarian acts was not done by the elected municipal assembly but by a state organ, whose purpose was to mediate between the Civic

⁵⁵⁸ Dezsò Banffy was born at Klausenburg on the 28th of October 1843, and educated at the Berlin and Leipzig universities. As lord lieutenant of the county of Belsii-Szolnok, chief captain of Kovar and curator of the Calvinistic church of Transylvania, Banffy exercised considerable political influence outside parliament from 1875 onwards, but his public career may be said to have begun in 1892, when he became speaker of the house of deputies. As speaker he continued, however, to be a party-man (he had always been a member of the left-centre or government party) and materially assisted the government by his rulings. He was a stringent adversary of the radicals, and caused some sensation by absenting himself from the capital on the occasion of Kossuth's funeral on the 1st of April 1894. On the 14th of January 1895, the king, after the fall of the Szell ministry, entrusted him with the formation of a cabinet. Retrieved from the encyclopaedia Britannica retrieved in: http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Dezso,_Baron_Banffy, visited in April 2007.

⁵⁵⁹ The state organised an unprecedented celebration of a thousand years of Hungarian settlement in the Danube basin. Is thousand years that the Hungarians crossed the Carpathians, entered in the Pannonian plain, and in that country rich of good land, bathed from the great rivers of Danube and Tisza, they founded the " Magyarország ", their contemporary native land Hungary. To this an extremely great importance was given. The manifestations organized throughout the country marked a culmination of a renewed Hungarian nationalism to a scale not seen after 1849.

⁵⁶⁰ Blažeković, Tatjana.. “Riječanin Michele Maylender i njegovo djelo Accademie d’Italia, p. 305.

⁵⁶¹ The divorce procedures were extremely liberal in Hungary, especially in relation to women’s rights. Later after 1918, the divorce industry (based on the Hungarian law n. , that applied to Fiume up to 1924) will become one of the major sources of income in Fiume, given the fact that in Italy (up to 1971) divorce was prohibited.

Rappresentanza and the Superior Administrative Tribunal, whose judgment was definitive. The new body was an intermediary between the Governor and the Hungarian central government. It was intended to have authority also on public education also in the Italian communal schooling system. The “Giunta amministrativa” as it was planned, had to be composed by 21 members (the Governor, 6 State officers, 4 municipal officers, and 10 members of the Civic Rappresentanza. As the commentator from the « La Bilancia » noticed: “In this way the *corpus separatum* would mean nothing more than a name; *de facto* it would have become “an ordinary Hungarian province”.⁵⁶² Soon afterwards the government made public the plans to replace the municipal police with the state police.

The Banffy executive sent Sandor Darday as “expert”, to “study the administrative and commercial specificities” of the city but in fact to make a “reconnaissance of the local political climate”.⁵⁶³ Darday met the young leader of the nascent autonomist movement, Michele Maylender. Maylender prepared very gradually and carefully his entry in the political scene in Fiume earning a reputation as a lawyer and only afterwards turning to active politics.⁵⁶⁴ His first exploit was the organisation of the opposition against the proposed official candidate for the elections of the Fiuman deputy at the Hungarian parliament, in 1892. A deputation of 25 citizens of Fiume proposed the candidature of Tivadar Batthyany as the governor of Fiume instead of Lajos Csernatony, who was backed by the government. The main organisational work was performed by Maylender. The program text of Batthyany was accompanied by a text of Maylender, with a far greater persuasive power.⁵⁶⁵ Afterwards his activity become visible as the leader of what was later known as the “Associazione Autonoma” or Autonomist Party. He gradually emerged as the leader of the main opposition to the Hungarian Liberal Party. An activity that started through cultural and literary activities.⁵⁶⁶

The autonomists insisted on considering Fiume as the “Third Factor of the Crown” claiming the same degree of autonomy and self-rule that Croatia already enjoyed, provided by the constitutional settlement of the Ungaro-Croatian settlement (Nagoda).⁵⁶⁷ The request was not new: it had already been proposed by the Fiuman delegation during the unsuccessful talks for the renegotiation of the settlement in 1883. Although the claim had some legal foundation it had no chance of being enforced - the City had chosen a tighter alignment with Hungary precisely to avoid its incorporation into Croatia. Moreover, Fiume alone was too weak and at least it should have a degree of support from a party from the Hungarian opposition, since in Croatia they enjoyed no support.⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶² La Bilancia??

⁵⁶³ Blažeković, Tatjana.. “Riječanin Michele Maylender i njegovo djelo Accademie d’Italia, p. 305.

⁵⁶⁴ Michele Maylender was born in Fiume on September the 11th 1863 as a son of a Jewish merchant. The brother Samuel was a physician and become future socialist leader of Fiume, who later joined the Communist Party of Fiume in 1921. The sister Edvige married Antonio Grossich, world known surgeon and future head of the pro Italian irredentist CNI. After schooling in Fiume he went to Kolosvar and then to Budapest to study law. In 1888 he became doctor juris and in 1890 passes the exams for a lawyer. In 1891 he opens a legal office in Fiume, where he showed excellent professional skills.

⁵⁶⁵ *Discorso programma del Conte Theodoro Batthyani, candidato deputato al parlamento ungarico, tenuto nella sala del Hotel Deak il giorno 24 genn. 1892 unitovi al discorso dell’on. Dr. Michele Maylender*, Fiume, Antonio Chiuzzelin, 1896. The Hungarian liberal paper Budapester Tageblatt, on the 27th of January 1892, positively commented a san act of political maturity and emancipation reached by the fiumani.

⁵⁶⁶ Soon he became very active in public and cultural life in Fiume: president of the “Circolo Filarmonico-drammatico” the pre-eminent Italianate cultural institution in the town and in 1893 one of the founders of the “Circolo letterario”. From a short text titled Sull’importanza delle società filarmonico drammatiche that Maylender wrote in 1893 the cultural model is the classic sobriety of antiquity mediated through Italian Renaissance.

⁵⁶⁷ L'accordo che aveva generato quel “provvisorio” - così essi ragionavano - era stato concluso fra tre parti, rappresentate da egual numero di delegati; considerate quindi pari tra di loro. Ora, se si riconosceva alla Croazia, che godeva di una sua speciale autonomia, la parte di secondo fattore della Corona, non era giusto che a Fiume, che pure aveva la sua autonomia municipale, per il semplice motivo di essere più piccola e debole, tal riconoscimento fosse negato. In Gigante, Silvino. *Storia del comune di Fiume*, Bemporad, Firenze, 1928, p. 122.

⁵⁶⁸ At the time of the autonomist split, the local Croatian leader Barcich invited his electors to back the Hungarian liberals and therefore opposed the autonomists.

The autonomist party had support from the local Hungarian liberal circles where it always addressed. Now, in 1896, the autonomists, led by the young Jewish lawyer Maylender, were in open opposition with the Hungarian Liberal Party. Maylender knew that the destiny of Fiume was to be decided at the *couloirs* of the Parliament in Budapest and not in Fiume. Therefore, his actions always appears respectful of the laws. His style is legalistic and the juridical and formal perfection of his writings attracted support from liberals in Hungary seeing it as an expression of reached political and cultural emancipation of Fiume within Hungary.⁵⁶⁹

The first encounter of the Fiumani with the new Hungarian government happened on the 21st January 1897. Banffy used for the first time his known argument that the Fiumani were wrong in considering themselves to be the “third legislative factor” of the Crown of St. Stephen: since this implied that they held the same status together with the King and the Parliament. The argument of Banffy was clear: since Fiume was only one of the 32 free cities of Hungary and as such it was an integral part of Hungary, and therefore it possessed no special status. The problem is that what in 1870 seemed a good deal, since it assured that the Croats would be kept out from the city walls, did nothing for preventing the Hungarians to enter. The fiumani interpreted their status of autonomy with the same *breadth* as that of Croatia, but regards *both* Hungary *and* Croatia.

Luigi Ossoinack, who also was in the delegation, was the powerful man of the Autonomist Party. A member of the Civic Rappresentanza, he was one of the wealthiest Fiumani, and the main sponsor of the Autonomist Party⁵⁷⁰. Ossoinack claimed that as far as Fiume was concerned also the Hungarian government was provisory (the reference was evidently to the “provisory” characterisation of the settlement regards Fiume). “Fiume had changed 7 governments in a century or so”, claimed Ossoinack, “it was irrational and inconvenient to change its laws, since the governments who ruled Fiume ultimately proven to be all provisory” he concluded. He proposed the convocation of a common Fiuman Hungarian commission to deal with the problem of Fiume.

Another member of the Civic Rappresentanza dr. Antonio Vio, informed the envoy Sandor Darday that the municipal school system was granted by the statute and was a factor that Fiume would never renounce because they wanted to preserve their Italian language and culture.⁵⁷¹

On the 28th January 1897, there were the elections to renovate half of the Rappresentanza, since according to the civic statute half of the body had to be re-elected every three years. On this elections the Partito Autonomo is the new political organization born from the previously compact Liberal Party.⁵⁷² The Autonomist Party, as all the Hungarian parties of the time, was an informal organisation without an office, a seat, and an organisational structure. Parties were factions that centred upon a powerful individual and that mobilised only in the electoral period. After the autonomists seceded, and organised their own party, the Associazione Autonoma, the Liberal Party (in Fiume called “verdolino”), was now composed by Hungarian loyalists that is the majority of the public Hungarian officers, who remained within its ranks.

The autonomist had big expectations – had they won at least half of the assembly would have been in their control. Indeed 11 representatives of the autonomist party also figured in the opposite party

⁵⁶⁹ So the Budapestester Tagblatt commenting the candidature of Batthyany on January 27th 1892, in k p. 134.

⁵⁷⁰ Present at all the crucial moments of the history of the city and founder of all the political and cultural organisations that will shape public life in Fiume. Andrea Ossoinack son of the most powerful and wealthy ship owner will be the main sponsor of the party and the cultural institutions of the city, but he appeared in the political life only later, well into the XX century. Now in 1897 Andrea Ossoinack son of the most powerful Fiuman capitalist was backing Maylender otherwise not an influential figure against the Hungarians (he was after all a modest professional, not a nobleman nor a industrial capitalist). Maylender was chosen because of his command of Hungarian and his legal professional experience with the Ossoinacks, which making him an ideal candidate to deal with the central Hungarian authorities, because of his skills and acumen.

⁵⁷¹ Blažeković, Tatjana.. “Riječanin Michele Maylender i njegovo djelo Accademie d’Italia ecc.”. / Vjesnik Državnog arhiva u Rijeci, pp. 305-306.

⁵⁷² As we have seen, already in 1890 a group named Partito Autonomo presented at the municipal elections, but as a faction within the fiuman section of the Hungarian liberal party.

list.⁵⁷³ On 19th February 1897 after the victory of the autonomists, the liberals still had some chance – there were 11 candidates who were in both lists. Nevertheless, the 33-year-old Maylender won the elections in the Civic Rappresentanza and thus become mayor of Fiume.⁵⁷⁴ On March 25th after having tried to persuade the Hungarian government to modify the law on criminal procedure, Maylender wrote a statement of what was the function of the mayor. The future leader of the autonomists and archrival of Maylender, and Zanella On March, the 16th 1897, the Comments on the booklet *Fiume* written by a Fiuman under the pseudonym Carlo de Lanzarich.⁵⁷⁵ The version provided to Hungary and written in Hungarian was different form the translation given by the *Voce del Popolo*. The pseudonym Carlo de Lanzarich referred to an old oral tradition from Fiume. Zanella in fact presents himself as a better Hungarian to the Hungarians and a better protector of the autonomy to the fiumani.⁵⁷⁶ On March, the 22nd 1897, the Rappresentanza municipale presidente Gelletich...there is the opposition of Walluschnigg and Luigi Ossoinack (but on two sides one for Batthyany the other against. One is the former archrival of Ciotta.⁵⁷⁷ The “magnifico podestà Maylender” declared that the repeated attempt to infringe the autonomy was not to be supported by him, since it effectively deprived the Rappresentanza of its statutory functions. Moreover, he remarked that any agreement ant any case had to include also Croatia as it was stated by the *provisorium*.⁵⁷⁸ Even the behaviour of the MPs at the Hungarian lower chamber was contested.⁵⁷⁹ Although the Administrative Tribunal was beneficial, not the Giunta that deprived the Rappresentanza municipale of its main powers.⁵⁸⁰ Maylender did not fail to stress that Croatia was a

573 Luksic-Jamini, Antonio. 1968a. “Appunti per una storia di Fiume dal 1896 al 1914”, Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani, Roma, n. 1-2-3-4, pp. 1-119. the reason was in Hungarian electoral laws that gave all the seats to the party with the relative majority. This winner takes all system engendered a behavior among the competing parties to put some candidates on both sides in order to have at least a certain influence whatever the electoral outcome.

574 S. Gigante, pp. 123 – 124, and also DAR, JU-2, Magistrato civico di Fiume, verbali delle sedute della Rappresentanza civica, seduta straordinaria del 19 febbraio 1897.

⁵⁷⁵ The book was out in the theses were, and the autori was the young Zanella the later leader of the autonomist party.

⁵⁷⁶ “Lo scopo evidente del pseudonimo non può sfuggire. La credenza popolare fiumana serba il ricordo di un tal “Lonzarich”, il quale, secondo la leggenda, avanti 600 anni, avendo perduto il suo denaro al giuoco, fuori di sé afferrò una pietra e la scagliò contro il crocifisso. ... lo scrittore della brochure, Carlo de Lanzarich, getta anch’esso a manate pietre e fango su tutti quelli che finora guardavamo con grato animo. I meriti dei venticinque anni nei quali Ciotta fu podestà di Fiume, la lunga serie di governatori di eletta mente, e la falange dei patrioti fiumani, tutto, tutto questo non è degno se non di essere vilipeso ed infangato.” *La Bilancia*, March the 16th, 1897.

⁵⁷⁷ *La Bilancia*, March the 22nd, 1897.

⁵⁷⁸ “Riunitesi nel 1883 le deputazioni regnicolari, venne da parte della deputazione croata mossa eccezione contro la avvenuta introduzione in Fiume del codice penale ungarico e della legge concorsuale, e ciò pel motivo che i deputati croati dichiararono non potersi metter qui in vigore durante il “provvisorio” leggi ungheresi. Per lo che di fronte a siffatta opposizione, le deputazione ungherese dichiarava che le leggi di pratica applicazione in Fiume vi verrebbero tuttavia introdotte a mezzo di ordinanze, previo ascolto della città di Fiume, nel modo il più ovvio; e questo ascolto od interpellazione venne da 14 anni a questa parte e prima ancora sin dall’anno 1879 effettuato sempre e costantemente in via di domanda diretta alla Rappresentanza municipale.” *La Bilancia*, novembre the 13th 1897.

⁵⁷⁹ Luigi Ossoinack shout “Abbasso Batthyany”, referring to **Batthyány Tivadar**, (Theodor), count (Zalaszentgrót, 1859. febr. 23. – Bp., 1931. febr. 2.) who at the time was elected on the circle of, and was to be proposed as candidate for the fiuman representative at the Lower Chamber. Fiume was represented at the Chamber of Magnates with its Governor.

⁵⁸⁰ “Premettendo che dal lato legale e per sé, il Tribunale amministrativo costituisca un beneficio anche per Fiume, non così può dirsi della Giunta amministrativa. E per vero una grande parte delle attribuzioni della civica Rappresentanza, del Podestà, delle Commissioni municipali, del Magistrato cadrebbero nella sfera di azione della Giunta in piena contraddizione con quanto prescrive lo Statuto municipale. –

Oltre ciò tutto il potere disciplinare su tutti gl’impiegati del Municipio, degli stabilimenti comunali, sui maestri e maestre e perfino condizionatamente sul Podestà, passerebbe da qui alla suddetta Giunta. Alla stessa spetterebbe la sorveglianza ed il controllo sull’attività degli organi dell’Ufficio edile, nonché il decidere in merito alle private costruzioni, alla manutenzione ed ogni altro lavoro relativo alle strade e vie pubbliche, alla liquidazione e concorsi dei relativi lavori ecc.

In quanto al Consiglio scolastico ei viene ridotto ad impotenza, tanto nei riguardi tattici quanto disciplinari.” (*La Bilancia*, November, the 13th, 1897.

part of the deal.⁵⁸¹ The petition was not signed only by the two municipal vice presidents N. Gelletich, cav E Mohovich, and E. Gerbaz, B. Loibelsberger, F. Lettis and G. Gelettich.⁵⁸² On November the 17th 1897 Maylander podestà sollevato dalle sue funzioni.⁵⁸³ But the *Bilancia* covers limitedly the issue also because of Mohovich that sides with the Hungarians.

On 11th July 1897 Podestà Maylander convenes urgently an extraordinary session of the Rappresentanza that votes a protestation statement and nominates four councilmen with the Podestà to meet the Hungarian Prime Minister in Budapest and the Hungarian Minister of Justice in order to protest against the introduction to Fiume of the new law of criminal procedure, that effectively removes the competence of the Jury and the Tribunal of Fiume in several criminal issues, subjecting them to the Jury of the Tribunal of Budapest.

To the Chamber of Deputies and the Chamber of Magnates the Fiuman protest gains consents with the request for a modification of the criminal proceedings that leaves to the competence of the fiuman Jury the crimes of the press; but the Government insisted for the integral application of the law.⁵⁸⁴

On the session of 10th August the Civic Rappresentanza sent a petition to the Hungarian government, that was refused by the Parliament. Finally, on the 11th October 1897 the "Question of Fiume" ends up at the Parliament in Budapest. Maylander with other 3 counsellors was nominated by the Rappresentanza and went to Budapest to meet the Hungarian Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice in order to explain the stance of Fiume against the proposed extension of the Hungarian law on criminal procedure.⁵⁸⁵

Hungarian Prime Minister Banffy gained the majority in the parliament with his famous statement claiming that it was not possible to govern a country where a city had veto power, on the 14th October 1897 answers to the dep. Gyula Lukacs, that the concept "separatum sacrae regnis coronae adnexum corpus" does not have to be interpreted in the sense that Hungarian laws cannot be activated in the fiuman territory without the approval of Fiume; Banffy adds that "a state cannot be governed if a city holds veto power. Notably, Banffy used the term "city" rather than "*corpus separatum*". For the fiumani this was an statement of open challenge and offence. If this holds true, he claimed then Fiume, beside the Parliament and to the Crown, would be "the third legislative factor". Nonetheless, he declared that "the Government does not want to hamper the rights of Fiume; the proposed law means, instead, to establish a tighter tie in perfect accordance with the expressed views of the regnicular commissions". With this speech, the Hungarian Prime Minister Banffy obtained the approval of the majority on its declarations at the Hungarian Chamber of deputies.⁵⁸⁶

⁵⁸¹ "L'inclita Rappresentanza sa benissimo che la questione di Fiume deve venire regolata di conformità al § 66 dell'accordo ungaro-croato a mezzo delle deputazioni regnicolari". *La Bilancia*, novembre the 13th 1897.

⁵⁸² *La Bilancia*, November, the 13th, 1897.

⁵⁸³ *La Bilancia*, November, the 17th 1897.

⁵⁸⁴ *La Bilancia* - Fiume.

⁵⁸⁵ The Fiuman courts still applied the Austrian civic and penal codes, introduced during the Josephine reforms. The argument of the autonomist were self evident: it was an insensate decision to force the local population to be forced to go for a travel of over 600 km to solve what was possible to them before in their city and in their mother tongue explainable only as an act of violence of the strong over the weak.

⁵⁸⁶ His programme, in brief, was the carrying through of the church reform laws with all due regard to clerical susceptibilities, and the maintenance of the Constitution of 1867, whilst fully guaranteeing the predominance of Hungary. He succeeded in carrying the remaining ecclesiastical bills through the Upper House, despite the vehement opposition of the papal nuncio Agliardi, a triumph which brought about the fall of Kalnoky, the minister for foreign affairs, but greatly strengthened the ministry in Hungary. In the ensuing elections of 1896 the government won a gigantic majority. The drastic electoral methods of Banffy had, however, contributed somewhat to this result, and the corrupt practices were the pretext for the fierce opposition in the House which he henceforth had to encounter, though the measures which he now introduced (the Honved Officers' Schools Bill) would, in normal circumstances, have been received with general enthusiasm. Banffy's resoluteness enabled him to weather all these storms, and his subsequent negotiations with Austria as to the quota and commercial treaties, to the considerable political advantage of Hungary, even enabled him for a time to live at peace with the opposition. Retrieved from the encyclopaedia Britannica retrieved in: http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Dezso,_Baron_Banffy, visited in April 2007.

On the 6th of November 1897 Banffy, after the majority vote he got in the parliament, starts an *enquette* about the “Fiuman question”. Members of this consultation body are the new substitute governor Tibor Gaal⁵⁸⁷, Otto Krajcovic in the name of the Ban (viceroy) the head of the provincial government of Croatia-Slavonia, and Maylender, podestà of Fiume.

Maylender argued that he had no specific mandate from the Rappresentanza and, since he swore to the municipal statute of 1872, that the new acts seriously inflicted, was therefore speaking as a private person. Banffy replied that the statute was a “Fiuman administrative act” that by no means obliged the Hungarian government. Since it was given by the Hungarian government, the statute could have been changed by the same government. The oath of the podestà meant only that he had to obey the laws and these were enacted only by the two legislative factors of the Crown and the Hungarian parliament.⁵⁸⁸ The Croatian deputy Krajcovic declared that the Croatian government adhered to the introduction of the contested laws in Fiume. On the 12th November 1897 as Podestà Maylender publicly presented the results of the *enquette*, and the Rappresentanza collectively resigned.⁵⁸⁹

On the 15th November 1897 Podestà Maylender and the councillors Corossacz, De Luppis, G. Minach, G. De Randich and A. Grossich refused an invitation to assist to another gathering.⁵⁹⁰ 16th November 1897 Hungarian minister of the interior after being informed of the resignation of 47 members of the Rappresentanza, indicts the supplementary elections since only 9 of its members did not resign.⁵⁹¹ On the 20th of December 1897 at the new municipal elections, the autonomist party wins again. Notably, Barcich the Croatian exponent this time did not invite the Croatian electors to give the vote to the autonomists because now the Croatian ban and the Croatian government agree with the Banffy government. The situation has changed: with Khuen now Fiume has to face Croatia that is absolutely loyal to the Hungarian executive.

On the 3rd January 1898 the new Rappresentanza was confirmed. On the 11th January 1898 Maylender was re-elected Podestà, he got 43 ballots of the 54 voters. Thereby he refused to obey the laws that were not accepted by the Rappresentanza and resigned.⁵⁹²

Maylender was re-elected Podestà 12th January, and again on April, the 28th. Finally on the 4th May 1898 Count Ladislaus Szapary nominated Governor of the City, invites the first vice president dott. Nicolò Gelletich to become the new Podestà since the nomination of Maylender is invalidated, for once again. Nicolò Gelletich refused since “a crowd gathered and threatened him, in the vicinities of the town hall”.⁵⁹³

Finally, on the 7th May 1898 the King by a Royal Decree suspends and dissolved the civic Rappresentanza and appoints the Hungarian ministerial Counsellor Antonio de Vallentsits as a

⁵⁸⁷ Tibor Gaal was Nominated Substitute Governor of Fiume to replace the Governor, Baron de Abele who resigned. Gaal became several times Governor of Fiume *ad interim*, providing continuity to the office, and in this way he can be considered as the most important person at the *gubernium* in Fiume. This shows, that also the nature of the governors changed: from powerful members of the greatest Hungarian aristocratic families to civil servants, who were mere executors of the governmental decisions.

⁵⁸⁸ Luksic-Jamini, Antonio. 1968a. “Appunti per una storia di Fiume dal 1896 al 1914”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, n. 1-2-3-4, pp. 3-4.

⁵⁸⁹ 47 councillors resigned. Luksic-Jamini, Antonio. 1968a. “Appunti per una storia di Fiume dal 1896 al 1914”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, n. 1-2-3-4, p.5.

⁵⁹⁰ La Bilancia.

⁵⁹¹ Since the Rappresentanza had 19 liberals thus that 10 members of the Hungarian Liberal Party sided now with the autonomists. Luksic-Jamini, Antonio. 1968a. “Appunti per una storia di Fiume dal 1896 al 1914”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, n. 1-2-3-4, p.5.

⁵⁹² On the 10th January 1898 Antonio Walluschnigg (of the Kossuthist faction) declared his opposition since the government by introducing insensate acts without interpellating the city. The article XXX of the statute guaranteed to Fiume a specific status in terms of autonomy compared to all the Hungarian cities. The statute defended this right and the act could be changed according to the paragraph 127 only with the assent of the Rappresentanza.

⁵⁹³ Then “in the evening manifestations and broken windows in the houses of the Magyar supporters Nicolò Gelletich, Silvestro Pallua, Ermanno Gerbaz and others”. Maylender and Ossoinack were acclaimed. Luksic-Jamini, Antonio. 1968a. “Appunti per una storia di Fiume dal 1896 al 1914”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, n. 1-2-3-4, p. 6.

Royal Commissioner for the municipality of Fiume. On the 18th August 1898 for the birthday of the Emperor Francis Joseph for the first time after 30 years instead of the Fiuman flag “symbol of the autonomy of the *corpus separatum*” the Hungarian one was hanged, after a direct order from Banffy.⁵⁹⁴

Apparently, the Hungarian nation-state won over the city, as exemplified by the enforcement of this exceptional measures. The Rappresentanza was suspended; the Royal Commissary Antonio de Vallentis ruled with extraordinary powers conferred to him by the King, along with the usual Hungarian magnate as governor.⁵⁹⁵ Now also symbolically Fiume had to be considered just one of the many “Free Royal Cities” of the Hungarian Kingdom.⁵⁹⁶ Of the local institutions, only the Municipal Delegation stayed in place.⁵⁹⁷

Soon afterwards, in Summer 1899, the *Giunta Amministrativa Governiale* was instituted by the Banffy government. It was a midrange authority that initially had to deal in police and the *Affari pupillari*, by half composed of officers from the governor’s offices and the other half from the municipal government (representatives and employees from the Magistrate). Although the institution of this office was violently contested by the municipal authorities its suppression had to await the fall of Banffy, on the 20th October 1899.⁵⁹⁸

The new prime minister is the allegedly moderate Kalman Széll, a relative of Deak. For the autonomists this ensured a better climate, as it was confirmed on the 23rd October 1899, when Széll speaks about Fiume to the low chamber of the Hungarian parliament. He asserted that its autonomy must be respected, but also of the “rights of the Hungarian State”.⁵⁹⁹ According to the *Pester Correspondenz*, “the autonomists in Fiume confused autonomy with sovereignty”.⁶⁰⁰

⁵⁹⁴ D'ordine di Banffy, sull'asta del frontone del Municipio e sull'asta della cupola della Torre Civica è issata la bandiera ungherese. Per 30 anni, dalla riannessione all'Ungheria, ivi, in tutte le solennità, sventolò la bandiera fiumana, simbolo dell'autonomo «status» del «Corpus Separatum». («La Bilancia» - Fiume)

⁵⁹⁵ Antonio de Vallentis ruled the city for the next 3 years from 1898 to 1901. Antonio de Vallentis was nevertheless a close friend of Ciotta, thus the Hungarians showed concern for the public opinion in Fiume. (compare with the previous ones in critical times Czech 1867)

⁵⁹⁶ Karpowitz, L.J. 1989 “La concezione della Nazione e dello Stato nell’interpretazione degli autonomisti fiumani (Contributo allo studio del movimento autonomista di Fiume nel 1899-1918).” *Quaderni IX*, pp-19-34.

⁵⁹⁷ La Rappresentanza elegge pure nel suo seno per la durata di un anno la Delegazione municipale di dieci membri effettivi e cinque Supplenti. Questa — sia detto subito — non è l'organo esecutivo del Comune, come parrebbe a primo aspetto. Essa è, invece, corpo consultivo e deliberativo, chiamata a fare le veci della Rappresentanza in tutti quegli oggetti che le sono assegnati dallo Statuto o che le vengono deferiti dalla Rappresentanza entro i limiti della propria autonomia. La Delegazione municipale rimane sempre in funzione, anche nel caso di nuove elezioni e finché la nuova Rappresentanza non abbia eletta una nuova Delegazione (§ 58 dello Statuto).

⁵⁹⁸ In 1898 the opposition, now animated by personal hatred, took advantage of the ever increasing difficulties of the government in the negotiations with Austria, and refused to pass the budget till a definite understanding had been arrived at. They refused to be satisfied with anything short of the dismissal of Banffy, and passion ran so high that on the 3rd of January 1899 Banffy fought a duel with his most bitter opponent, Horanszky. On the 26th of February Banffy resigned, to save the country from its “ex-lex,” or unconstitutional situation; he was decorated by the king and received the freedom of the city of Buda. Subsequently he contributed to overthrow the Stephen Tisza administration, and in May 1905 joined the Kossuth ministry. Retrieved from the encyclopaedia Britannica retrieved in: http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/Dezso,_Baron_Banffy, visited in April 2007.

⁵⁹⁹ Caduto nel 1899 il gabinetto Banffy, resosi impossibile anche in Ungheria, C Szell, genero se non erro, del grande statista Francesco Deak, uomo d'idee più moderate. Ma le speranze furono per lo meno premature, ché alla prima occasione il nuovo capo del governo, pur affermando le sue buone intenzioni d'appianare la incresciosa controversia, dichiarava in modo chiaro ed esplicito che non ammetterebbe mai pretese che anche lontanamente potessero ledere il decoro e la dignità dello stato” né s'illudesse alcuno che leggi già introdotte valevoli per tutto il regno potessero essere revocate. *La Bilancia* 14 gennaio 1900 – in Gigante pp. 131-132.

⁶⁰⁰ E l'ufficioso *Pester Correspondenz* commentando le parole del ministro diceva: la politica dei ministri ungheresi di fronte a Fiume, per quanto potesse anche essere diverso il sistema di governo, fu sempre la stessa, ognora benevola fino all'estremo limite. E, se malgrado ciò sorsero divergenze, la colpa non è dell'Ungheria, bensì di coloro che interpretano l'autorità assicurata al municipio di Fiume in un senso del tutto impossibile e scambiano il concetto di *autonomo* con quello di *sovrano* ... leggi che il parlamento ungherese crea e che non hanno alcun carattere locale, devono essere attivate e rispettate a Fiume come a Budapest e la rappresentanza di Fiume non ha alcun diritto di sottoporle ad una revisione ... il governo non ammetterebbe mai che le fantasie di Fiume pregiudichino gli interessi dello stato né che la

Still, on 24th October 1899 the *Pester Correspondenz* reported about “informal contacts and approaches” in Fiume, promoted from a Hungarian deputy “friend of Fiume” Gyula Lukacs, with Luigi Ossoinack and Michele Maylender, with governor Szapary for an ascertainment of possibility of a “pacification” after the fall of Banffy.⁶⁰¹

The *Pester Correspondenz* wrote: "the behaviour of the autonomist gentlemen showed no sign of gratitude for all those great sacrifices that Hungary vested for the development of its marine commerce and the export to favour of the beautiful city, and even the ambitions of the Rappresentanza appear even stranger when it asserts itself like a species of Great Council of Venice, that can be taken seriously within the legal framework only with great difficulty."⁶⁰²

On the 27th October 1899 - the *Pester Lloyd*, commenting "the opinions expressed by the Fiuman autonomists to the Governor, can only be taken from the Government like information and not like a base for negotiations " and that “the legislative of the Hungarian harbour city can only be found in the Hungarian Parliament, and there cannot be any authority in Fiume with the right to place a veto against the decisions of this fore. The supreme "executive" power in Fiume cannot be its Rappresentanza, but only the Hungarian Governorate (*gubernium*), that was only responsible to the Parliament.”⁶⁰³

On the 24th January the administrative elections were indicted, where, notwithstanding the scarce affluence, Maylender won overwhelmingly, since no alternative lists were presented, and the city forces saw in the agreement with Hungary an absolute priority, since the Croatian Sabor initiated a debate about Fiume, immediately as the conflict of Fiume with Hungary developed.⁶⁰⁴ With a liberal government in Budapest, the outlook for the autonomists was now far better.

On the 2nd March 1900, Michele Maylender presided an assembly of city constituents, where a Deputation is elected for an official visit to the Hungarian Prime Minister Széll in order to ask the restoration for the legality and the elections of the new civic Rappresentanza.⁶⁰⁵ After a month, on

sovranità che l'Ungheria cada in contraddizione con sé stessa con ingiustificate concessioni a Fiume. (in Gigante nota a p. 132.)

⁶⁰¹ Comunque ciò servì a spianare la via degli accordi. Un deputato, Giulio Lukacs, che aveva parecchi amici personali tra gli autonomisti, in apparenza agendo di proprio impulso, ma forse per incarico del governo, venne a Fiume nei primi giorni del dicembre 1900 per tastare il terreno e riuscì ad avvicinare tra loro le autorità governative locali e i capi degli autonomisti; sicché fu possibile una discussione più o meno serena, la quale portò alla compilazione di cinque articoli, che, se accettati dal governo, avrebbero posto fine alla lunga vertenza. I cinque articoli sono i seguenti:

1° determinare il voto consultivo di Fiume secondo lo Statuto;

2° precisare tassativamente gli affari spettanti alla giunta amministrativa;

3° stabilire la lingua d'ufficio della giunta stessa, che dovrebb'essere l'italiana;

4° fissare in modo preciso i delitti che dovrebbero essere giudicati dai giurati fiumani

5° riconoscere incondizionatamente al regio ispettore scolastico il diritto di visitare le scuole del comune; però i relativi provvedimenti si dovrebbero effettuare mediante il governatore.

In Gigante, Silvino. *Storia del comune di Fiume*, Bemporad, Firenze, 1928, p. 134.

⁶⁰² «Il contegno dei signori autonomi era finora una assai imperfetta quittance a quei grandi sacrifici che sopportò l'Ungheria nell'interesse dei commerci marittimi e dell'esportazione a favore della bella città marinara, e le strane velleità della Rappresentanza che si atteggia ad una specie di Gran Consiglio di Venezia, difficilmente possono essere prese sul serio entro la cerchia della legge ». (« Pester Correspondenz, » - Budapest)

⁶⁰³ «I desideri presentati dagli autonomi fiumani al governatore, possono venir accolti dal Governo soltanto come informazione e non come base per "trattative" avviabili. Il foro legislativo della nostra città portuale può e deve ricercarsi soltanto nel Parlamento ungarico, e non può esserci nessuno a Fiume il quale abbia diritto di porre il veto contro le decisioni di questo foro. Il supremo "esecutivo" di Fiume non può consistere nella sua rappresentanza, ma soltanto nel Governo ungarico, il quale per le disposizioni che prende può essere responsabile soltanto verso il Parlamento. Sopra queste basi di principi, ed inoppugnabili, non è lecita alcuna discussione; e noi speriamo che la nostra bella e promettente città marinara, la cui cittadinanza ha avuto infinite prove non solo della liberalità, ma anche della particolare benevolenza dello Stato, non si illuderà nel fare apprezzamenti sul reale stato delle cose e batterà quella via che sola è adatta a condurre la pace negli animi ». in Luksic-Jamini, Antonio. 1968a. “Appunti per una storia di Fiume dal 1896 al 1914”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, n. 1-2-3-4, pp. 1-119.

⁶⁰⁴ In Gigante, Silvino. *Storia del comune di Fiume*, Bemporad, Firenze, 1928, p. 134.

⁶⁰⁵ On the 4th March 1900, the mentioned deputation (that soon had arisen to 22) iwa composed by former communal councillors (the Rappresentanza was still suspended!) went to Budapest where the Fiuman deputy count Batthyany introduced them to the new Prime Minister Széll. The deputation is composed by: Maylender, De Luppis, E Duimich,

the 10th April 1900, the Prime Minister Szell receives the delegation “with much cordiality” and thereby confirming his intention to re-establish “the rule of law” in Fiume.

The meeting of the autonomist delegation in Budapest was of crucial importance, since it was an implicit recognition that the autonomist party is the legitimate political representative of Fiume. A compromise was achieved, and Szell declared that it was necessary for the Hungarian government to “accommodate the Hungarian laws with the situation in Fiume”. The laws and acts had to be given to examination to the Rappresentanza. The Hungarian government revoked the *Giunta Amministrativa Governiale* instituted in 1896 by Banffy that was envisaged to supplant the communal administration. Nevertheless, it was substituted by a *Consiglio Governatoriale* with only slightly reduced mansions. The *Consiglio governatoriale* was a council of the governor and 4 councillors (all appointed State employees by their respective ministries) for the administration, finances, public education, and economy of the *Corpus Separatum*. The introduction of the *Consiglio governatoriale*, in June 1901, meant that the government had extended its influence on the municipal affairs.⁶⁰⁶

***La Difesa* and the Autonomist Conception of the Nation and the State**

La Difesa, the official party paper of the *Associazione Autonoma*, was the first modern political party paper in Fiume, directed and founded by Maylender, who was also probably the owner. The paper started its publication on January the 1st 1899 in Sušak on the Croatian side.⁶⁰⁷ For these three years the paper was issued in Sušak, where the Croatian (Austrian) laws on the press were in force. Nevertheless, the Royal Tribunal seated in Ogulin, frequently censured the articles and often whole issues were subject to confiscation. Frequently confiscations of whole issues make it difficult today to reconstruct the evolution of the paper as well as the political diversification.

It moved to Fiume, only after the 26th December 1899 the Szell government introduced a liberal Hungarian law of the press, aimed at replacing the old Austrian law dating from ministry Bach (introduced in 1849, thereby insuring with this act his decennial absolutist regime) the new Hungarian law abolishes the preventive censure.⁶⁰⁸

M Paicurich, L De Cosulich, Count Vincenzo De Domini, F G Corossacz, M And F Duimcich, A Hodnig, A Elenz, I Farina, A Sirola, A B Lenaz, Cav L Ossoinack, A D Morovich, Avv G De Randich, G Minach, Avv. F Vio, M F Jellouschegg, G R Zangerle, Cav A Jugo G Serdoz, G Segnan, G Diracca, G Tiblias, Prof R Zanella, G Pus, Ermanno Brus, Dott Isidoro Garofolo, A Martich. These were probably all the autonomist councilors. In Luksic-Jamini, Antonio. 1968a. “Appunti per una storia di Fiume dal 1896 al 1914”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, n. 1-2-3-4, p. 17)

⁶⁰⁶ The future mayor of Milan, Emilio Caldara described the change: “In seguito il Governo istituì una Giunta amministrativa, specie di autorità di media istanza particolarmente in affari di polizia e pupillari. Essa era costituita per una metà di impiegati governativi e per l'altra metà di organi municipali (impiegati e rappresentanti). Le deliberazioni venivano prese a semplice maggioranza di voti ed in seduta pubblica. Tuttavia contro l'istituzione della Giunta amministrativa il Comune di Fiume protestò energicamente, ravvisandovi una menomazione della propria autonomia. E ottenne che fosse soppressa. Sennonché è dubbio che l'autonomia abbia avvantaggiato per tale soppressione, poiché l'Ordinanza Szell del 1901 le ha sostanzialmente sostituito il Consiglio governatorile. E' ben vero che questo Consiglio non costituisce un'Autorità per sé stante, ma è piuttosto complementare di quella del Governatore, di cui le attribuzioni nei riguardi dell'Amministrazione autonoma del Comune anche coll'ordinanza del 1901 rimangono in fondo quelle contemplate dallo Statuto civico; ma è anche vero che il Consiglio governatorile è di schietta emanazione statale, in quanto tutti i suoi membri sono eletti dal Ministro-presidente, sopra «candidazione» del ministro dell'interno per il referente politico-amministrativo, del ministro delle finanze per il referente finanziario, del ministro del culto e della pubblica istruzione per il referente scolastico e collettivamente dei ministri del commercio e dell'agricoltura per il referente economico.” In Caldara, Emilio. *Il comune italiano di Fiume*, Fratelli Ravà ed. Milano, 1913., p. ?

⁶⁰⁷ The border was providing opportunitites: in Sušak a paper aimed exclusively at influencing Fiume was issued. While in 1902 Supilo with his *Novi List*, will do the same from Fiume in order to influence Croatia - then still under the rule of Khuen Hedervary.

⁶⁰⁸ Preventive censorship ceases in Fiume and the opposition paper *La Difesa*, that was printed in Sušak, moved to Fiume in 1901.

Karpowicz tried to derive the concept of the Nation and of the State of the Fiuman autonomists, by using primarily *La Difesa* as a source.⁶⁰⁹ She admits the difficulty to trace and reconstruct a consistent linear pattern in the political evolution in Fiume since the city always lacked a leading political ideologue. “Lack of vision, concreteness, limits of theoretical elaboration, ideological inertia, were the distinguishing traits of a relatively small number of political texts destined to build the ideological *façade* of a complicated web of conflicting political interests.”⁶¹⁰ Nevertheless, the movement gained support from several intellectuals and educated people, with extensive knowledge of law, public and private administration, medicine, and engineering to a degree that the city did not know previously, a telling sign of the degree of achieved social development. “Realism, moderation, legal argumentation, cool mindedness, analyticity were since its beginnings hallmarks of the autonomist movement, until the fascist attack to the Zanella presidency in 1922, independently from the fact that the party changed different leaderships.”⁶¹¹

Karpowicz concludes that the Municipal Statute was the result of compromise and negotiation with the city considered as a legitimate and recognised body politic. Reflecting the interest (and therefore the ideology) of its makers, (the group of fiuman Deakists, led by Ciotta) the statute gave the highest importance to the members of the liberal arts and various specialised professionals thus reflecting an essentially bourgeois ideology and its *Weltanschauung*. Autonomism engendered a genuine concept of the state and ideology, with a recognisable style of moderation and rational argumentation that, Karpowicz claims, reflects the professional and social background of its members, but we might add their difference from the kossuthians. A peculiar concept of “Fiuman nationality” referring primarily to Fiuman cultural (Italian) and social (bourgeois) specificity within the lands of the Holy Crown of St. Stephen was its necessary corollary.

Again, the statute and the different interpretations of its dispositions allowed very different conceptions of the state to coexist and evolve. Nevertheless, along with Autonomism, alternative political programs emerged, most notably Italian irredentism, leading to a very different concept of the nation and the state. For the autonomists the political ideal had to be the “little state” (or rather the city state), while progressively for the irredentist group of the Giovine Fiume (that originated from Autonomism) this was rather the “total state”.

According to Karpowicz, the position of the autonomists can be synthesised in four points: It was, first of all, a *defensive movement* - as stated by the title of its paper meaning defence. *La Difesa* clearly stated that it aimed at analysing the position of Fiume and its autonomy from 1776 to the day. Historiography could (again) serve a political goal.⁶¹² In the first issue the author (probably Maylender) announced that in 40 episodes the complete historical reconstruction in the light of its autonomy of the city will be attempted. The *Pagine Fiumane* had to contribute to shed light on the obscure points of the Fiuman question, and convince the readership that the over the fog, artificially created by the weakness of those that govern, shines the light of the Fiuman cause.⁶¹³

⁶⁰⁹ Karpowicz, L.J. 1989 “La concezione della Nazione e dello Stato nell’interpretazione degli autonomisti fiumani (Contributo allo studio del movimento autonomista di Fiume nel 1899-1918)” [The Concept of the Nation and the State from the Interpretation of the Fiuman Autonomists (A Tribute for the Study of the Autonomist Movement in Fiume 1899-1918)]. *Quaderni IX*, pp-19-34.

⁶¹⁰ Karpowicz, L.J. 1989 “La concezione della Nazione e dello Stato nell’interpretazione degli autonomisti fiumani (Contributo allo studio del movimento autonomista di Fiume nel 1899-1918)” [The Concept of the Nation and the State from the Interpretation of the Fiuman Autonomists (A Tribute for the Study of the Autonomist Movement in Fiume 1899-1918)]. *Quaderni IX*, p. 20

⁶¹¹ Karpowicz, L.J. 1989 “La concezione della Nazione e dello Stato nell’interpretazione degli autonomisti fiumani (Contributo allo studio del movimento autonomista di Fiume nel 1899-1918)” [The Concept of the Nation and the State from the Interpretation of the Fiuman Autonomists (A Tribute for the Study of the Autonomist Movement in Fiume 1899-1918)]. *Quaderni IX*, p. 25.

⁶¹² Here once more it must be stated that this was not a Fiuman specificity. Throughout the Hapsburg monarchy political issues received a constitutional coating and the main arguments were always historical. Legitimacy was invariably found in the past while different ideologies differed in their project for the future, as seen in chapter 1.

⁶¹³ *La Difesa*, first issue, 6 gennaio 1899.

The autonomist interpretation of the Hungarian state was primarily aimed at reducing Hungarian sovereignty and political subjectivity: the Hungarian government was a temporary authority, since the city was not an integral part of Hungary. As the Croats, they denied the existence of a unitary Hungarian state but instead it was the “Holy Crown of the Lands of St. Stephen”, united under the sceptre of the House of Hapsburg.⁶¹⁴ Fiume was one of the Lands that constituted the Hungarian State along with the Hungarian Kingdom and the Triune Kingdom. The City of Fiume itself was annexed to Hungary by force of the diploma of Maria Theresa.

The statute from 1872 were the fundamental rights that it sanctioned were those of cultural identity, administrative autonomy and the right to its security of the *Corpus Separatum* were clearly stated.

Although Hungary assured prosperity to the city, in the interpretation of autonomists, Hungarian rule was provisory in the sense that it could always have been receded. The city would have decided on a basis of economic interest but also if its customs, traditions or culture meaning the Italian language and culture came unto threat to as opposed to the neighbouring lands.

As we have seen, the incorporation of Fiume to Hungary was always argued in terms of economic opportunity. While on the other hand the rights of the city to its autonomy were always defended on historical grounds. The past legitimised only one thing that the city was a *corpus separatum* not included in any nation or state, but that it was a part of an empire. History or better the past experience also showed to the fiumani that Hungary was always a good partner and that the major threat fro the city autonomy came from Croatia. Now, plans for the future were never historically legitimised but always oriented to the future.

La Difesa started a mobilisation campaign aimed at Hungarian policy said depriving the local population in the city of its social and economic political position by massive investment and immigration. Another obvious target was the Hungarian educational policy: in an article with an openly ironic cut, *La Difesa* reacted to an article written for a Hungarian paper by Professor Aladar Fest, director of the Hungarian state gymnasium in Fiume. Fest wrote that without the limiting factor of the linguistic barrier many more Hungarians would have come to Fiume. To overcome the difficulty, Fest proposed a creation of a “new *milieu* of cultural hybridisation of Hungarian and Italian culture” that had to be the future of Fiume.

La Difesa reacted to this article with irony, by depicting the future of the city, as it was envisaged by the Magyars: socially, the city would have ended up divided in three social strata: the *aristocracy* centred upon the Governor and his *court* composed by all noblemen: top ranking Hungarian civil servants and international diplomats. The second class were the new *Magyar bourgeoisie* born out of the Hungarian schools formed from the Hungarian state framework 9the reference was on the *Lex Appony*. Last came the Servants, the beggars, and the crippled, the sad remnants of the pauperised Fiumani – reduced to a *plebs*, whose role was to provide fun for the upper classes in orgies and parties that had to be organised in public parks.

The satire notices Karpowicz had a clear political message - the Fiuman Italian educated local bourgeoisie simply had no place and no professional future within Hungarian Fiume. In articles that followed *La Difesa* went on to calculate precisely in how many jobs were open for the educated Fiumani without knowledge of Hungarian - arriving at discomfoting results. Socially, it appeared that the benefits were all going to Budapest or to the growing local community of Hungarian *aristocracy* that were rapidly displacing the local *urban* and *bourgeois* class of Fiumani.

It was the perception of social displacement by an educated class of liberal professionals that was fuelling the autonomist movement and ideology, suited for an educated class of professionals. Maylender was convinced on the importance of municipal autonomy for social and cultural prosperity.⁶¹⁵

⁶¹⁴ Hapsburg sovereignty was therefore not a matter of discussion.

⁶¹⁵ The model probably was the Italian city state of the Renaissance. Already in 1893, Maylender who then was the president of the Philharmonic Dramatic Society of Fiume wrote an essay on the role of the philharmonic dramatic society, in educating the population referring to the Italian city republics. His main work written when he retired from active politics was the history of Italian academies, published posthumously in Bologna. Maylender M., *Storia delle*

The political analysis of Autonomism was therefore blueprinted on the Hungarian state ideology and its practical workings in the culturally and geographically distant Fiume. The “Small State” was showing that national polarisation was running along social or professional fault lines, created by external administrative rules in what could have appeared to be a colonial rule, where class, nationality and geographical origin seemed to coincide.

Autonomism did not need cultural homogeneity. History was there only for legitimisation of the right of the city to stay independent and free in other words to have a greater manoeuvring space for negotiations of all sorts. The fiumani knew all too well that they prospered thanks to their capacity to negotiate. Autonomism was referring only to highly skilled and educated professionals not to the working classes. It was a truly offshoot of nineteenth century liberalism.

By criticising “Greater Hungary”, Fiuman autonomists defended their “Small State”, where a republican democratic ideal was to be exercised through direct democracy that included all those considered to be citizens. Characterised by a *habitus* of liberal professionals rather than free thinking intellectuals, Fiume was imagined as a kind of republic where intellectuals did not have the place that competes to them.

The article “Pacta Arabonana” is a very interesting example of self-reflection of the autonomist project. All the cities in Hungary with the right of jurisdiction, were invited to a congress. The invitation of Fiume has been interpreted very negatively by *la Difesa* since Fiume had nothing to do with the right of jurisdiction of other Hungarian cities. Then the author compared the treatment that cities with a comparable status to Fiume enjoyed. Trieste and the privileged position it enjoyed in Austria was the obvious prime example. Then Germany and its “genial sovereign” provided another interesting parallel. During the process of unification, that the Hungarians frequently referred to as a model, the free cities of the continent lost their rights and privileges “disappearing politically” but not the Hanseatic cities such as Lubbock, Bremen and Hamburg. States that foster economic development via the maritime trade give to free ports ample liberties sanctioned by statutes in order to leave them free that with their international connections knowledge and expertise. Thus the proper institutional model for Fiume was the “Hanseatic model”.⁶¹⁶

But what about the nationality of the autonomists? To reconstruct the concept of the nation and the of the autonomists is still a long way. Purposively or incidentally, they have left only scattered evidence about their intimate national identity. Maylender, repeating Ossoinack anticipated the “Fiuman nationality” as a specific nationality: if Fiumans had to change their nationality accordingly to their dominators they would have changed at least 7 nationalities since 1509: his answer was that no one fitted perfectly to them, thus they were a national.⁶¹⁷

The statute of the Associazione Autonoma was reputedly sent to the Ministry of the Interior, but with it got no answer nor a refusal.⁶¹⁸ At several gatherings of the party leaders the statute is changed and reformulated many times. Most of the debate was published on the pages of “*La Difesa*”. Especially the issue of nationality was refused with the argument that in Hungary there was only one nation: the Hungarian.

As for sovereignty, neither Hungary nor Croatia who were claiming their sovereignty over Fiume were sovereign states since not subject of international law, that status pertained only to Austria - that is the Hapsburg monarchy. The Austrian-Hungarian compromise was an internal administrative arrangement, to which Croatia was similarly related to Hungary. In the analysis done by *La Difesa*

Accademie d'Italia, Bologna 1926-1930, Editore:, Arnaldo Forni Editore, Bologna, 1926; 5 voll., pp. 2499. The monumental opus in 5 tomes and 2499 pages, titled *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*, was published in Bologna in the period 1926-1930 by the Editor Arnaldo Forni. It took him a decade of research motivated as he said by the will of leaving the active political involvement in the city politics after the retreat of the Hungarian parliament in 1901. This set is a massive work of scholarship covering Italian academies from the most obscure to the best known. It is arranged like an encyclopaedia with entries ranging from a single paragraph to dozens of pages.

⁶¹⁶ As we shall see, the project of Fiume as an Hanseatic city will be constantly present also after First World War.

⁶¹⁷ The argument was already used by Luigi Ossoinack at the meeting with the Hungarian prime minister Banffy in 1897.

⁶¹⁸ The party statute was ratified finally only 19th of March 1902, when the conflict had its acute phase over.

and reported on several articles it was inadmissible for Fiume to be treated as a *colony* since its status within the “Hapsburg Empire” or the “Hungarian Kingdom” was comparable to that of Hungary. Karpowicz goes so far to claim that the “Fiuman nation” was the result of the ongoing struggle within a state with limited sovereignty. The autonomist political program it seems tried to secure better positions for the Fiumani within the administration the city. There is an important aspect here – the nation according to Karpowicz seems to be “extremely ideologised” while being also “subject to daily or periodical strumentalisation”.

Maylender claimed that since the Nationalities Act (XLIV, 1868) guaranteed that all citizens of Hungary, whatever their nationality, constituted politically “a single nation, the indivisible, unitary Hungarian nation,” and there could be no differentiation between them *except in respect of the official usage of the current languages and then only insofar as necessitated by practical considerations*.

Maylender recognised that the Nationalities Act (XLIV, 1868) was an essentially liberal piece of legislation, since it guaranteed broad use of non-Hungarian languages. All citizens could submit petitions to municipal, county, and central authorities in their mother tongue, and to receive a response in the same language. The relations between the nation and the nationalities required then simply the nationalities to obey the laws of the state to learn the language of the political nation. This meant that in the name of liberal principles all nationalities were equal in Hungary. According to Maylender, the Nationalities Act sanctioned a distinction between the united Hungarian nation which had its external connotations given by the political language of the Hungarian nation, the language of the parliament and the laws, as well as the government and administration. But it also sanctioned a differentiation and hierarchy between the Hungarian nation and the other nationalities.⁶¹⁹

As for Fiume, for Maylender, as Hungary’s place within the Monarchy so that of Fiume within Hungary was never questioned. Fiume was regulated by a *Provisory* and there was no single solution until a final agreement was achieved and since this was not on the horizon there could thus be overlapping rights of the Hungarian political nation of Italians in terms of nationalities and for the Croats on the grounds of the *Nagoda*. Interesting was the position of *La Difesa*, about the Croats. Since the *Nagoda* excluded the territory of the Triune Kingdom from the mandatory use of Hungarian and thus the Croats in Fiume could foster their rights of expression and cultural autonomy not on the basis of the law of nationalities but on the *Nagoda* itself.

It was the Fiumani whose mother tongue was Italian that could only refer to the Nationalities Act. The nationality of Fiume is then defined by *La Difesa* as the community of Italian language and culture, traditions mores and attitudes, a tendency to perceive and act in an autonomist sense that in making the nation in the sense of expressing it, to show it in the interest of the majority of the population.

But what had precedence? Culture, history or utility? In the debate on the pages of the *La difesa*, centred upon the drafting of the *Proposta di Statuto dell’associazione autonoma*, there was an interesting debate between different conceptions of the nation within the group. From one extreme there was the socialist internationalism of Samuel Maylender.⁶²⁰ He was against the use of the term “Italian nation” since this exclusivity would have alienated people from the association. The group centred around Francesco Vio insisted on separating the nation from the state, linking the nation with economic utility. “Political belonging and nationality are two different concepts”, Vio claimed, “it was culture and customs that made a nation, and there were no reasons to avoid naming what in Fiume as always known under that name”. For Maylender the fact that the city has changed so many governments made possible for the Fiumani declare to be Fiumani instead of being Italiana.

⁶¹⁹ Karpowicz, LJ. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis. P. 164.

⁶²⁰ Samuel Maylender, brother of Michele, was the future leader of the Socialist Party in Fiume later one of the founders of the communist party of Fiume in 1921.

Since utility, rational argumentation, centred on economic values were constitutive, legalism was a necessity - no autonomist ever wanted a revolution.⁶²¹ Autonomism accepted political action only in the limits of the legal framework at that extent to frame action and ideology within its guidelines. We might say that it also the “fiuman nationality” was framed and created by the Hungarian Nationalities Act, that postulated one nation – the Hungarian where there were several linguistic communities (Slovaks, Croats, Italians in Fiume) to which certain rights were recognised and granted. According to Karpowicz, Nationality for the autonomists was a juridical capacity granted by the Hungarian Nationalities Act. As such it gave precise advantages to those that declared themselves nationally. Declaring Italian nationality meant to see things in autonomist fashion: that in Fiume was utility driven. Karpowicz concludes that for Maylender Autonomism was a legal case of a group against a state with limited sovereignty, aimed to distinguish the Hungarian political nation from the other “nationalities”, within which the Fiuman autonomists could have fostered their rights as “Italians” in the sense of the *motto* (attributed to Deszo Bannfy) that if Fiume was already not Italian it should have been made such.⁶²²

In Karpowicz’s interpretation, the concept of “Fiuman nationality” receives an accurate treatment and a better conceptualisation. It seems that Autonomism was an expression of municipal identity characteristic of the premodern Mediterranean and, at any level, still widespread in Italy. In nineteenth century Fiume a modern form of “mediaeval municipalism” received finally a national coating leading to a hybrid form of nationality with the same intensity as its rival neighbouring nationalisms but where the spatial extension was reduced to a city. Its momentum and success in rather peripheral parts of the eastern Adriatic could be explained with the fact that cultural integration for cities already in Italy was far easier since the linguistic differences between the cities and the countryside were nuances and not dramatic as in Dalmatia or Fiume, where the difference and contrast with the neighbouring lands was greater so that it could coagulate into a broad opposition movement.

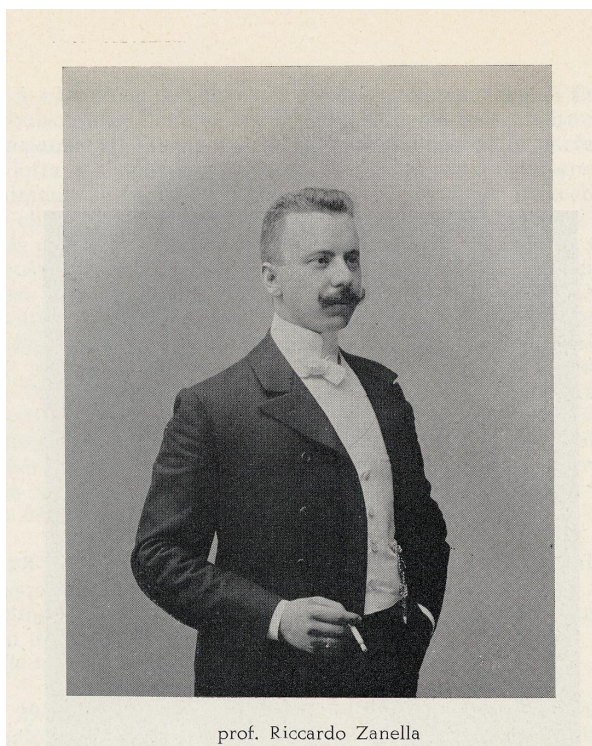
I claim that the Fiuman case and especially the autonomist program reveals something fundamental. The nation of the autonomists is an excellent case of a nation formation that appears as a project, sometimes even a hazardous project as in the case of Fiume. The concept of Fiuman nationality was formed by an extremely small group of people. Maybe for the general situation or maybe for their background or class extraction (as Karpowicz seems to prefer) they produced a carefully studied and compromised project of social and political affirmation, whose corollary was Fiuman nationality. The very concept changed as the leadership changed showing its origins from a small group of people. It is in its jeopardy that we see the nation in formation in its initial form.

⁶²¹ This outlook survived even when Maylender was forced to leave the party. Zanella the inheritor also shared this strategy although with a different style. But Zanella had ambitions it was impossible to realise with Maylender still in office. New movements (some of them offshoots of Autonomism) theorised sacrifice martyrdom and a necessity for a revolution.

⁶²² Karpowicz, L.J. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The Corpus Separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, p. 164.

THE AGE OF ZANELLA: 1905-1914

Madre cragnizza e padre furlan, viva Zanella vero Fiuman!



prof. Riccardo Zanella

On 22nd January 1901, at the Anfiteatro Fenice at an electoral meeting of the autonomist party, Maylender talks to more than 600 electors. For the autonomists and their leader Maylender the change in Budapest meant triumph, and they faced no competition in Fiume. Also the last opponents, the kossuthist Stanislao dall'Asta and Nicolò Gelletich, who were assertors of the strongest link of the city with Hungary from 1867 onwards, with explicit intervention of Szell, as a guarantee to the recently concluded compromise, joined the autonomists.

On the 24th January 1901, the new elections for the Rappresentanza were indicted. The virtual absence opposed groupings to the autonomist party probably explains the reduced afflux of voters.⁶²³ Maylender was also strong from the support he received from the Hungarian Governor László gróf Szapáry de Szapár and the government Széll, due to the intense lobbying performed by the deputy of Fiume Batthyany, who was a close friend of Maylender. It appears that the consensus for Maylender is overwhelming, and on the 23rd February 1901, the Rappresentanza elected Maylender "Podestà di Fiume e del suo distretto" with 51 (out of 56) votes.⁶²⁴ It was a triumph for Maylender, and in a notable speech at a meeting del Partito Autonomo, he gave a call for unity

⁶²³ On the 2nd and 3rd of February 1901, in the city 811 electors voted, and in the boroughs (sottocomuni) 265. Erasmo Barcich, on the same day he wrote a "lettera aperta ai fiumani" (find the text!) where he attacked the autonomists led by Maylender because they gave up the struggle with Budapest. An alternative meeting of pro Hungarian tone is lowed by the Croat exponent Barcich at the hotel Deak. Reputedly only 27 persons were there. Probably after having seen its weakness Barcich decided for the Croats to abstain from voting. In this conditions it was possible to act only outside the institutions. It was noticed that local state employees for which the respective head-offices had to withdrawn electoral certificates did not vote. («La Bilancia » - Fiume)

⁶²⁴ To symbolize the pacification of the government with the Rappresentanza, also the Governor László gróf Szapáry de Szapár was present.

(under attack by the Hungarian government) in order to preserve the fiuman national specificity - its fiumanism.⁶²⁵

On September the 18th, 1901 “several electors ‘went to the town hall to publicly offer to him the candidature as Fiuman deputy at the Hungarian parliament.⁶²⁶ The new elections were to be held within a year to replace the Count Tivadar Batthyany whose mandate was to expire. Their argument was centred on the fact that for more than 30 years Fiume was at the Hungarian parliament represented by a “foreigner”.⁶²⁷ Knowing the merits of his father, as the activity of his son and his *financial sacrifices* as well,⁶²⁸ for the defence of the autonomy the city was glad to offer the mandate. Since the law prohibits the accumulation of functions they invite him to abandon the office of Podestà and to accept that of Fiuman deputy at the chamber of deputies in Budapest.

Visibly surprised, Maylender refused to provide an answer, and said that he needed time.⁶²⁹ Maylender appeared seriously embarrassed.⁶³⁰ The day after, in a prepared speech in front of the crowd, he gave his only speech to the masses in Fiume.⁶³¹

The point was, according to Maylender, that there was an informal *pact* between the City and the Government and that once the government did important steps to solve the issues with Fiume, it was pointless for him not only to protest or to break the pacts, given also the fact that the ruling liberal party clearly indicted Batthyany as candidate for the governor.⁶³² But even that he was legitimised to leave his position of podestà once that this was settled.⁶³³ Had he accepted his

⁶²⁵ “Le personalità, le inimicizie private hanno sempre corroso la base delle istituzioni hanno portato gravi danni alle cause ed ai movimenti politici ovunque, anche lì dove la popolazione è razionalmente una. A Fiume poi – e signori questo non dimenticatevelo mai – a Fiume le scissure fra fiumani per ragione di personalità costituirebbero senz’altro la distruzione del fiumanesimo ed un grave pericolo per le sue prerogative autonome e nazionali. (...) noi signori elettori siamo forti di animo sì, ma di numero non siamo molti. E l’isolamento politico territoriale della nostra Fiume presenta per la sua nazionalità facile accesso alla preponderanza di elementi che la pensano diversamente di noi. E specie col continuo aumento della popolazione, se noi fiumani non saremo tutti uniti, tutti concordi nel difendere il nostro patrimonio nazionale e municipale potremmo forse un giorno, e forse sarà troppo tardi, pentirci delle nostre discordie.” (*La Bilancia*, January the 21st 1897).

⁶²⁶ “Oggi a mezzogiorno parecchie centinaia di elettori appartenenti a tutte le classi sociali, si radunarono nella sala maggiore dell’ufficio podestarile, per offrire al podestà Dr. Maylender la candidatura al seggio di deputato della libera città di Fiume e suo distretto al Parlamento del Regno.” *La Bilancia*, September the 18th, 1901.

⁶²⁷ A case of “lapsus calami” is found in the speech of Dr. Bellen: in fact, Fiume after to have elect in the 1867 Hungarian deputy Dr. Akos Radics, in 1870 it entrusted Giovanni de Ciotta, then to and Luigi de Peretti than the Hungarian “garibaldino dei mille di quarto” Csernatony, at last it was T Batthyany)

⁶²⁸ he owned the difesa, and most of hte campaign was financed directly by m, or by luigi ossoinack.

⁶²⁹ A mezzodì una deputazione di oltre 200 elettori si recò al Municipio per offrire al Podestà Michele Maylender il seggio di deputato per il parlamento ungherese, per il quale ci saranno le votazioni entro l’anno. Deputato uscente è il conte Teodoro Batthyany. Nella sala del Consiglio il venerando conte Vincenzo de Domini fa leggere al Consigliere dott. Andrea Bellen un discorso in cui si rileva che da oltre 30 anni Fiume si fa rappresentare al Parlamento da estranei. Consapevole dei meriti acquisiti dal padre del Podestà, con i suoi sacrifici finanziari, col suo lavoro patriottico in difesa dell’autonomia, la città si considera felice di offrire l’onorifico mandato a suo figlio, il quale validamente difenderà l’autonomia della città e la sua lingua italiana (applausi). Vietando la legge il cumulo delle cariche, gli elettori acclamano Michele Maylender deputato e lo invitano a dimettersi dalla carica di Podestà. Maylender risponde che si riserva di rispondere a questa inattesa manifestazione. (« *La Bilancia* » - Fiume, « *Il Piccolo della Sera* » - Trieste)

⁶³⁰ “A Voi onorevoli signori, è ben noto come io sia tutt’altro che amico di manifestazioni qual si è quella che in oggi Vi siete compiaciuti di fare a mio favore;” *La Bilancia*, September the 18th 1901.

⁶³¹ Rumours about his proposed candidature circulated from the days before: “Rileviamo che sino ad oggi sono state raccolte circa 1200 firme per la candidatura del signor podestà Dr. Michele Maylender, a deputato di Fiume al Parlamento del Regno.” (*La Bilancia*, September the 17th 1901)

⁶³² “Venne scritto e stampato che il partito liberale di Fiume ha offerto la candidatura all’ex Governatore di Fiume conte Lodovico Batthyany, e che io, rinunciando Vi proporrò d’unirvi a questa candidatura.” *La Bilancia*, September the 18th 1901.

⁶³³ “Onorevoli signori Elettori! Senza voler riandare il passato mi limiterò a dichiararVi che col riconoscimento del voto consultivo alla civica Rappresentanza, col riconoscimento dell’italianità di questo Municipio, e coll’introduzione delle ordinanze Szelliane, venne definitivamente appianato il grave dissidio sorto fra la nostra città ed il Governo. Io tengo adunque per fermo che in questo riguardo la pace sarà duratura e benefica. In base ad una condizione alla mia recente candidatura a podestà da me posta ed elevata a patto fra me e il partito autonomo, io avrei avuto il diritto ritirarmi già col giorno della regolazione della questione di Fiume. Mi venne però posta dinanzi, colla necessità di regolare

position of champion of the city autonomy would have been compromised forever. On 22nd September 1901 Maylender publicly refuted the proposed candidature as deputy of Fiume, with the argument that it was in the interest of the city to elect a person who was in good terms with the Hungarian government. In this way the rumours that he offered his candidature to the count Batthyany former governor who resigned because of his disapproval of Banffy. One part of the public opinion agrees with his position, but not the majority of the Rappresentanza, forcing him to resign. Maylender is accused to have conspired secretly with Batthyany and Szell in order to prevent a free manifestation of Autonomism and “national feelings” in Fiume. Apparently, the party accepts the proposed resignation very coldly; there was no demonstration of gratitude for what he did for the city from the party that he founded and to whom he single-handedly offered a complete program and a consistent political ideology.⁶³⁴

La Bilancia observed that the people left the gathering disappointed. Again, on September the 24th, 1901, a deputation (lead by Luigi Ossoinack) went to the office of the podestà to invite him to become deputy.⁶³⁵ in an interview published by *La Bilancia* Batthyány announced that he was ready to accept the candidature in a case of an official invitation by a fiuman delegation. he received only one invitation (from A. Walluschnigg) that he declined, by deeming it as a “purely personal act”. The interviewer from *La Bilancia* did not fail to mention that the act of Walluschnigg was not well received.⁶³⁶ In fact already on January the 23rd, 1901, Walluschnigg went out from the Rappresentanza.⁶³⁷ On September the 28th, the first rumours that Maylender was to resign from the function of podestà started to leak.⁶³⁸

Maylender was ousted from public life, and the Autonomist Party replaces its leader with Francisco Vio, who is elected podestà to replace Maylender, on the 10th January 1902. Vio was a representative of the moderate current within the Associazione Autonoma, but the man behind the scenes was certainly still Luigi Ossoinack, who continued to finance the party, and Vio was far from being a leader. Ossoinack now put forward a new candidate against Maylender (or better the candidate he favoured - Batthyany) – a young professor, a former collaborator of Maylender and secretary of the Associazione Autonoma. This was the start of the carrier of Riccardo Zanella. He will manage to become the most popular Fiuman political leader ever. From the beginnings he will

l'amministrazione del municipio nei riguardi municipali propriamente detti e personali, la necessità che io rimanga in carica fino al giorno in cui sarà definita anche questa pendenza ... etc.” *La Bilancia*, September the 18th, 1901.

⁶³⁴ 22-IX-1901 - L'on. Maylender comunica che non accetta la candidatura a deputato di Fiume, e si dichiara convinto che è interesse di Fiume eleggere un ungherese che sia amico di Fiume e in buoni rapporti con il governo di Budapest. In tal modo egli conferma le voci secondo le quali avrebbe offerto la candidatura al conte Lodovico Batthyany, ex governatore di Fiume, dimessosi perché non approvava Banffy. Una parte dell'opinione pubblica si manifesta d'accordo col Maylender, ma la maggioranza della Rappresentanza civica gli si dimostra contraria, per cui egli si dimette. Su proposta dell'on. Corossacz la Rappresentanza civica accoglie le dimissioni senza nemmeno esprimere rammarico, ed elogi per il passato. Il partito autonomo si raccoglie intorno all'on. Francesco Vio, Luigi Ossoinack, dott. Lionello Lenaz, avv. Ferdinando Kuscher, e oppone al candidato del Maylender, il prof. Riccardo Zanella « perché — dice il suo proclama elettorale — la nostra nazionalità italiana, la nostra cultura italiana, la nostra lingua italiana, come ogni altro interesse di Fiume devono essere affidati, e possono essere tutelati, solo da un candidato fiumano ». (« *La Bilancia* » - Fiume)

⁶³⁵ *La Bilancia*, September the 24th, 1901.

⁶³⁶ “la sua lettera indirizzata ad Antonio Walluschnigg non incontrò per certo l'aggradimento di alcuni circoli della città. *La Bilancia*, September the 27th 1901.

⁶³⁷ “Quando nel mese di ottobre dell'anno scorso io aveva l'onore di conferire con S.E. il ministro presidente Colomanno de Szell a Budapest riguardo la nostra questione e dopochè io aveva dallo stesso ottenuto la formale promessa di indire le elezioni municipali fiumane nel mese di gennaio 1901, incominciarono purtroppo subito certi invidiosi ed ambiziosi politicanti locali a intralciare le disinteressate e patriottiche prestazioni in modo tale da compromettere gli interessi del nostro paese, soltanto per far spiccare le loro individualità e per conseguire le loro personali aspirazioni e compensi. (*La Bilancia*, January the 23rd 1901)

⁶³⁸ *La Bilancia*, September the 28th, 1901.

resort to rhetoric borrowed from Italian nationalism and irredentism, anticipated already by the electoral proclaim.⁶³⁹

In effect, it appears that the proposal made to Maylender was an act of political sabotage directed against him in the apogee of his popularity. And as such it worked since Maylender retired from political life for a good decade. Retired to his private and professional life, he declared for finishing a book he was working on. Indeed once more he was sincere - he wrote the monumental *Storia delle accademie d'Italia* - a huge (and still unsurpassed) encyclopaedic monograph on the history of all the Italian academies a work that kept him busy for ten years.⁶⁴⁰

Nevertheless, it seems that his influence and moral standing remained intact. He retired when he wanted and when he decided that the times were mature he came back to Fiuman politics this time accepting the candidature as Fiuman deputy in Budapest, in 1911. Moreover, the candidate he publicly supported T. Batthyany won with overwhelming majority at the elections.⁶⁴¹ On the 2nd October 1901, Maylender invited the "well-minded people" to cast the ballot to Batthyany, also the Croatian exponent and local leader Erasmo Barcich invites the electors to vote for Batthyany (sticking with Maylender). Maylender considered the candidature of Riccardo Zanella (proposed as a candidate by Ossoinack after Maylender's retirement) as an act of "irresponsibility".

On the day of 6th October 1901 Batthyany was elected (in accordance with the Hungarian law the voting was public). While he was entering the city his chariot was attacked with stones the police had to intervene to protect him from further attacks.

A silent revolution was consumed within the ranks of the autonomists with an obvious newcomer Zanella now entering the scene. His sponsor (as for Maylender) was Luigi Ossoinack one of the main sponsor of the autonomist party and one of the most powerful entrepreneurs in Fiume. Zanella was miles away from Maylender. Sponsored and created by others (primarily, it seems, by Luigi Ossoinack), adding vehemence to the ongoing debate, he was much less of an intellectual than Maylender. The movement after the resignation of Maylender obviously lost in consistency keenness juridical accuracy even in the excellence of both Italian and Hungarian language it enjoyed under Maylender. Zanella being a native *fiumano*, schooled in the Hungarian schools in Fiume and a graduate from the Commercial Academy in Budapest possessed the right blend of characteristics: a good command of Hungarian and other languages, a network of friends, knowledge of administration and intellectual and psychological inferiority compared to his sponsors.⁶⁴²

But there was also a more substantial change: Zanella felt much closer to the Kossuthian current within the Hungarian political scene, while Maylender was (as Ciotta had previously been) the man of the Party of Government that is the Liberal Party of Deak and Tisza.

***La Voce del Popolo* And the Ongoing Debate on the Nation and the State**

Ricardo Zanella was the foremost politician Fiume ever had. Most known as the President of the ephemeral Free State of Fiume and afterwards, after the fascist putsch, from April 1922, an antifascist living in Yugoslav and French emigration. The staunchest promoter of the Free State solution of "the question of Fiume", started as the leader of the nationalist fraction of the Autonomist Party, that in the years before 1914 was arguing openly for Italian irredentism.

Riccardo Zanella started his professional career as a teacher (although was later always known as professor). When he became the leader of *Associazione Autonoma* in 1905, he was chief editor of

⁶³⁹ « perché la nostra nazionalità italiana, la nostra cultura italiana, la nostra lingua italiana, come ogni altro interesse di Fiume devono essere affidati, e possono essere tutelati, solo da un candidato fiumano ». (« La Bilancia » - Fiume)

⁶⁴⁰ As we shall see, he devoted to historical and erudite research, that ultimately ended in his monumental opus on the history of the Italian academies.

⁶⁴¹ The supporters of Zanella show Fiuman flags while Batthyany supporters show both Fiuman and Hungarian flags. Batthyany declared that he was going to defend the Italian culture and the autonomy of Fiume as well as to foster and protect the interests of its port. Nevertheless, his hotel in Fiume is besieged, and the mob attacks repeatedly several persons suspected to collaborate with "the Hungarians".

⁶⁴² Ballarini, Amleto. "*L'antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella*" Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995.

the daily *Voce Del Popolo*. The *Voce Del Popolo* was founded in 1890, financed by Luigi Ossoinack, to counterbalance the *Bilancia* that was the official pro Hungarian daily newspaper. The paper introduced a new style in Fiuman public sphere and politics, much more polemic tones and rhetorical attacks on their political adversaries. When Zanella became editor a populist style appeared in Fiuman politics that builds upon contrasts rather than by compromises, marked with far less sophisticated texts compared with the *Difesa* and its author Maylender.

Starting from a critique of the inconsistency between Hungarian ideology and political practice as done by Maylender, Zanella gradually developed his interpretation of the “Fiuman national identity”. On 22nd September 1901 Lajos Batthyany was elected Fiuman representative at the Hungarian parliament. Zanella questioned, in one of his first articles, how an ethnic Hungarian could legitimately be the representative of Fiume at the Hungarian parliament.

On April 4th in the article “Metamorfosi di un partito” Zanella in an analysis of the political situation in Hungary, claims that the Hungarian Liberal Party is an aristocratic expression of Hungarian national feelings, while the “Party of 1848” is the popular and democratic form of the same. There was no difference in contents or the political project, it was only the external visual manifestation that changed following the change of Hungarian society.⁶⁴³

Karpowicz observes that there was a huge leap from the position of Maylender where a small militant minority was ready to consider member of the “Fiuman nation” whoever voted for the autonomist program, that essentially consisted of the rule of law, faith in progress and modernity. In Zanella’s views Hungarians and Croats were excluded, not on ethnical grounds, but because they were carriers of another competitive political project. It was the political project of the “small state” that identified the Fiumani as a political nation of their own as opposed to other “political nations” - the Croats and the Hungarians. They were not a nationality but they as Fiumani exploited the Hungarian law of nationalities enacted by Banffy government that framed the Hungarian polity to foster their rights as a historically constituted group.⁶⁴⁴

But there is more: In fact his relatively marginal position, compared with Ciotta, Maylender, and Ossoinack forced Zanella to adapt the Kossuthian populism to the Fiuman situation. By claiming that in Fiume increasingly the economy and society was controlled by Hungarians, he mirrored the Kossuthian claims about the Austrian dominance upon Hungary.

In the age of Maylender the Fiuman nationalism appears to be cultural nationalism. The obvious question is why it was not Italian? In effect in the age of Maylender the Fiuman nationalism had to be kept distinct from Italian irredentism was a hard work of arguing. What is important is that spending so much effort to keep it distinguished that is autonomies reflected a precise project. The project will endure: it be retained by Zanella: Fiume was multinational as Hungary was multinational and as Hungary it reflected a concrete real precisely defined political project.

But for his successor Zanella (writing in 1905) there was a genuine Fiuman nationality and identity that comprised Italian Croatian and Hungarian elements as well, and that was loyal to the (multinational) Crown of St. Stephen (and not to Hungary that was a nation). Zanella claimed that it was offensive for the Fiumani to be labelled as “Italians” by the Hungarian government. According to Zanella, the inhabitants of Fiume are called Fiumani but are themselves composed of “three nationalities”: the Italians that is the autonomists who were for centuries the “old dominators of the land” but also the Croats and the Hungarians.

Zanella changed the paradigm: Hungary had its state right within the Empire since it was the land of the Magyar nation. Similarly, Croatia retained its autonomy and state right because of its historical but essentially national specificity. The same applied to Fiume: as kossuthism and the “Party of

⁶⁴³ Karpowicz, L.J. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, p. 168

⁶⁴⁴ According to the Hungarian Law of Nationalities Hungary was inhabited by a single nation – the Hungarian, but who spoke different languages (Slovak, Romanian, Croat and Italian), and therefore, had specific (cultural) rights within the polity. Only to the Croats was granted a greater deal of autonomy that involved also the judiciary, educational, confessional realm. Fiuman autonomy was shaped along similar lines to the Croatian.

'48" proclaimed the ultimate political goal of the Hungarians in establishing national independence so it was for Supilo in Croatia and Zanella in Fiume.

Unexpectedly, the explosive situation after 1918 will give new rounds for the Fiuman autonomists. When the party came to power and got established Zanella, the onetime radical, shifted to the political project as expressed by the interests of Fiume as a *corpus separatum* within the Hungarian kingdom or better the lands of the Holy Crown. The kossuthian shift lead Zanella towards fiuman separatism that after First World War will arrive to its extreme consequences.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EMPORIUM



The roads were in poor conditions. Here is an image of the Carolina - the main road that connected Fiume with the hinterland in the second half of the nineteenth century.

If Fiume was to become a port of some importance it had to break its isolation from the hinterland. When the Vienna-Trieste Austrian Southern Railway, (Sudbahn), completed in 1857, connected Trieste with Vienna, the relative importance of Fiume as a port of trade was dwarfed by Trieste, that moreover had also the advantages deriving from its early start. Once that the city was secured by the Hungarians, with the Croatian Hungarian compromise and the *Provisorium*, in 1870, immediately the construction of a new rail connection of Fiume with the Hungarian plain begun. The rail connection of Fiume with Karlovac that finally enabled the junction of the Hungarian plain with the sea was finished in on October the 23rd 1873, in only 4 years after the works begun.⁶⁴⁵

But that was still not enough: in the comprehensive statistical account of all Hungary by Schwicker from 1877⁶⁴⁶ the fact that the development of maritime trade on the Hungarian littoral stagnates is readily noticed: the reason was that some parts of the Hungarian rails were still controlled by the Sudbahn that owned also the line to Trieste that was favoured by an aggressive tariff policy, therefore it was still cheaper to export Hungarian goods through Trieste than Fiume. Things changed when the Hungarian government nationalised the whole railway lines, and started an aggressive tariff policy. The so-called zone tariff, adopted for the first time in Europe by the

⁶⁴⁵ The hurry in providing the connection caused several later problems see: CRNKOVIĆ, Nikola. 125 godina riječke željeznice, Dometi, nr. 8 (1998), 7/12 ; str. 53-64.

⁶⁴⁶ Schwicker, J.H. *Statistik des Königreichs Ungarn*, Stuttgart, 1877.

Hungarian state railways, was inaugurated in 1889 for passengers and in 1891 for goods, and was intended specifically for solving the profitability of the line to Fiume.⁶⁴⁷

That Fiume was important also for the Hungarian state railways, can be guessed by the technological improvement achieved by the Hungarians with an impressive series of locomotives designed explicitly for the Fiume-Budapest line rail.⁶⁴⁸

The negative tendencies reversed in 1882 with the foundation of the first steam shipping company in Fiume the Royal Hungarian Sea Navigation Company “Adria” Limited. It was the Hungarian government to contact Luigi Ossoinack for help in establishing a modern steamship company able to compete with the Lloyd Austriaco and capable of covering all the principal sea European sea routes.⁶⁴⁹ Luigi Ossoinack had contacts with English businessman and raised the capital of 2,500,000 guildens with which the company initiated its activity. The people gathered around the “Adria” composed the embryo of the future political elites in Fiume. Its founder Luigi Ossoinack and later his son Andrea were the most powerful businessmen in Fiume and the leading cosponsors of the Partito Autonomo. As with the Lloyd from Trieste (supported by the Viennese government) the Fiuman company was regularly subsidised by the Hungarian government. Circa 1,500,000 guildens for financing 150 seafaring lines to the main European ports that were especially interesting to the Hungarian government.⁶⁵⁰ Perhaps the most impressive failure of this Hungarian efforts was the failure to achieve a Hungarian class of seafarers. For Hungarians the sea was to remain a *terra incognita* and that meant that they stayed dependent on local expertise, concentrated in the “Adria”. The port facilities experienced continuous raise in traffic practically up to 1913 being stopped only by the outbreak of the Great World War.⁶⁵¹ Massive investment aimed primarily at betterment of infrastructure connectedness of the city was a necessary precondition for building a great international port. Catching Trieste become a possibility, as shown from the Comparison of the ports of Trieste and Fiume (in million gulden):⁶⁵²

⁶⁴⁷ The principle of this system is to offer cheap fares and relatively low tariffs for greater distances, and to promote, therefore, long-distance travelling, was especially meant to favour the connection with Fiume. The zone tariff has given a great impetus both to passenger and goods traffic in Hungary and has been later adopted on some of the Austrian railways, after protestation from the Trieste commercial circles of the dumping prices practised by the Hungarian state railways on their lines with Fiume.

⁶⁴⁸ The rail connection with Fiume had a very high penance. For overcoming the problem the Hungarian state railways, produced traditionally the biggest locomotives in Europe, the last Hungarian model - the MAV-311, intended for the rail Budapest-Fiume, remained the most powerful European locomotive up to 1938 when it was superseded by the German 888.

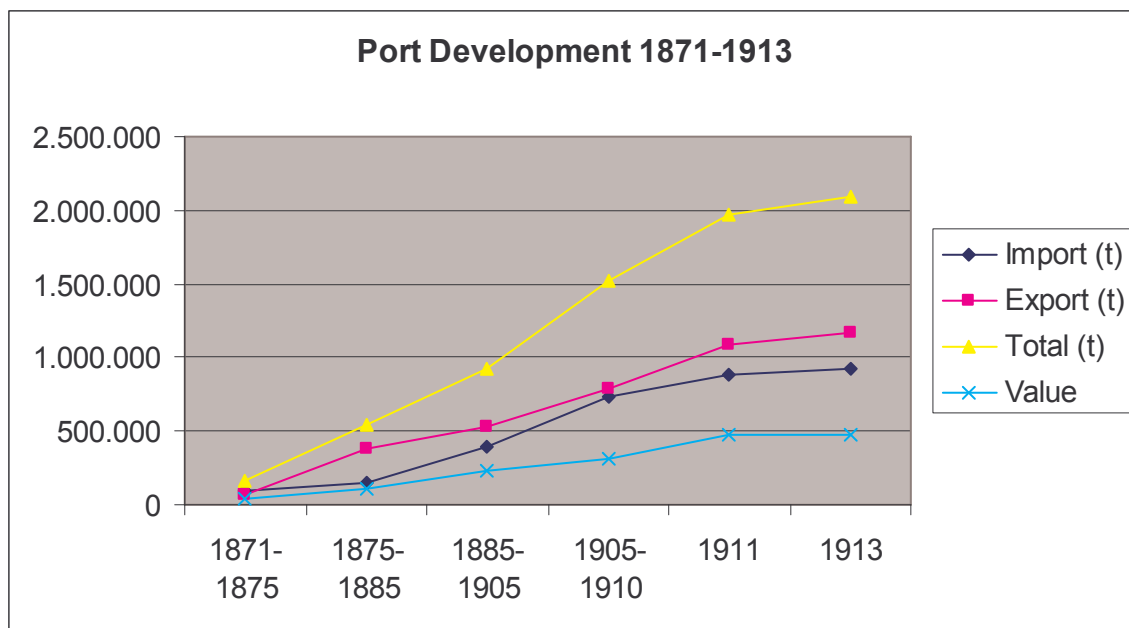
⁶⁴⁹ Luigi Ossoinack (1849-1904). Born in Fiume, studied in Ljubljana, Graz and Vienna, where he graduates at the commercial academy. He practised trade in Trieste, Odessa, London and “North America”. In 1873 he came back to Fiume, where he starts his own maritime agency. His businesses expand uninterruptedly: in opens the first regular line between Fiume and Liverpool (1877), and had direct influence on the institution of the Adria (1881.), he engaged also in industrial activities with the pilatura di riso in (1881.), and a fabbrica sanduka i bačava na Mlaki (1888.), and the steam shipping company Oriente (1891.), for trade with Asia. On his initiative the Magazzini Generali were opened in (1878.), and he participated also in the oil refinery. He was since a member of the Rappresentanza and had also decisive influence on the political life of the city, being the principal financial supporter of the autonomist party and of both of its leaders Maylender and Zanella. He died suddenly by suicide (reasons were unknown) in 1904 leaving a vacuum in the political and economic life of the Fiumani that was never healed again.

⁶⁵⁰ The society was subsidised by the Hungarian ministry of agriculture industry and commerce the society had to accomplish at least 150 runs from Fiume to Glasgow, Liverpool, London, and Marseille.

⁶⁵¹ The 1913 was an exceptional year because of the Balkan wars the traffic and supplies to Serbia instead of Thessalonica passed through Fiume.

⁶⁵² Klen, et al, p. 241.

YEAR		Fiume	Trieste
1867	Import (fl.)	5,4	104,2
	Export (fl.)	6,2	89,0
	Total (fl.)	11,6	193,2
1895	Import (fl.)	58,2	150,6
	Export (fl.)	63,4	185,0
	Total (fl.)	121,6	335,6



When the dualist division was ratified in 1867 the Fiuman traffics tonnage reached only about 15% of the Trieste, when by 1900 it had arisen to 50%. Finally, in 1913, the traffic of Fiume reached 70% of that of Trieste - the main port of Austria and biggest port of the monarchy. The overall raise in the traffic in the period can be seen from the table:

year	Import (t)	Export (t)	Total (t)	Value
1881-1875	93.600	71100	165300	36004
1875-1885	153.400	387100	540500	115038
1885-1905	391.600	535300	926900	224734
1905-1910	731.000	784500	1514500	314814
1911	879.200	1092100	1971300	472915
1913	923.700	1173900	2097600	477994

Initially, traded goods from the port of Fiume consisted mainly from wood from Croatia and Bosnia but that increasingly went through the Dalmatian ports. From Hungary the exports comprised milled flour and sugar, directed towards the Levant and Asia. The imports especially of raw materials were consumed also by the rising and growing local industry, and comprised coal for energy, crude oil, but also rice.

The industrial development

We are far from having a reliable picture on the structure and evolution of the fiuman economy in the age of the *corpus separatum*, as it is the case for Trieste. Nevertheless, the picture of some key sectors of the Fiuman economy such as banking or the shareholding structure of the biggest state owned firms (that were by far the biggest companies in Fiume) show a clear picture of the degree and extent of economic penetration and concentration achieved by the Hungarian banks in Fiume.

Growing Hungarian initiatives dwarfed the influence of the Fiumani, which could retain some of their positions, most likely where they could still provide expertise mostly confined to shipbuilding and seafaring. The process had its obvious social consequences the best jobs were more often occupied by non-natives. Apart from the Hungarian inputs, the economy relies on international capital and expertise (primarily English) mediated and encouraged by the Hungarian administration.⁶⁵³

The Hungarian government wished to speed up the process of industrial investment. Law XIV of 1890 set up the Hungarian Bank of Industry and Commerce with a share capital of 5 million florins (\$2 million U.S.). The president was to be Stephen Tisza, son of Prime Minister Kalman Tisza, and soon to be prime minister himself. On the board of directors was the prominent politician Count Julius Andrássy as well as Eugene Guttman, who represented the Dresdner Bank of Germany.

Although the bank remained in existence for only ten years, it made numerous investments in industrial and commercial enterprises and also aroused the attention of the outside world to the opportunities in investing in Hungary. What the Hungarian Bank of Industry and Commerce did above all was to spur other banks to invest in industry. By the 1890s the rush was on. In Fiume it controlled the "Adria" Shipping Company – with 1913 assets of 46.3 million crowns (\$9.2 million U.S.);

Even at glance, the study of Barcsay. T. (1991) shows both the importance of Fiume in Hungarian economic modernisation and the dependence of the fiuman economy from the Hungarian state. Hungary in the nineteenth century used the German model a way of rapid industrialisation, combined with a centralised structure. The six major banks were all established in Budapest and, until the late 1870s, did little to extend their operations beyond the capital. In the following decade, things were to change radically.⁶⁵⁴ After the economic and financial stabilisation achieved by Tisza by fiscal and land reform, the expensive projects of infrastructures, railways⁶⁵⁵ and industrial modernisation centred especially on food processing⁶⁵⁶ and heavy industry.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵³ British were all the ships built for the Adria steamship Co., the Whitehead torpedo works, and British influences were strong in other industrial activities and the credit system.

⁶⁵⁴ Between 1867 and 1914, the big Budapest banks had grown spectacularly. As "universal banks" on the German model, they had a hand in every aspect of the country's financial life. They acted as savings banks, mortgage lending institutions providers of short term finance for commerce, and finally as merchant or investment banks. Their wealth had increased impressively – as had that of the Hungarian economy as a whole. In 1913, the six major Budapest banks had total assets of over 4.2 billion crowns (\$ 847 million U.S.).

⁶⁵⁵ Thanks to generous tax incentives and outright subsidies the railway network grew into one of the most extensive in east-central Europe. The railway boom of the 1860s and 1870s encouraged in turn the growth of ancillary industries in wagon locomotive and machine construction.

⁶⁵⁶ Budapest was the largest milling center in the world until 1900, when it was gradually overtaken by Minneapolis. Despite this decline, Hungary remained the world's second largest exporter of milled flour (after the United States), until the outbreak of the First World War – In Barcsay. T. (1991) Banking in Hungarian Economic Development, 1867-1919. *Business and Economic History* 20 (2nd Series): p. 217.

⁶⁵⁷ Fiscal exemptions were provided for innovating entrepreneurs and for industrial expansion. Hungarian industrial production increased fourteen-fold between 1867 and 1913. During the same period the average annual growth rate of Hungarian industry was one of the highest in Europe. In Barcsay. T. (1991) Banking in Hungarian Economic Development, 1867-1919. *Business and Economic History* 20 (2nd Series): p. 217.

Fiume marks the test bed for the first Hungarian big investment banking projects by either founding new industrial enterprises or acquiring shares in established ones.⁶⁵⁸ Moreover, it started under bad auspices: in 1873 there was the Vienna Stock Exchange crash in 1873.⁶⁵⁹ The foremost Creditbank began the process in 1882 by forming the Fiume First Hungarian Rice Mill and Starch Co.⁶⁶⁰ Moreover, the Creditbank controlled also the Fiume Credit Bank.

This was followed by the Fiume Petroleum Refinery Co. By 1913, the two companies had total assets of some 40 million crowns (\$ 8 million U.S.).⁶⁶¹ The Mineral Oil Refinery Company was founded on 7 October 1882, and started in September 1883. The refinery emerged as the tenth facility of its kind on the territory under St Stephen's Crown. However, the total processing capacity of the other nine Hungarian refineries did not even come close to the processing power of the new Fiume refinery. Fiume was in fact the first European facility for industrial oil refining.⁶⁶² Fiume's daily *La Bilancia* first recorded the launch of the refinery in an article which featured expressions such as 'a magnificent factory', 'a miracle of science, industry and money' (21st of September 1883), and later also 'a colossal building', 'a dazzling success', and 'the eternal monument to genius and will-power' (3 January 1884). The initial work of the refinery was marked by the predominance of Pennsylvanian crude oil, while as early as 1890 the majority of raw materials arrived from the Caspian and Black Sea regions. In the period between 1883 and 1896, 750,000 tons of crude oil was processed in Fiume, with the annual average of 56,000 tons of processed crude oil and the production of 46,000 tons of petroleum.

Shipbuilding experienced crisis after the abandonment of the sail navigation in favour of steam. Fiume was a leading Shipbuilding centre on the Adriatic during the sail age, and in Fiume the sail resisted longer than in other ports of the eastern Adriatic.⁶⁶³ After the blow, exacerbated by the competition of the STT, the fuman shipbuilding never recovered. The last yards where sailing ships were built during the 1880s.

Steamships surpassed in tonnage sailing ships in Fiume only in 1895 thanks mostly to the rapidly increasing Adria tonnage, but the Adria Steamship Company purchased all of its ships in Britain.

Metalworking developed by 1857 with the foundation of the *Stabilimento Tecnico Fiumano*, that closed soon because of lack of expertise and raw materials. Nevertheless its main spin-off was the foundation of the first torpedo factory in the world, founded by one of its chief engineers, the Scott Robert Whitehead. Economic growth, industrialisation, and technical excellence are best symbolised by the Whitehead torpedo factory where this revolutionary weapon was invented.

⁶⁵⁸ All the information from Barcsay. T. (1991) Banking in Hungarian Economic Development, 1867-1919. *Business and Economic History* 20 (2nd Series): 216-225.

⁶⁵⁹ See Charles P Kindleberger, *A Financial History of Western Europe*, Oxford University Press US, 1993, pp. 130-132.

⁶⁶⁰ The Hungarian General Credit Bank, founded in 1867. The "Creditbank", as it was to be generally known, was an outgrowth of the Pest branch of the Creditanstalt. The bank had been founded in 1867, under the auspices of the Creditanstalt. The Creditanstalt, in which the Rothschild bank had a controlling interest, provided the financial framework for the newly founded bank and became its most important business partner. In 1877, S.M. von Rothschild and the Creditanstalt held 7,550 out of the total 11,595 shares of the Hungarian General Credit Bank, 65 per cent in all. In 1878 they held 11,730 shares out of 20,130 (58 per cent); in 1894, 16,500 out of 20,945 (78 per cent); in 1903, 15,000 out of 19,000 (79 per cent).

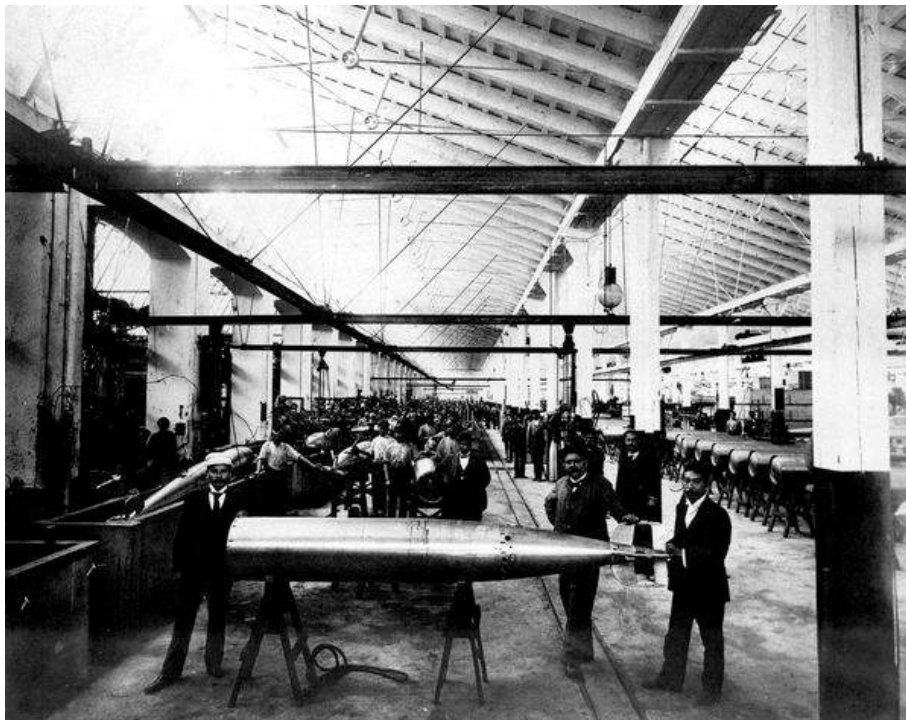
⁶⁶¹ The Viennese branch of the Rothschild family as the Hungarian General Credit Bank also owned the Mineral Oil Refinery Company. Through S.M. von Rothschild, the Creditanstalt and the Hungarian General Credit Bank, the Rothschild house was distinctly the company's biggest shareholder.

⁶⁶² As Velid Đekić describes: "Furthermore, covering a space of 790,508 sq. feet (73,440 sq. meters), with twelve horizontally positioned cylindrical primary-distillation tanks, six petroleum and gasoline re-distillation tanks, and a total processing capacity of 60,000 tons of crude oil per year, the refinery was the largest plant of its kind on the European continent. While the other refineries processed crude oil through manufacture, in small quantities, employing as a rule some ten or twenty workers, unsupervised by any petroleum industry specialist, Fiume started its processing operations with 300 employees and a technical director who was a university-trained professional chemist." From Velid Đekić *The Oil Refinery in Rijeka: A story of survival* in: www.rothschildarchive.org/ib/articles/AR2005Rijeka.pdf

⁶⁶³ Klen, p. 249.

For many years the plant in Fiume was the only world producer of this weapon. The revolutionary weapon was globally available: before 1914 it produced 16,500 torpedoes sold to all the world's navies. The French *jeune école* naval doctrine (which proved to substitute big and expensive battleships with cheaper torpedo boats and ultimately proved ineffective) was made possible by a visit and prolonged stays of young French naval officers in Fiume.

The first demonstration of the capabilities of the new weapon was given by the Japanese navy at Tsushima in 1905, where the extensive use of Fiuman torpedoes the Japanese torpedo-boats attacked the Russian fleet after its disablement by gun-fire and gave the *coup de grâce* to some of the mightiest ships of the Russian fleet. gave a complete victory against the Russians. Not only the weapons were purchased in Fiume but also the officers were trained by the Whitehead.



A labour aristocracy: the Whitehead torpedo factory that under the guidance of the Scott Whitehead started the first torpedo factory in the world.

Also the shipbuilding industry, with the new stimulus of battleship construction, fostered by the Hungarian government, showed a marked growth.⁶⁶⁴ The biggest industrial plant in Fiume were the Ganz & Co. Danubius in Bergudi works, specialised in warship construction, that were also bought by the Creditbank, that together with the Discount Bank, managed to get one of Hungary's largest and oldest engineering works, Ganz and Partner, Danubius, within its sphere of influence. The company, with total assets of over 58 million crowns in 1913, was an important manufacturer of machinery and locomotives, as well as a shipbuilder, although it built almost exclusively warships for the Austro-Hungarian navy.⁶⁶⁵

Other industries comprised some important mills, a renown paper factory the Smith and Maynier, and the tobacco factory in the spaces of the former sugar refinery.

⁶⁶⁴ The Danubius-Ganz in Fiume before First World War was one of the relatively few world shipyards able to design and build Dreadnought-type battleships.

⁶⁶⁵ Dreadnought the Szent István (see picture- Seiner Majestät Schlachtschiff Szent István). The machinery was built in Budapest and carried trough rails to Fiume, therefore most of the added value remained in the capital city and not in Fiume. Moreover, the frequent accidents at work contributed to its unpopularity in Fiume.

It is harder to evaluate the extent of the success of the Hungarian policies regarding the development of international trade in Fiume. The overall traffic was on constant rise but exports were always lagging behind importations and the port was under domination of the more efficient English and German ports, as remarked by the frequent laments of the Fiumani, along with ending the status of Freeport after German pressures who also denied it to Bremen and Hamburg and therefore urged the Austro-Hungarian governments to do the same with the ports of Trieste and Fiume.

Although greatest part of the added value was made elsewhere and did not accumulate in Fiume Hungarian initiatives were crucial for the functioning of the city economy, and that, understandably, it raised the importance of the city in the eyes of the Hungarians.

The role played by Fiume in opening Hungary to the world market first form agricultural products and increasingly for manufactured goods, poses also the obvious question of the position of the city within the Hungarian system. The issue will be raised not for failure to develop but because development was striking selectively. This will be the mainstay of Autonomism by the end of the century. In relation to this Karpowicz notices that the Hungarian government with its grandiose plans, big strategy, and long term planning could not have conceived that parallel to it could have coexisted an economic ration of a “small, historically defined community” of the *corpus separatum*.⁶⁶⁶ If the *corpus separatum* was a neat institutional solution, its size posed the greatest limit for the development of the port and industry in Fiume. Its territory was squeezed between Istria and Croatia.

To Karpowicz, it seems thus that for Hungarians the function of the city and therefore its position could best be described as colonial, with the city frequently defined “Jewel of the Hungarian Crown” in a position resembling the “Crown Jewel Colony” of Hong Kong. At a closer look the city powers structure as sanctioned by the statute resembles that of a colony.⁶⁶⁷ Fiume was labeled the “Jewel of the Hungarian crown” similarly to “Crown Colony of Hong Kong”.⁶⁶⁸

⁶⁶⁶ Karpowicz defines it a “modernised medieval commune” in Karpowicz, L.J. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, p, 109

⁶⁶⁷ There was no territorial contiguity with Hungary, culturally it was predominantly Italian, the governor held supervising powers. A colony differs from a puppet state or satellite state in that a colony has no independent international representation and the top-level administration of a colony is under direct control of the metropolitan state. Fiume had all this, the governor is the person who effectively controls the activity of the municipal administration, although this control is indirect and the local peculiarities are preserved. Even more this suits to a colony rather than to a national territory. The transition for Fiume after 1918 will be from a colony to a puppet state.

⁶⁶⁸ For example: Il Deputato Csernatony definisce Fiume “gemma della corona di S Stefano”. *La Bilancia* del 15 aprile 1884, but the phrasing was widely used.



A rare image of a truck bearing a fiuman car plate. H indicates the State (Hungary), F for Fiume, considered a city and province. Courtesy of Nenad Labus.

Moreover, the pattern of industrialisation was labour intensive rather than capital intensive. What has to be noted is that most of the industries in Fiume were characterised by a labour intensive that could exploit the supply of cheap unskilled workforce combined with savings in transportation costs provided by the seafaring.⁶⁶⁹

Fiume attracted masses of unskilled workers usually from the Croatian hinterland. The overall trend after 1900 was the extension of the industrialisation towards the Croatian town of Sušak, where most of the workforce resided and more and more plants were built given the scarcity of space and the resulting high prices in Fiume. Many of them settled in Sušak where life was cheaper than in Fiume but nevertheless the presence of industrial workers was always perceived as a menace to the cultural landscape by the Fiuman a fact that ignited reaction and negative attitudes on the industrialisation since the capitals it attracted were foreign (primarily Hungarian) and that it was attracting a foreign population threatening to reduce Italian culture to a minority in the city.⁶⁷⁰

In effect in Fiume in 1900 the ratio of persons who declared to have Italian as their language of use (Umgangssprache) was 17 492 where 16 264 declared it to be “Illyric” - Croatian or Slovene; immigration was changing the national picture in the city.

Immigrants from the Slavic hinterland, soon started to accumulate fortunes in Fiume. One was the Slovene Jožef (Josip) Gorup (Slavinski), who apart that owned the biggest real estate company in Fiume was also the owner of its finest hotels: the *Europa*.⁶⁷¹

Immigration was therefore to become a bone of contention especially for the locals, but not for the Hungarians when they started to consider the Slavs as their potential allies against the Italianate autonomists. Until then Croat nationalism or other movements had no real chance of changing Fiuman politics. According to Karpowicz “it seems that everything was evaluated in Fiume

⁶⁶⁹ Thus also in structural terms the development of Fiume fits with the colonial model.

⁶⁷⁰ Some Fiuman authors denied even its name and used just Oltreponete... (beyond the bridge), see Depoli Attilio, Oltreponete..., Pag.79-94, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno V, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1957

⁶⁷¹ Gorup, Jožef (Josip), Slavinski (Slavina pri Postojni, 1834–Reka, 1912), founded his enterprise in 1876 that soon grew upon into a major financial holdings. In 1888 Gorup financed the edition of the poems of the greatest Slovene poet of the time Simon Gregorčič. In Kržišnik Bukič, Vera. “Znameniti Slovenci na Hrvaškem skozi zgodovino”, *Migracijske i etničke teme* 22 (2006), 4: 421–445.

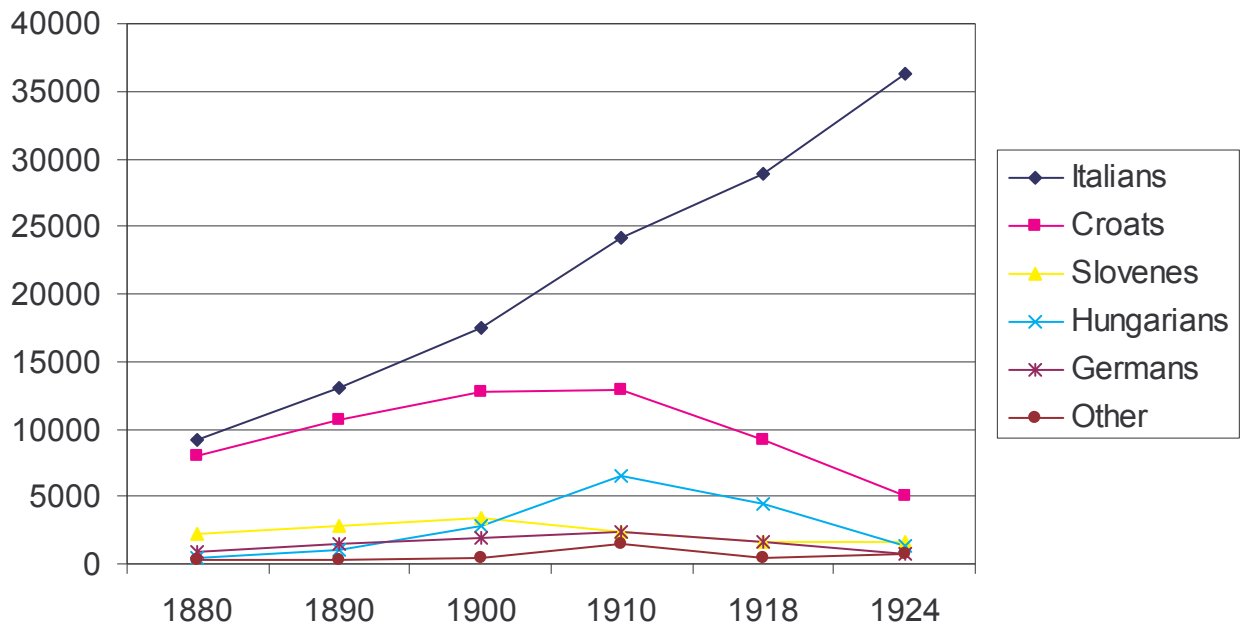
according to some principles of economic rationality”. What was crucial was the importance that all parties always attributed to commonwealth welfare and the relative issues of economic growth social welfare and technological development. This may sound trivial for the contemporary Western reader but in effect it was an exception for Croatia well up to the end of nineteenth century.⁶⁷² Even Barcich in order to convince Fiumans had demonstrate the economic advantages for Fiume resulting from its annexation to Croatia and, possibly, even in a larger south Slav polity. Moreover the issue of economic rationality could have led to very different solutions as those proposed by Croatian nationalists in Zagreb. In effect the Croatian party in Fiume organised by Barcich will adopt early a panslavist orientation that will be retained for a much longer that in the rest of Croatia. Thus jugoslavism rather than Croatian nationalism will be an early player among political ideologies in Fiume, and its importance will be on the rise during the first half of the twentieth century.

In fact, as the graph shows, this was much more rhetoric than truth. The Croat population augmented only slightly up to 1910 while the Italians experienced a dramatic rise both in relative and absolute terms.

Year	1880	%	1890	%	1900	%	1910	%	1918	%
Italians	9237	44	13012	44	17492	45	24212	49	28911	62
Croats	8029	38	10698	36	12772	33	12926	26	9253	20
Slovenes	2198	10	2780	9	3425	9	2337	5	1674	4
Hungarians	379	2	1062	4	2842	7	6493	13	4431	10
Germans	906	4	1495	5	1945	5	2315	5	1616	3
Other	232	1	347	1	412	1	1523	3	379	1
Total	20981	100	29394	100	38888	100	49806	100	46264	100

⁶⁷² By the last decades of the nineteenth century the party of right become the standard-bearer of Croatian opposition to the 1867 *Ausgleich* and 1868 *Nagoda*. Its influence was especially strong among intellectuals and students and the first generations of Croatian political leader in Dalmatia, Istria, and Bosnia-Hercegovina were formed allegedly in his mould. The economic problems of Croatia (a country composed almost exclusively of backward peasantry) were foreign to Starcevic: reportedly, he said there was no point in discussing any economic problems until “the glorious day of Croatia’s liberation”. preferring splendid isolation in wilderness to compromises with Austria or Hungary.

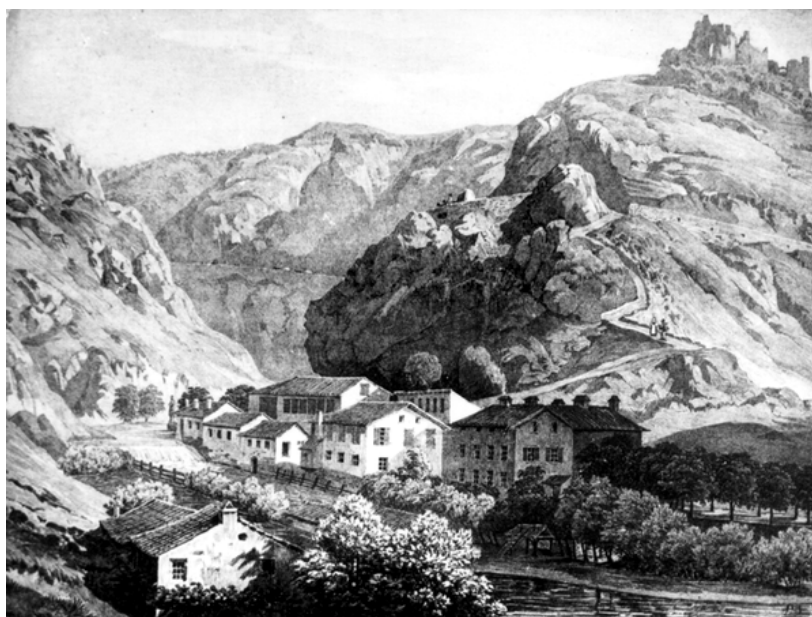
Fiuman Population by Nationality 1880-1924



BEHIND THE *CORPUS SEPARATUM*: THE RISE OF SUŠAK

Sušak initially was a village part of the commune of Trsat, that existed at least from the early modern period on the eastern borders of the *corpus separatum*.

Initially, judicially, the territory was part of the municipality of Buccari which had historically been the largest Croatian city on the Littoral. After a parliamentary action initiated by Marijan Derenčin the Croatian Sabor enacted the institution of an autonomous *municipium* of Sušak in 1874, 4 years after the provisory of Fiume had been enacted.⁶⁷³ The municipality from Trsat was transferred in Sušak in 1877, in its way to become the main centre of the Croatian Littoral.⁶⁷⁴ It belonged to the committee of Fiume Modrus.



Here is an early view of Trsat (top of the hill) overlooking the now growing suburb of Sušak, outside of the *corpus separatum*. Trsat (Tersatto), was most probably the earliest settlement in the area still preserving its Roman name of Tarsatica.

The new settlement will gradually enhance its importance to become the second most important economic, cultural and political centre of Croatia and all this - right beyond the borders of the *corpus separatum*.⁶⁷⁵ On September the 30th 1884 the fiuman Bilancia reported that: “*il comune di Sussak, ha presentato oggi alla Dieta una petizione, chiedendo con questa l'autorizzazione di cangiare il nome di Sussak in quello di Nova Rieka (Nuova Fiume)*.”⁶⁷⁶ Although this petition (so far unnoticed in the literature) that never become turned to an official act, however it sheds light on

673 From 1874 to 1918 the commune and district of Sušak were included into the committee of Modruš-Fiume (Rijeka), with the seat first in Fiume and then in Ogulin. In Bartulovic 2004, pp. 23-24.

674 Susmel Edoardo an Italian irredentist from Fiume, wrote: “Avevano creato una vera fucina di propaganda a Susak, dove avevano istituito scuole di ogni grado, dalle primarie alla commerciale, all'industriale, al ginnasio liceo, alla nautica di Buccari, aperto uffici amministrativi d'ogni rango, fatto venire dall'interno una caterva di magistrati, create nuove istituzioni (vi mancava l'ospedale, il primo soccorso, l'illuminazione, fino l'acquedotto per i quali si ricorreva a Fiume”. In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.2.

675 A development similar to the cities of Danzig-Gdynia in the Baltic.

676 *La Bilancia*, 30 settembre 1884.

what was Sušak intended to become, and that is was an intended *ersatz* solution after the loss of Fiume.⁶⁷⁷

Soon after the inclusion of Fiume within Hungary an unprecedented flow of investments poured on the city aimed at developing its infrastructures, and industrial plants. The development of Fiume, induced massive immigration. Fiume was restricted upon the limits of the *corpus separatum* and it could not move westwards, since in its western border the city in full industrial development, already reached its limits, marked by the Austrian border. As a result, on the east (Croatian) side of the river Rječina (Eneo) a new city will start to develop as a satellite of Fiume. It must be stated that the development of the new city on the eastern shore of the Rječina was wholly dependent on the development of Fiume. A report from 1888 clearly stated that the majority of new settlers in Sušak originated from Fiume, attracted by lower expenses in Sušak.⁶⁷⁸

The development induced a great rise in working classes. Since living expenses were lower in Sušak, more and more industrial workers who find work in Fiume went to Sušak for living, where industrial development was always scarce⁶⁷⁹. Before that the workers came to the city after extenuating marches from the surroundings that did not induce political groupings movements. Only after the development of Sušak as a dormitory for Fiume starts also an organised trade unions and the development of the workers union. In this way also the development of different forms of aggregation among Croats of the littoral started. Nevertheless, soon after becoming the residential quarter of the working classes that could not afford the more expensive living in Fiume or were simply not entitled with the pertinence, the city acquired a growing importance in terms of its influence in Croatia. There are several factors that explain its upward trend in the whole period that precedes the First World War. First of all, its economic dynamism and opportunities for social mobility was far greater than in any other place in contemporary Croatia - Zagreb, the capital city, included. The economic development of the city, made of it a visible competitor of Fiume, with great many shops but also financial direct investments from Croatia, aimed at Fiume.⁶⁸⁰

For the Fiumani and Hungarians the development of the satellite city helped in preserving the social and cultural features of Fiume. The vast majority of the ethnically diverse and thus possibly dissenting working classes were prevented from exerting any form of pressure on Hungarian policies or having any influence on Fiuman politics. In Fiume, there were only a few institutions under Croatian control surviving in the city, most notably the Croatian gymnasium that operated in increasingly precarious conditions finally ending up its activity in 1896, when it was transferred to Sušak.⁶⁸¹ Several Croatian intellectuals, publicists and journalist thus acquired soon a base in

⁶⁷⁷ This is the first project of such a solution, that was after ww2 proposed by the Yugoslavs also for Trieste with the Project of the Novi Trst (New Trieste) and was realised in the case of Gorizia with Nova Gorica. A similar solution was the case of Gdynia and towards Danzig.

⁶⁷⁸ Bartulovic 2004, p. 24. the head of the population census in Fiume from 1900 Giuseppe Pausi, remarked that of the 2417 inhabitants of Sušak, some 2000 had their jobs, their activities etc, in Fiume.

⁶⁷⁹ Nel loro territorio non vi erano che alcune concerie e due distillerie piuttosto modeste, oltre alla cartiera fiumana sorta un po' a monte. In Depoli Attilio, Oltreponte..., *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno V, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1957, p. 89.

⁶⁸⁰ Susak era diventata il contrapposto di Fiume. L'infiltrazione economica era entrata in ogni arteria cittadina. I croati, sovvenuti dal capitale di Zagabria aprivano botteghe e negozi in tutte le vie. Fino in città vecchia, ch'era il rione schiettamente italiano, il centro dell'italianità di Fiume, si leggevano insegne di osterie e di alberghi croate: l'invadente capitale croato era diventato ossessione di tutto e di tutti. I palazzi di Piazza Dante erano stati acquistati da capitali croati, la via della Fiumara, che mena diritta a Susak, era quasi completamente croatizzata, la via del Fosso, contigua a quella della Fiumara, era già contagiata. La marea entrava da ogni lato, penetrava nelle vie e nelle piazze principali, s'insinuava nelle calli, nei vicoli più puri, minacciando di sommergere la città. In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione*. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.3.

⁶⁸¹ Defined "palestra di cultura esotica" by Gigante, he recalls in his memories on the past 50 years of Fiume the estrainty and differences of the Croatian gymnasium compared to the fiumani: "e i non più giovani specie quelli abitanti lungo la fiumara e nei dintorni del duomo – ricorderanno ancora il corteo quotidiano degli alunni di quella scuola che prima d'incominciare le lezioni andavano, *in corpore*, coi loro insegnanti ad ascoltare la prima messa al Duomo, per invocare lo Spirito Santo, perché illuminasse docenti e discepoli; come ricorderanno le battaglie, pur esse

Susak. Their work passed totally unnoticed in the Italian speaking community or within the City bourgeoisie, nevertheless the influence they had proved to be of the greatest importance in mainland Croatia, where the bitter defeat by the Hungarians was never accepted.

Soon Sušak became the organisational centre of Croatian (later also Yugoslav) cultural activities and political propaganda. The foremost Croatian activist in Fiume Erazmo Barcic turned to the Party of Right in the early Seventies, having left the originally Illryanist group. There was no much choice in Croatia at the time. To the bourgeoisie of Fiume the discourses and the ideology of the Croatian party of right had really nothing to offer, and its influence in Fiume is minimal in Fiume but in Susak, it started to gain success. Nevertheless, many of the party's exponents stayed in Fiume for work attracted by the port's booming economy. A. Starčević was eventually elected into the Croatian Sabor as representative of Susak and Trsat.⁶⁸² The indefatigable Barcich, exponent of the Croatian party of right (HSP), already in 1878 started in Sušak a party paper titled "Sloboda" (Freedom), that in 1886 moved to Zagreb, changing thereby its name to "Hrvatska" (Croatia).⁶⁸³

The group centred around Barcich comprised exponents of the growing Croatian bourgeoisie that was developing in Fiume and in Sušak. The political programme of the paper was clearly set in the first issues: it had to express the view of the Croatian Party of Rights. Their program aimed at the unification of the Croats and Slovenes in one single state. The local section of the Croatian party of right that unlike in Croatia (with the exception of Dalmatia) in Fiume displayed a pro Yugoslav stance, rather than narrow Croatian nationalism.⁶⁸⁴

NEW COURSE AMONG THE CROATS: THE "RESOLUTION OF FIUME."

Franjo Supilo was already an affirmed journalist in Dubrovnik (Ragusa) when a group of local notables from Sušak (Barcich and Rude Linić from his circle) invited him to start a new paper – the *Novi List*. At the turn of the century a Dalmatian journalist Franjo Supilo will start a new newspaper in Sušak that will soon become the leading political paper in Croatia - the *Novi list*.

The first issue of the *Novi list* with Supilo as editor was out on the 2nd January 1900, and the program of the paper was stated: it was not about "empty slogans but about taking all the necessary concrete steps for achieving the goal of Croatian national unification". Therefore it concerned all the events in all the Croat lands (Istria, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Croatia proper). The enemies were all the forces that worked against Croatian national unification German Austrian and Hungarians (but also Serbs in Croatia and the, Serbian state) but also the Italians, such as in Trieste, Istria and Dalmatia and Fiume where all the Croatia initiatives were hampered if not openly fought.

Supilo seemed the right person at the right time: as in Dubrovnik also in Fiume the main obstacle for the Croats were the autonomists, that were successfully defeated by the Croatian party that Supilo led. An interesting fact is that the *Novi List* started its publication when the autonomist movement was at its heights as well as the conflict of Fiume with the Hungarians. In effect, the Autonomist Party of Fiume with Maylender were constant targets of *Novi List*. The *Novi List*, probably under the influence of Barcich, sided with the Hungarians against the autonomists in Fiume. It minimised their ideological specificity depicting them as potential (or camouflaged)

quotidiane, che s'impegnavano a lezioni finite, tra gli alunni delle scuole medie italo ungheresi e i pobri (pobre = compagno, camerata) come venivano chiamati i loro colleghi del ginnasio croato". In Gigante, "Fiume negli ultimi cinquant'anni", in *Fiume*, anno IV I sem. 1926, pp. 9-10.

⁶⁸² Starčević in 1861, was appointed the chief notary of the Fiume (Rijeka) county. That same year, he was elected to the Croatian Parliament as the representative of Fiume and founded the Croatian Party of Rights with Eugen Kvaternik. As the chief notary in Fiume in 1861, Starčević wrote "the four petitions of the Rijeka county", which are considered the basis of the political program of the Croatian Party of Rights. He pointed out that Croatia needed to determine its relationships with Austria and Hungary through international agreements. From http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ante_Starcevic

⁶⁸³ Klen, Danilo, et al. *Povijest Rijeke*, Izdavački Centar Rijeka, 1988, p. 235.

⁶⁸⁴ Klen, Danilo, et al. *Povijest Rijeke*, Izdavački Centar Rijeka, 1988, pp. 235-236.

Italian irredentists.⁶⁸⁵ Why were the autonomists in Fiume perceived as more ideologically divergent from the Hungarians? On April 20th 1900 an article from the *Novi List* by an anonymous author (probably Supilo) asks how did the liberals let the autonomists to win and gain the majority? After all he concludes the program and the goals of the autonomists are the same form that of the Hungarian liberals, that is to recognise “the Hungarian right for Fiume”. The autonomists in Fiume extorted privileges limited to their native city “with no consideration for its national character”. Thus for Supilo the problem was in the anomalous identity of the autonomists in Fiume.

Later, when the Autonomist Party, recognised as the partner of the Hungarian government, was at its heights (absolute victory at the municipal elections on the 22nd January 1901), the *Novi List* (issue of the 16th February 1901) presented the Croats as the real defenders of fiuman autonomy since Fiume only with its unification with Croatia could effectively have prevented its complete magyarisation that would make of it a Hungarian city “comparable to Debreczen or Szeged”. Thus the Croats had an alternative project for Fiuman autonomy - and that suited better to Hungarian interests, against Italian irredentism and it had to be tolerant towards Italian culture as the living example of Barcich testified. It seems that more than ideological differences there was frustration and resentment that fuelled the Croat stance versus the autonomists in Fiume.⁶⁸⁶

In 1901 the offices of the *Novi List* from Sušak moved to Fiume, where the goal of “national regeneration of the local city population” was proclaimed⁶⁸⁷. The idea is to participate directly into the politics of the city since, for Supilo, the political battle for Croatia had to be fought in Fiume - on the westernmost borders of Croatia.⁶⁸⁸ There was also a practical reason for moving to Fiume: in this way Supilo could avoid censorship still present in Zagreb under Hedervary, and Fiume was much closer to the centres of power and sources of information than isolated Dalmatia and oppressed Croatia.

Thus in an article celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Čitaonica the anonymous author under the title “Impression” observes that only the *plebs* is Croatian while all the other social strata are denationalised Croats. The author, probably Supilo who had just arrived to Fiume, promptly noticed that Fiume was completely different from the other Croatian cities - there was not even an embryo of a Croat middle class.

Supilo and the Croats of Fiume had a peculiar view on the city and its inhabitants. Moreover, even those who achieved a success in business and commerce, sent their children to schools to start careers as professionals and in this way denationalising them, since the majority of the Fiumani considered themselves to be culturally Italian and politically autonomist.

There was no comprehension for such a choice: this was to prove to be the most enduring legacy of Croatian attitude towards the Fiumani - condemned as traitors. “They were simply Fiumani, *Riječani* of Croatian origins, Italian language of use, and adherents of Hungarian politics” wrote Supilo in the *Novi List*. “a special product of the peculiar position of Fiume where she from 1868 is found; a direct consequence of a paradoxical politics, here is pursued and that here in Fiume show as an miniature example for the whole monarchy.” Moreover, Fiume was a telling symbol of the Croatian national catastrophe – weakness, lack of initiative, prevented its incorporation to Croatia, while how much Croatia was lagging behind was effectively demonstrated by the impetus of development in Fiume.

The problem therefore, was the whole dualist settlement of the Monarchy where the Germans dominated the Hungarians, the Hungarians subjugated the Croats. By this partitions the Croats, were the most penalised, since their national territory was divided among Austria (with Dalmatia and Istria), Croatia proper and Fiume, directly administered by the Hungarians. The only solution

⁶⁸⁵ Karpowicz, LJ. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, p. 174.

⁶⁸⁶ Karpowicz, 1986, p. 176. nl, 25th January 1901: “the autonomists hate us as Croats and as *competitors*,” stated by a party the Croatian who never got any of its members elected in Fiume!.

⁶⁸⁷ It was addressed also to those Croats who did not even knew to be Croats!. Karpowicz, LJ. 1986., p. 177.

⁶⁸⁸ Istria was outside Croatian borders.

for uniting the Croatian lands, was thus to disaggregate the Hapsburg monarchy. In search for allies in Hungary and Italy, Supilo later identified the whole dualist settlement of Austria-Hungary as the foremost instrument for a German (or Austrian) *Drang Nach Osten*.

After a first visit to Budapest in summer 1901, Supilo turned to the Kossuthist party as a model for political battle in Croatia. Hungary had to become an independent state and Croats would have helped them only to gain independence.⁶⁸⁹ The program of Supilo was thoroughly anti-constitutional: it undermined the very foundations of the Hapsburg monarchy and the Austro-Hungarian dualist state. Reportedly he even considered the use of terrorism as a mean to fight the regime of Hedervary in Croatia.⁶⁹⁰

In Supilo matured a *Weltanschauung* where the world was divided among two fighting camps the dominating Latin-German and the Slavic peoples. The south Slav lands of the Slovene and Croats were on the frontline. Croatia had to support the initiatives outside its narrow borders, and for that it had to take the Italians as a model where the irredentists were openly or secretly supported by official Italy. Moreover, the Croats had to exploit the existing divergences among their enemies to their own profit, and not to wander from pest to Vienna, and from Belgrade to Berlin as they have done so far.⁶⁹¹

This was a major change: for tactical reasons even Fiume could have become an independent state, and on this positions in Fiume is also Zanella, who unlike Maylender, was always close to the “Party of the 48”. In effect the opposition to Maylender contrasts with support granted to Zanella. Why was Zanella preferred to Maylender? The proclaimed reason was just to oppose “Maylender who betrayed his land”.⁶⁹² Zanella appeared permeable to the idea of a “Fiuman state” with a peculiar sense of its identity characterised by mixture of Italian, Croatian and Hungarian elements. Promptly, the *Novi list* changes policy and now looks and a rapprochement with Zanella, marked by a series of articles under pseudonym “Yorick” who claims that he made Zanella’s victory in 1905 possible. Moreover, the struggle of Kossuth is labelled as “political” while Bannfy is an exponent of national chauvinistic, current in Hungarian politics, very much in tune with the style of writing of *La Voce del popolo*. In this way the Croats around the *Novi list* and Supilo went closer to Zanella, confirming that the whole dualist era is marked by its supporters and opponents: this is the main cleavage in Hungarian, Croatian and Fiuman politics.

The status of Croatia within the Hungarian Kingdom as settled on the *Nagoda* was always disputed. In effect the despite was reflected for the *Ausgleich* itself as well as for the provisory of Fiume. There were three interpretations: real union, province but with large autonomy, a federation settled by a contract between two states.⁶⁹³

In effect there is no ultimate solution: Hapsburg constitutionalism was unclear, and in case of dispute could have been settled only by sovereign decision. Thus any solution was outside the domain of positive law resting ultimately on a personal decision of the ruler. It is no surprise then that most of political debates in the Hapsburg monarchy (including Hungary, Croatia, and Fiume) was actually of how to interpret the constitutional acts of the various compromises.⁶⁹⁴

⁶⁸⁹ Supilo, Frano. *Politika u Hrvatskoj*, (ur. BOGDANOV, Vaso), Kultura, Zagreb, 1953.

⁶⁹⁰ He experimented with bombs, tested on open sea with the help of the directors of the “Ungaro Croata”, that helped also financially his paper and his political project. Although unconfirmed this is might be supported by the fact that the “Ungaro Croata” was never attacked by his *Novi List*. On the other hand as we shall see the company was at center of several strikes that enjoyed the support form the fiuman political forces. In Petrinović, Ivo. *Politička misao Frana Supila*, Književni krug Split, 1988, p. 54.

⁶⁹¹ Petrinović, Ivo. *Politička misao Frana Supila*, Književni krug Split, 1988, p. 47.

⁶⁹² Karpowitz, LJ. 1986, p. 177.

⁶⁹³ Sirotković, Hodimir and Margetić, Lujo: *Povijest država i prava naroda SFR. Jugoslavije*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 1988, , p. 151.

⁶⁹⁴ Today thus the politeness of tone of discussion in Hapsburg and Hungarian politics seems almost unimaginable. In effect in Fiume after the fall of the monarchy the style of political discussion and the related conflicts itself will show an extreme polarisation and violence.

Supilo to start the politics of “New Course” required good and reliable connections. Initially, Zanella helped Supilo in Fiume. Supilo was from Ragusa and therefore an Austrian citizen. After having acquired the Fiuman pertinence he gained the Hungarian citizenship and in this way he could participate directly in Croatian politics. He is elected to the Croatian diet, in the district of Glina. Ferenc Kossuth in Hungary and Riccardo Zanella in Fiume supported his election as Hungarian citizen⁶⁹⁵.

Fiume certainly gave to the Croatians a privileged observation point. Here connections with the outside world were far more developed than in the rest of Croatia⁶⁹⁶. The appearance of Supilo in Fiume was the signal of a change in politics. A nationalist and (Yugoslav) irredentist program was now an open possibility, that went hand in hand with defence of Italian character of Fiume as epitomised by Riccardo Zanella, the later champion of the Free State.

Erasmus Barcich the Croatian leader who invited Supilo to Fiume was far from a revolutionary. His concept is a project for a “Greater Croatia” with Fiume possibly at its centre maybe even the capital city. Barcich seems to stick with the Hungarian liberal party. Claiming to be a Fiuman patrician and not a cittadino, underlying his noble ascendancy. Neither the fusion of Croat political organisations in Fiume with the socialists will ever happen. The Croatia politics will never attempt (apart from rhetoric that the working classes were predominately Croats) to offer something for the working classes. The missed fusion contact and communication as rightly identified as a policy that hurts ultimately Croatian inflected in Fiume.

Supilo was different - sided with the Hungarian independents of the Party of Kossuth, especially during the triumphant years of the Rijecka Rezolucija. Therefore his political action had to liberate and unite and organise Croatians throughout the monarchy and beyond. Nevertheless, it failed, for the Hungarian unwillingness to leave its imperialist program. Paradoxically to succeed the Croatian project for Fiume had to look to Hungary when this position showed to be impracticable, Supilo turned to new potential allies to Italy and its democratic circles where Supilo was extremely active in 1903-1904 and that produced some results – several books and pamphlets upon the hard position and situation of Croatians in Hungary were to be issued.

The whole constellation around Croatia changed with the violent end of the Obrenović dynasty in Serbia (1903.) and the arrival of the traditionally anti-Austrian Karađorđević dynasty. A secessionist option became real for the Croats as well as some form of union with Serbia. This received support (although secretly) also by the Hungarian opposition led by F. Kossuth, son of L. Kossuth.

In Croatia the nationalist SP (Stranka prava) merged with the Neodvisna narodna stranka on the 15th January 1902, and on the 29th January 1903, it gave birth to the new Hrvatska stranka prava (HSP). Although in principle the party did not abandon the goal of making an independent Croat state, now it appeared towards the Serbs, that under the leadership of Svetozar Pribićević⁶⁹⁷ showed a conciliatory stance.⁶⁹⁸ Also Frano Supilo entered.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁵ Allegedly, Zanella went eventually to Budapest to help designing a new pro Hungarian politics of Croatia. (What was the design?) The common enemy is Austria. Croatia and Hungary could profit from a closer union that was apparently against the interests of Autonomism. (But why was Zanella supporting him?) Karpowicz, 1986, p. ?

⁶⁹⁶ i.e. in 1914 there were more than twenty consular offices in Fiume, while at the time Zagreb has only 2. there were far better telephone and telegraph connections, many more long trading corporations etc. thanks to this infrastructure base Supilo had a competitive advantage in bringing up to date information in Croatia.

⁶⁹⁷ Svetozar Pribićević (Светозар Прибићевић, born in Kostajnica, October 26, 1875, died in Prague, September 15, 1936) was an ethnic Serbian politician from Croatia who worked hard for creation of unitaristic Yugoslavia. As a youth, Pribićević studied mathematics and physics in Zagreb and then briefly in Prague. Upon returning to Zagreb, he joined other young, politically active Croats and Serbs in producing the book *Narodna misao* (The National Idea, 1895) which argued that Croats and Serbs were one nation, and that they should work together in Croatian politics. He took over leadership of the Serbian People's Independent Party (Srpska narodna samostalna stranka) in 1903. In 1905, he and his party sponsored the Zadar Resolution, by which the Independents proposed to work with willing Croatian political parties (and signatories of the Rijeka Resolution) for a new, more assertive Croatian policy vis-a-vis the Hungarian and Austrian governments. Between 1906 and 1918, he led the Croato-Serbian Coalition, which was the political child of the two earlier resolutions. The Coalition dominated Croatian politics during that period. The power of the Coalition,

The year 1903 is an important one for the history of Fiume as it is for Croatia. The Croats had reasons for frustration in Fiume: on the 10th of January 1903, the Rappresentanza refutes the proposal of the institution of a Croatian school in Fiume⁷⁰⁰. Although the Croats never managed to achieve any electoral success in Fiume, in 1903 they came closest of having one representative elected at the Rappresentanza, but the attempt failed.⁷⁰¹ Although the election was said to have been amongst “general disinterest”, it never happened before that a Croatian candidate got the majority of the votes in Fiume. The crisis in the autonomist party is obvious, and the *Associazione Autonoma* elected a new direction in 16th June 1903.⁷⁰²

In 1903 protests exploded throughout Croatia. The pretest was the introduction of Hungarian scripts on several state offices in Croatia. This fuelled mass demonstrations throughout the country against the rule of the ban Khuen-Héderváry. Khuen-Héderváry, in an interview for the Viennese *Neue Freie Presse*⁷⁰³ rightly understood that the origins of the protests and opposition in Croatia were the same as in Hungary: problems had arisen by the renegotiation of the financial provisions of the compromise between Croatia and Hungary, and wanted a revolution aimed against the dualist system. Similar phenomena were observed with the northern Slavs in the Austrian half of the Monarchy.⁷⁰⁴ The Hungarian opposition, led by F. Kossuth, supported the renewed Croat-Serbian fraternity, probably also for the arrival of the traditionally anti-Austrian Karadorđević dynasty. There is more also the Serbian government starts to support the rapprochement between Croats and Serbs.⁷⁰⁵ The leader of the “new course” was to be Frano Supilo. At the beginnings of September

and the appeal of its "Yugoslav" agenda, made it the target of attempts by Austrian and Hungarian authorities to destroy it. The treason trial of 1909 (in which Croatian authorities tried 53 Serbs for treason) and the Friedjung trial (in which Pribičević and other members of the Coalition sued the Austrian historian Heinrich Friedjung for libel on the basis of several articles he wrote in the *Reichspost*) of the same year were the most obvious evidence of these campaigns. Until 1910, Pribičević shared leadership of the Coalition with Frano Supilo. Supilo left the Coalition in that year, and Pribičević led it alone from that point.

⁶⁹⁸ They refused the invitation to put Cyrillic scripts on their bank in Zagreb under invitation of Kh, in this the policy of dividing Serbs and Croats and Hungarians came to a halt.

⁶⁹⁹ Agneza Szabo. “Uzroci i posljedice političkih demonstracija u Hrvatskoj 1903. godine”. *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Vol. 37 No. 3, p. 603.

⁷⁰⁰ Only Alberto Sirolo proposed to introduce Croatian language with Hungarian as a mandatory language, but the proposal was refuted with unanimity.

⁷⁰¹ On the 15th April 1903 there were supplementary elections for two members of the Rappresentanza. A combined list for “Croatian and unsatisfied Fiuman electors” led by Erasmo Barcich and Antonio Walluschnigg appeared. Strangely enough, Walluschnigg, allegedly an “old autonomist” and even “garibaldino” asserted that he did not authorize his candidature and notified that if elected he would have refused. The autonomist party proposes L Lenaz and G Baccarich that gained 300 and 287 votes respectively, while Walluschnigg got 319 and Barcich 308.

In an open letter Barcich declares that his election is not political. Walluschnigg says that such a result was imputed to the autonomist party. The elections were nullified after a petition made by the elector Ernesto Zaller who claimed that even “dead and absent people voted”. Nevertheless, Erasmo Barcich comes and in a very tumultuous gathering of the Rappresentanza he is invited to leave. The day after he made no recourse against the nullification of the elections.

⁷⁰² G Duimich is now president, A Belen I vice president, M Duimich II vice president. D Castro, F G Corossacz, I Garofolo G Pus, G R Zangerle counsellors. On their request Riccardo Zanella and F Kuschner were not re-elected.

⁷⁰³ Promptly translated in Croatian and out in the *Narodne novine u Zagrebu, Razgovor s banom*, *Narodne novine*, Zagreb, 1903., br. 122 (29. V.), 546-547.

⁷⁰⁴ In effect one of the criticisms against Khuen-Héderváry in Croatia came from the peasant nationalist leader Stjepan Radić, who exclaimed that it was his overcome of national and linguistic differences (typical of the dualist system) a problem. As he wrote in 1903: “Count Khuen is nationally unconscious as a tree trunk: he speaks Hungarian within his family, Croatian at the Sabor, German in the high society, while in Pest, he is a Hungarian knight, in Vienna he is an Austrian Ritter, and in Zagreb he wants to be addressed as a great ban of the nation; in politics though he is a police commissar, and in the national economy he is a shallow aristocratic danguba, while in educational matters he is an empty inflated trumpeter, with his relation to the Croatian people he is a s infamous traitor, since he is loudly paid from those that he hates, denigrates and ruins”. In Željko HOLJEVAC, S. Radić i M. Marjanović o narodnom pokretu God. 37., br. 3., 713.-719. (2005) From Stjepan RADIĆ, *Hrvatski Pokret Godine 1903. Politička razprava*, Allegheny, s. a. [1903.]. 3.; 53.

⁷⁰⁵ It is from here that in my opinion originate the connections of Zanella with the Serbians.

1903 the *Obzor*⁷⁰⁶ edited by the leaders of the Croatian liberal position was to pinpoint that the real threat were the Germans and that for this the support to fight the Hungarians was demanded from the Slavs, Romanians and Italians, but *they refused*.⁷⁰⁷

In 1903 after 20 years the Ban of Croatia, Khuen-Hedervary was removed from his office. After twenty years of forced hibernation, the Croatian Sabor and therefore, the provincial government had to be re-elected. Croatian politics was again in fermentation. The integration of the Krajina has been achieved in 1883⁷⁰⁸ and now the Croatian program of national integration aimed at Dalmatia.⁷⁰⁹

With this *Obzor* came close to the *Riječki Novi list*, but also to the *Novi Srbobran*⁷¹⁰ the times were ready for a policy for a new course, a policy that gained support in Dalmatia, majority of the Croats in America that were to play a mayor role in the last years of the First World War and the HSP in Croatia but also the Hungarian opposition. In Fiume it was Zanella who granted support to Supilo and had the same allies in the Hungarian parliament.

In the same period Supilo started a series of conciliatory papers towards Italy and Italians.⁷¹¹ The trend ignited a secession within the Croat nationalists where the followers of Josip Frank.⁷¹² constituted the Starčevićeva hrvatska stranka prava, at the end of 1903. Moreover, Stjepan Radić weakened the support for the HSP when he founded the Hrvatska pučka seljačka stranka (1904.). on the same year, the young radicals Hrvatska napredna stranka (Croatian progressive party).

Moreover, Croat political initiative was now firmly in the hands of Supilo in Fiume and in Dalmatia led by Ante Trumbić mayor of Split and Pero Cingrija in Dubrovnik. In 1904 the *Novi list* expanded its format, and become a widely read national paper in Croatia, but in 1904-1905 the politics of the “New Course” came to a stalemate, with the failure to impose a change of politics in Croatia.

In 1905 there was a Political crisis throughout the Monarchy. In 1905 the Croats needed allies from both Hungary and Austria. On the 27th April 1905 in Hungary the Szell government had fallen, the Monarch wants to replace it with whom he is of its supported confidence.

On the 29th June 1905 – Franz Joseph nominated as Minister President of Hungary baron Fejervary. In the same days, on 26-27th April 1905 is a crucial moment in the formulation of a south Slav program for emancipation from the Hapsburg monarchy. The initiator is Supilo, and the strategy is that Hungary would have to secede from the Hapsburg monarchy and Croats will support them. But an independent Croatia with Hungary with Dalmatia is a reincorporating is crucial to recreate the Triune Kingdom.

On the 3rd October 1905 there is an important gathering of the Croatian party in the Croatian Čitaonica in Fiume. With this political programme the director of the most important Croatian paper

⁷⁰⁶ As it was synthesized in the study of Marjanović Hrvatski pokret during the nineteenth century Croatia there were 3 main political currents: the pro Hungarian (unionist), the independents (from the party of right pravaška, roughly comparable to the kossuthists in Hungary) and the Yugoslav. They were organized in three parties (pravaše, mađarone i obzoraši - from the title of their paper the obzor). In Željko HOLJEVAC, S. Radić i M. Marjanović o narodnom pokretu God. 37., br. 3., 713.-719. (2005)

⁷⁰⁷ “Germans and Magyars divide the power among themselves over the great majority of the other nations. Now htat they fight each other, they call us Slavs, Romanians and Italians to help them in their fight. Dear German gentlemen we are not against the Magyars as we don’t want to side with the Magyars against your fair requests. Time has come that we start to think and work fro our interests ourselves. In Josip HORVAT, *Politička povijest Hrvatske*, Zagreb 1936, p. 346.

⁷⁰⁸ The integration produced widespread tumults in 1883. Croatia was on a verge of a civil war, and Hedervary, appointed Ban in 1883, governed the country with iron hand, up to 1903.

⁷⁰⁹ Dalmatia was claimed by Hungary as well. Therefore here Croatian and Hungarian strategic goals coincided. As for Fiume, they diverged completely. For Dalmatia, anyway the Hungarians envisaged a status of *Corpus Separatum* similarly as for Fiume, but that could have been realised only after the annexation. The court in Vienna, however was always successful in impeding this. On the other hand, except for the period ... the Dalmatian representative assembly the Diet never had a majority that claimed the union with Croatia. See Perić, Ivo. *Dalmatinski sabor 1861.-1912.*, Zadar, 1978.

⁷¹⁰ There the most infuential was Svetozar Pribičević, memeber of the Srpska samostalna stranka u Hrvatskoj,

⁷¹¹ Petrinović, Ivo. *Politička misao Frana Supila*, Književni krug Split, 1988, pp. 55-56.

⁷¹² Josip Frank was exponent of filo Austrian extreme Croat nationalism and was anti-Semitic and anti Serb, the precursor of the later Ustasa movement.

in Fiume (that was the leading one in whole Croatia) Frano Supilo founds the politics of the “New Course”. There the so called *Riječka rezolucija* is presented: the idea is to unify Croatia with Dalmatia and Fiume by counting on an alliance with the Serbs of Croatia. The idea is therefore akin to Yugoslavism an idea that had disappeared from the Croatian political scene since the 1870s. Hungary is seen as the strategic ally for the operation, and the common foe is Austria or better the Hapsburg dynasty, to whom the Croats have traditionally always referred.

This program will give a new momentum to Croatian politics. For the first time a strategy that challenged the Hapsburg’s constitutional order was planned. Supilo started to find alliances abroad for building an alternative to the Hapsburg Empire.

Fran Supilo promptly exploited the new situation in Croatia, and started to build the Hrvatsko-srpska koalicija. The program started already in the second half of 1903, and especially with the preparatory work for the “Riječka rezolucija” that was drafted in close cooperation with the Hungarian opposition (that shortly afterwards won the elections), and the leaders of the remnants of the HSP.

The Resolution of Fiume “Riječka rezolucija” was signed on the 5th October 1905 in Fiume. In its essence the document is modeled upon the *nagoda*, and apart from the claim of the integrity of Croatia and the support of the struggle goals of the Hungarian opposition entails a division of sovereignty in Croatia between the Serbian and the Croatian nations.⁷¹³

Predictably, the “Riječka rezolucija” was refused the signature by the Croatian nationalists of Josip Frank, nor the Hrvatska pučka seljačka stranka, but it was signed by the Croatian representatives from the province of Dalmatia. The Croatian deputies from the Provincial Diet in Istria refused because of the Hungarian policy towards Fiume, but strikingly enough the “Riječka rezolucija”, had no words about Fiume and its position.

This mayor departure from the traditional goals of all Croatian forces shows the extent to which the support of the Hungarian opposition was perceived to be strategic for Supilo. For Zanella as well as the Hungarian opposition therefore the “Riječka rezolucija”, was an optimal result. Fiume was secured, Croat nationalism pertained with Serbian support, and directed towards the union of Dalmatia to Croatia. Fiume was left as it was in the cs. The new course gained support from the Austro Hungarian Serbs, but also from the Italian Dalmatians (Croatian nationalism was moderated and weakened).

Soon after the mediation of the Srpska samostalna stranka with seat in Zagreb, where the influence of Svetozar Pribičević, was becoming preponderant the The Resolution of Zara (“Zadarska rezolucija”) was signed by the Dalmatian Slav (both Serb and Croatian) deputies on the 17th October 1905.)⁷¹⁴. the point was that even more than with “Riječka rezolucija”, the Croat had to subdivide their sovereignty claims in Croatia with the Serbs. The result was the birth of a new coalesced group under the lead of Supilo and Pribičević the Hrvatsko-srpska koalicija (12.

⁷¹³ The Croat deputies hold that the public events of to-day in Hungary arose in consequence of the struggle which aimed at gradually securing for the Kingdom of Hungary complete State independence. The Croat deputies regard these efforts as justified by the very fact that every nation has the right to decide freely and independently concerning its existence and its fate. The Croat deputies are convinced that the two nations, the Croatian and the Hungarian, not only in view of their historic relations, but still more in view of the fact of direct neighbourhood and the real needs of their life and mutual aid are thrown upon each other, and that therefore they must avoid every cause and ground for mutual friction. Starting from the premisses, the Croat deputies consider it to be their duty to fight side by side with the Hungarian nation for the fulfilment of all constitutional rights and liberties, in the conviction that the said rights and liberties will be of advantage to the Croatian and Hungarian nations: and thus will be laid the basis of a lasting understanding between the two nations. These aims - namely the mutual advantages defined above - having been attained, there is laid down as a condition the speediest reincorporation of Dalmatia in the Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, to whom it already falls both virtually and lawfully.

⁷¹⁴ With regard to the demand of our Croat brethren for the reincorporation of Dalmatia with Croatia and Slavonia, which is actually guaranteed by the existing law, the Serb parties are also ready to use their influence for the realization of this demand, if the Croats on their part remove the obstacle which has hitherto prevented the Serb party of the Littoral from declaring itself in favour of annexation - if, namely, the Croats give a binding recognition of the equality of the Serb and Croat peoples.

December 1905.) the group was the first modern Yugoslav oriented, party, it even introduced the use of Serb Croatian language as definition for Croatian, paving the way for cultural and political unity among the South Slavs of the Habsburg Monarchy.

Ousted from political life, and after the failure of the resolution, Croat politics were definitely marginal in Fiume reduced to scant and disorganised attempts and actions.⁷¹⁵ From then on the *Novi List* and the Croatian movement lives in frustration with nostalgia for the “old days” in 1903 and the resolutions etc. After the backlash *Novi List* tuned back to local politics in Fiume where there were important changes. There were fractions within autonomists and the groups like the *Giovine Fiume*. It seems that the *Novi List* was completely isolated from political life: the analysis it gave about these important changes in the local political constellation were totally wrong. The Croats and the *Novi List* equalled autonomists with Italian irredentists. This prevented them to identify the real Italian what was the *Giovine Fiume* and that was not almost noticed by them. On the other hand probably rightly noticed that the *Giovine Fiume* was encouraged by the autonomists and especially Zanella to fight the Croats in the city.

So it seems that, by 1911, the Croat project in Fiume is on a deadlock. By the turn of the century the old system was challenged by a new concept: that of the natural law applicable to all individuals with its practical corollary of popular and representative government. The idea that the individual and not the group with its elites representing her in the front of the Emperor is the basis of the community was a novelty for the whole area. The idea was applied in Croatia in a rather simplified fashion through the Peasant Party of Radic, for most of the time the struggle was for constitutional government of the people that is the Croatian nation for a form of government that would reduce the ability of the Habsburg governors to manipulate ethnic communities.

The great disillusion with Hungary and its politics will force him to look for allies elsewhere, in Italy. Supilo started to search for new settings and allies. In Italy contacts with Turati and Guglielmo Ferrero life long friendship, and a joint strategy, that by 1918 will give again to the Croats a mirage of power.

⁷¹⁵ The greatest incident happened on the 6th of September 1906 when a mass of when a mass of Sokolasi – the Slavic gymnastic youth association, provoked serious incidents in Fiume, and the tumults that saw even the intervention of the local army garrison units were employed. As reported by Gigante and Depoli, afterwards several of the fiumani who had their houses in s, moved to Fiume. Depoli Attilio, Oltreponete..., *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno V, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1957, p. 90, Gigante, Riccardo. 1928. *Storia Del Comune Di Fiume*, Bemporad, Firenze, pp. 128-130.

THE FAILURE OF INTERNATIONALISM: THE SOCIALISTS

Fiume by 1910 numbered 6485 industrial workers, almost 85% of which are concentrated in the six biggest plants in Fiume (the Ganz shipyard, the pillatura di riso, the oil refinery, and the paper, tobacco and torpedo factories). Fiume was the greatest industrial centre of Croatia and harboured the highest and most numerous concentration of industrial proletariat.

According to Heinz Gerhard Haupt we still do not know how the *reception* of the national identity spread through the different social strata in a given population.⁷¹⁶ In Fiume, at least from the late Nineteenth Century, national and social polarization seemed to coincide: The aristocracy made up of the Hungarian nobility that in growing numbers started to settle in the City. The middle class (first embodied by the patriciate and later in the growing bourgeoisie) was Italian or better Italianate, made up also of Slavs who underwent a process of cultural assimilation, and, finally, the great majority of the lower social strata were made up by the indigenous Slav population. Nevertheless, even among the working classes the development of a Slav identity was long delayed and stayed marginal.

The first forms were of mutual aid assistance and later also with cultural and educational purpose such as the Società dei mutuo soccorso and Società degli artieri, both founded in 1869-1871.

The società operaia reborn after a break in the 1870s in 1884, the next year issues its paper titled L'Operaio, starts some revolutionary activity in the context of the II international. The first trade union organisation the Confederazione Operaia was instituted in 1890, and in 1894-96 managed to organise some manifestations for mayday, but in 1897 the Banffy executive prohibits all activity and the societies are dissolved. The Confederazione Operaia reopens in 1901 and it is very active but suspended the next year. The year 1902 is marked by a series of strikes and mass demonstrations.

The working class in Fiume is multinational as it can be evinced from the use of several languages by its members and organisations. Nevertheless, the coordination and links with Sušak are remarkably faint, although always present.⁷¹⁷ The reference for the Fiumani was again Hungary.

In 1903 the Socialist Party was founded with the name Partito Socialista Operaio di Fiume – Sezione del P.S.O. d'Ungheria. Among the founders there were several workers from the Whitehead Torpedo Factory, and its leader was Samuel Maylander, the brother of Michele.

The same group founded also the “Confederazione del Lavoro di Fiume”, (the Labour Union) later known as the “Sedi Riunite”.⁷¹⁸ The party survived until the fall of the empire in October 1918 when it was renamed Partito socialista internazionale di Fiume.⁷¹⁹ The group was quite active in the cultural field, through its “Circle of Social Studies” (Circolo di Studi sociali) founded on October the 13th 1903 at the Fenice Amphitheatre.⁷²⁰ The Circle had frequently anticlerical lectures suggesting an initial composition of intellectuals and professionals rather than industrial workers.⁷²¹ In June

⁷¹⁶ Haupt Heinz Gerhard with M. G. Müller/S. Woolf (ed.), *Regional and National Identities in Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, The Hague 1998.

⁷¹⁷ Importance exaggerated in Klen et al. Pp. 264-268.

⁷¹⁸ Typical name of the trade union associations in the Italian speaking regions of au. (Istria, Trento, Gorizia, Trieste, Fiume, Zara).

⁷¹⁹ More on this on ch5.

⁷²⁰ Pietro Stupicich was the initiator of the circle intended for the cultural centre for the working and the middle class in Fiume. inaugurated with a conference of the prof. Adolfo Zerboglio, of the Italian Socialist Party. Edmondo De Amicis, in the impossibility to participate to the inauguration telegraphed auguries and salutes. Zerboglio, introduced from the president of the Circle, Pietro Stupicich, spoke on the topic "socialist civilization". («Il Popolo» - Fiume, «Il Piccolo della Sera» - Trieste). Later on several socialist speakers from Italy gave lectures: Enrico Ferri, Giuseppe Marangoni, Innocenzo Cappa, prof. Gustavo Sacerdote, Guido Podrecca, Angelica Balabanoff, etc.

⁷²¹ popular in Fiume especially after the “Case Ferrer”, Francesc Ferrer i Guàrdia (January 10, 1859 - October 12, 1909), (known as Francisco Ferrer y Guardia in Spanish and often simply as Francisco Ferrer), was a Catalan free-thinker and anarchist. Following the declaration of martial law in 1909 during the Tragic Week, he was arrested and executed without any proof by firing squad at Montjuich Fortress in Barcelona on October 13.

1909 the party started also its weekly magazine titled, as the socialist paper from Trieste, “Il Lavoratore”.⁷²²

From 1903 to 1914 more than 100 strikes were organised and 7 general strikes were organised or attempted. Remarkably the two most important strikes organised by the “Sedi Riunite” involved the sailors of the “Ungaro-Croata” steamship society, a strike with staunch nationalist overtones, since the Ungaro-Croata was a society with predominance of Croatian capital.⁷²³

Also in Fiume the typographers were organisationally separated from the other workers. The Società tipografica fiumana founded in 1898 already in 1905 merged with the Hungarian society.

Although, any cooperation with Sušak failed, apart from minor support given mostly to the Sušak party when their countys were prohibited, Fiume was a test bed for socialist internationalism. The party was officially internationalist and it had several Hungarians and Slavs in its ranks, although the majority of the Croat labourers rather joined the Social Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia in Sušak. The Social Democratic Party in Fiume was a section of the Hungarian social democratic party, known for its reformist stance. There is a paucity of works on the topic.⁷²⁴ Most of the socialist articles were about the extension of suffrage, where the Socialists had the support from the autonomists as well. In occasion of the reopening of the Hungarian Parliament On 10th October 1907 in Fiume great manifestations for universal suffrage were organised.⁷²⁵

The social ideal endorsed by the paper “Il Lavoratore” is that of the small ownership, cooperation. The program of Hungarian social democratic party to which the Fiuman section was affiliated was drafted by Kautsky and the party collaborated with the Austrian counterpart. For nationalities it wanted autonomy and not equality. Even the Giovine Fiume was not condemned, apart a formal observation that irredentism wants war and socialism avoids it and wants peace. This is confirmed also by Luksich-Jamini where it is said that the Social Democratic Party in Sušak the P.S.O. of

⁷²² Director was Mario Bazzi.

⁷²³ The Strike started on February 14th 1906, the strikers were approximately 3.000. The day after the strike becomes general. The local press, (La Bilancia and La Voce del Popolo) participates actively and blames the resistance of the direction of the "Ungaro-Croata". Although the Ungaro-Croata capitulated a after this spilling of blood on February the 17th. the general strike continued and spread to all the big fiuman industries were on strike, and on February the 19th, from Carlstadt two battalions of infantry were sent to reinforce the local police garrison. The communal guards are armed with guns. The municipal government issued a manifesto where it appealed to the good sense and the conscience of the employers and it asks the workers to contain their claims within the limits of the order, perceiving that the military authorities “have taken strict provisions”. But the strike was not over. On the 19th February 1906 the strike extends to the Tobacco factory that employed mostly women. On 22nd February 1906 – the industrial league of the principals called «Lega industriale dei principali» changed the denomination in league of the labour giver «Lega dei datori di lavoro». Finally, on the 15th of March 1906, the social agitations, after strikes and lock outs, have a moment of arrest for the compromises between the employers and the labourers. In march the agitation included also the shop workers and workers from the building industry, where there was a coordination with Sušak. Attempts at a joint action between the socialists in Fiume and Sušak never did much, although there was a repeated attempt also in November 1908. The Ungaro-Croata was once more the stage of a big strike, that started on May 1910 and lasted up to the summer of 1911. on June the 1st 1911 – the Sedi Riunite proclaimed a general strike for a indeterminate time, “for solidarity with the sailors of the Society of Ungaro-Croata Navigation”, which were in strike from the May of the past year for issues pays wages to them. Nevertheless, the general strike failed, since the directions of the companies menaced the serrata if it was to be held. Governator Wickemburg, and the Deputy Vio, and the president of the fiuman Chamber of Commerce intervened by the direction of the company to settle.

⁷²⁴ One exception is Luksich-Jamini A. “Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV-XVI, gennaio 1969-dicembre 1970, 54-70

⁷²⁵ 10-X-1907 - A Fiume grandi manifestazioni prò suffragio universale in occasione della riapertura del Parlamento ungherese. Ogni lavoro è sospeso, i negozi sono chiusi. Alle 9 ci fu una « passeggiata » dimostrativa alla quale presero parte 2000 persone portando bandiere rosse con la scritta: «Vogliamo il suffragio universale ». In piazza Zichy ci fu un comizio; parlarono diversi oratori, in diverse lingue. Voleva parlare anche certo Aurelio Dessanti, venuto da Pola, ma il comitato socialista, organizzatore della manifestazione, lo fece allontanare dal palco. Dopo il comizio il corteo mosse ordinato verso le Sedi Riunite al canto della Marsigliese e dell'Inno dei Lavoratori, e poi si sciolse. Verso sera irruppe da Sussak una banda di croati commettendo vandalismi. L'esecutivo del partito socialista di Fiume pubblicò l'indomani un manifesto con cui respingeva energicamente ogni connivenza con quegli elementi che cercavano di compromettere la manifestazione per il suffragio universale. I caporioni dei vandali furono arrestati. (« Il Popolo » - Fiume, « Il Piccolo della Sera » - Trieste)

Fiume was in “fraternal” relationship, but although the P.S.O. of Fiume was surely not irredentist nor it was permeated by Austro-Marxism as the P.S from Trieste.⁷²⁶

It seems that Karpowicz is right when she claims that the party operated in isolation. (Karpowicz?) Also Luksich-Jamini confirmed this⁷²⁷, this is confirmed by the scarce impact on public life in Fiume, due mostly to the anticlerical appeal of the Circolo di Studi sociali and the early conversion of its leaders to Italian nationalism and later fascism.⁷²⁸

The Socialist Party used to participate in the fuman elections with an affirmation list “Lista di affermazione” with 3-4 candidates who usually got 40-60 ballots. Nevertheless in the usual Hungarian practice, it was possible for the candidates to join other party lists. In this way also the socialists got their some members elected.⁷²⁹

Nevertheless, in 1913 when the “Il Lavoratore” was probably already closed or ceased its publication a series of articles written by different workers who claim to be Croats or of “Slavic nationality” lament the fact that internationalism in effect was hurting them since without their votes the socialist party would have been much weaker and nevertheless only one candidate who was a Slav was elected.⁷³⁰

In 1915 with the suspension of the Rappresentanza done by the Hungarian government due to the war situation, 12 representatives of Hungarian nationality were nominated. Among them there was Samuel Maylender, son of Michele member of the Socialist Party. Ironically, he will be the only member of the Rappresentanza (who boarded also several former Italian irredentists, such as Vio) to oppose the planned denomination of the Fiuman streets with Hungarian names.⁷³¹

To conclude the autonomists, looked increasingly to Italy as a source of inspiration and support for their policies. Italy was the mother country of their Italianate culture their italianità, moreover, the Italian communal tradition provided inspiration by the Italian commune as described by Emilio Caldara, both bulwarks against the Magyar dominance.

Third, Italy was a source of the anticlerical movement, that in Fiume (as in Trieste) overlapped neatly with the demarcation between the laicised Italian fiumani and the Croatians from the surroundings, much more attached to their traditional values.

The army was too delicate a question, that moreover pertained to the joint K.k Ministry of Defence and was thus out of the reach.

The real problematic issue was the issue of labour: the majority of the industrial workforce in Fiume was of Croatian origins, but their organisations, based in Sušak, were never able to achieve a

⁷²⁶ Luksich-Jamini A. Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV-XVI, gennaio 1969-dicembre 1970, p. 58. For Trieste see Cattaruzza Marina, *Socialismo adriatico*, Lacaia, 1998.

⁷²⁷ “L’ ondata socialista che nel 1903-1914 lambì Fiume non vi creò una larga e convinta mentalità socialista”. Luksich-Jamini A. Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV-XVI, gennaio 1969-dicembre 1970, pp. 58-60.

⁷²⁸ Luksich-Jamini A. Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV-XVI, gennaio 1969-dicembre 1970, pp. 58-60.

⁷²⁹ in 1906 Augusto Werk was the first to be elected and it joined the associazione autonoma of Zanella. Then in the same year also Stupcich Colonnini was elected with the same part list, and got re-elected in all elections up to 1914. the party could also vote the suspension of one member if he joined a party list that was considered “disdicevole, dal punto di vista sociale” this happened to Arrigo Ricotti a teacher who joined the Lega Autonoma of Ossoinack and Vio known as the “Partito dei signori”. The socialist party after that expelled Ricotti. During First World War Ricotti ended his political career as an anti Italian pamphletist with a booklet titled “Poesie del prof. Pipa” where he attacked the fuman irredentists and the Italian intervention in the war. In Luksich-Jamini A. Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV-XVI, gennaio 1969-dicembre 1970, p. 57-59.

⁷³⁰ The reference is on Stupcich (later Italianised in Colonnini). Although he will be far from Croatian feelings, denouncing the Hungarian government first and later the Croatian occupation in November 1918. in Luksich-Jamini A. Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV-XVI, gennaio 1969-dicembre 1970, p. 58.

⁷³¹ Luksich-Jamini A. Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV-XVI, gennaio 1969-dicembre 1970, p. 57.

penetration or a presence in Fiume and the scope of activity remained limited. Secondly the fiumani even managed to polarise the workers in strikes against the industries and companies which were under Croatian or Hungarian control and whose number was anyway on the rise.

Two were the possible outcomes: one was leading directly to Italian irredentism, and this was the outcome for most of the members of the Giovine Fiume and the other sports associations in the city, but also for Zanella. The other was to stay loyal to the foundations of the constitutional order and to use the italianità only for practical political purposes, which is the line epitomised by the Lega Autonoma.

A HOUSE DIVIDED: THE LEGA AUTONOMA V. THE ASSOCIAZIONE AUTONOMA

In 1904 at the elections for half of the Rappresentanza, in Fiume there is an intriguing attempt for a part of the old Kossuthian faction together with the Croats of Barcich to infiltrate the autonomists, on the 22nd February 1904.⁷³²

Later, according to the “Programma provvisorio del gruppo della minoranza” dated 7 April 1904⁷³³ whose initiator was the son of Luigi (who committed suicide in 1902) Andrea Ossoinack, marked the secession from the Autonomist Party. The first point was the national issue as the autonomist had the right for all the nationalities in Fiume to be represented, and thereby also the Croatian.⁷³⁴ The second point resulted from a need for closer collaboration with Hungary, precondition for the economical development of the port city, and third, the right to become the majority.⁷³⁵

Thus in the 1905 elections for the Fiuman representative at the Hungarian parliament Andrea Ossoinack is the “governative” candidate publicly supported by the governor Roszner. Against him runs Zanella, the candidate of a “committee of citizens” led by the old Kossuthist Antonio Walluschnig.⁷³⁶

Andrea Ossoinack helped Zanella initially and financially supported his paper *La Voce del popolo*. Now, in 1905, they were opposed to each other. Andrea Ossoinack from a champion of the militant autonomists will gradually position himself as a reliable political partner for the Hungarians after the Kossuthist drift. But, on the 29th January 1905, Riccardo Zanella won and was elected Fiuman representative at the Hungarian parliament. On the 25th February 1905, the Governor Roszner resigned after the election of Zanella that he tried to impede. Shortly after in April a serious political crisis is struck Hungary: the Szell government fell and that provoked to a conflict between the Court and the Parliament since the Monarch Franz Joseph nominated on the 21st of June 1905, Baron Fejervary, an officer in the royal bodyguard, was nominated Minister President of Hungary with a cabinet consisting of little-known permanent officials.

Szell was friendly to the autonomists, his fall meant that the climate changed for the worse. On the 2nd July 1905 - the Associazione Autonoma (Partito Autonomo) held a conference where it deliberated a series of requests for which it was known they were not to be satisfied: the Italian language had to be admitted in use by the ministries that have directed contact with the public (railroads, customs, mail, etc.); demanded the introduction of the universal suffrage with direct and secret ballot for Fiume⁷³⁷; and it refused recognition to the Fejervary government.⁷³⁸ On the 5th July

⁷³² Si votò a Fiume per il rinnovo della metà della Rappresentanza civica. Oltre alla lista del partito autonomo, era in lizza una lista presentata da elettori ungheresi (funzionari dello Stato) e croati, quest'ultimi diretti, come al solito, dal dott. Erasmo de Barcich. Perciò era distinta con il nome di « lista pasdrociada ». Essa portava anche il nome di Basilio Dardi, funzionario comunale, ex impiegato allo studio legale del Barcich. Durante la votazione il nome del Dardi — che aveva le funzioni di civetta — venne sostituito, dai croati, con quello del Barcich, il quale ciò malgrado raccolse solo 48 voti. Il partito autonomo stravinse, conquistando tutti i seggi. (« La Voce del Popolo » - Fiume, « Il Piccolo della Sera » - Trieste)

⁷³³ In DARi - [0258] OBITELJ OSSOINACK - Rijeka ; 1892/1926: kut. 1; 0,1. PrP.

⁷³⁴ The Croatian exponent Vraniczanyi, even added some remarks and *addenda* to the project.

⁷³⁵ Karpowicz, 1986, p. 180-181.

⁷³⁶ Manifesto of an “old Fiuman” (pseudonym of Nicolò Gelletich one of the exponents of the prohungarian fraction in Fiuman politics). Against Zanella as too extremist and too much devoted to politics as compared with the concrete proposals and constructive tone of a Ossoinack.

⁷³⁷ On 17th November 1905 a “city committee pro universal suffrage”, was instituted.

⁷³⁸ Il congresso della Associazione Autonoma (partito autonomo) testé conclusosi, deliberò: ricorrere alla Rappresentanza civica perché ripeta i passi presso le competenti regie autorità statali ungheresi onde la lingua italiana venga ammessa a quel posto che le compete nei dicasteri che hanno diretto contatto col pubblico (ferrovie, dogana, poste, ecc.); che il Municipio emani una disposizione che vieti il malvezzo di alcuni trapiantati da poco a Fiume di esporre insegne sui loro esercizi ignorando la lingua del paese; propugni il suffragio universale con voto diretto e segreto; agisca contro il governo di Fejervary in base al paragrafo 83 dello Statuto civico. («Il Piccolo della Sera» - Trieste)

1905 the Rappresentanza in opposition refuses an official communication from the new Hungarian government.⁷³⁹

On the 28th October 1905, the Hungarian Prime Minister Fejervary proposes and the King accepts the nomination of Pal Szapary as the new governor of Fiume and the Hungarian Croatian littoral. He arrived in Fiume on the 3rd November 1905.⁷⁴⁰ His mandate was short: already on the 15th December 1905 Fejervary resigns. The government Fejervary is characterised by the very short duration of the governor mandates in Fiume. It is the vice governor Tibor Gaal de Hatvan, who de facto gives continuity to the office, as well as the *Consiglio Governatorile*. The times of strong governors was over, now the Hungarian *gubernium* was much more a bureaucratic machinery than a political body where interests of the centre and the periphery were represented and mediated.

On the 27th March, 1906 the Hungarian government under prime minister Fejervary makes another move towards centralization: the Supreme Courts of the committees were removed and replaced with Royal Commissars among widespread resistance. Dr. Tibor Gal replaces another governor Sandor Nako. Fejervary offers to him the position of governor and Royal Commissary for Fiume but, prudently, Dr. Tibor Gal refuses.

On the 6th April 1906, Fejervary resigns within growing tensions in Hungary, finally the Sovereign appoints Sandor Wekerle as Prime Minister, exponent of the coalesced opposition, and with their agreement constitutes the new Hungarian cabinet. The ministers are F Kossuth (Son of L Kossuth) Count Appony, Geza Polony, and Count G Andarassy, son of the Great G Andrassy.

On the 2nd May 1906, at the political elections in Hungary in Fiume Zanella is the autonomist candidate for the Hungarian parliament but now he sides with Wekerle. That's predicable since he was already had contacts at the Hungarian parliament at the opposition, and Wekerle was a Kossuthian. The politics of Fiuman deputies in Budapest were always tied to Hungarian factions. Thus factions in Fiume always mirrored those in Hungary, or better those at the Hungarian parliament. There is another electoral county lead by general Enrico Ivanossich de Kustenfeld, who candidates baron Kalman Ghyczy, relative of the advocate of Fiume Giovanni de Randich. Their program is a closer union of Fiume with Hungary. By the 20th May 1906, Riccardo Zanella was again elected deputy of Fiume at the Hungarian parliament.

On the 25th June, 1906, on proposal of the Hungarian government the sovereign nominated the new governor of Fiume – Sándor gróf Nákó de Nagyszentmiklós.⁷⁴¹ Initially this nomination was well accepted in Fiume – because the Wekerle cabinet was widely accepted.⁷⁴²

⁷³⁹ La Rappresentanza civica risponde alla comunicazione di Fejervary col seguente ordine del giorno presentato dal cons. dott. Antonio Grossich, ed accettato all'unanimità: «L'attuale Governo essendo anti-costituzionale, la Rappresentanza della libera città di Fiume e suo distretto, passa la comunicazione del Governo agli atti, e dichiara essere suo dovere di attenersi, come sempre, scrupolosamente allo Statuto civico, e nel caso concreto alle categoriche disposizioni del paragrafo 83 dello stesso, che impone al Municipio di non riscuotere imposte né di reclutare soldati se le relative leggi non sono prima votate dal Parlamento». (« Il Popolo » - Fiume, « Il Piccolo della Sera » - Trieste)

⁷⁴⁰ The Italian nationalistic *Piccolo della Sera* from Trieste describes: “*alla stazione era atteso dagli impiegati dello stato, dalle autorità militari, da tutti I preti , cappuccini e frati della città. La massa dei cittadini, fra cui alcune centinaia di emigranti, accolsero con miagolii e fischi, e grida di viva Kossuth*” il nuovo governatore *fischi si ripeterono pure in corsia Deak al passaggio del corteo, che era composto da oltre cento carrozze procedenti come un funerale, alla cui testa stavano in carrozza alcuni cappuccini. Non potendo installarsi nella sala del palazzo della città, dinanzi alla rappresentanza municipale, secondo la vecchia consuetudine (dato che il Comune considera illegale il governo Fejervary, che non ha l'approvazione del parlamento, ma e di nomina del sovrano), il governatore si reco al duomo, dove fu cantata la messa solenne. Il municipio, l'intera cittadinanza, le associazioni liberali, si astennero al completo. Si s'astenne pure il ceto commerciale e industriale. Dopo la messa, il governatore si porto al palazzo dove ricevette l'omaggio degli impiegati statali, delle corporazioni, delle banche e delle società di navigazione sovvenzionate dallo stato.*” In Antonio Luksich Jamini, appunti per una storia di Fiume 1896 – 1914, Fiume, Roma 1968, pp.39 – 40, reported from the *Piccolo della sera*, Trieste.

⁷⁴¹ **Sándor gróf Nákó de Nagyszentmiklós (1871 - 1923)**

⁷⁴² He delivered the following speech: «Conscio dei vari problemi politici, economici e sociali che qui mi attendono, sono venuto in questa bella città marittima dove l'antica civiltà e l'antica virtù latina si affratellano già da secoli con il vigore e con l'ingegno magiari, dove tanti elementi, sociali e civili, si accordano nell'amore e per il bene della patria. Mi dispensa dal presentare uno speciale programma politico e sociale per Fiume il felice atteggiamento dell'odierno

In a generally stable period, on May the 23rd 1907, there was an election for 31 municipal representatives. A coalition of clericals with Hungarian elements labelled “partito pasdrocio” is defeated by the Autonomist Party. Erasmo Barcich invited by means of a manifesto, to vote "against the Italians".⁷⁴³

On June the 28th 1907, with 45 votes on 52 voters, the civic Rappresentanza elects Francesco Vio as mayor of Fiume. The dott. Vio while accepting the charge delivered the following speech: "I always belonged, and will belong, to the Autonomist Party, and will hold high its flag that expresses the program: "Italian Fiume for language, customs and nationality, independent for law and diplomas, joined which body separated with indissoluble node and directly to Hungary". Zanella receives only 6 ballots, and his extremism was not rewarded by the electorate. On the 15th of June 1908 there was a congress of the Autonomist Party - *Associazione Autonoma*, where after the defeat Zanella was emarginated.

During 1908 and 1909 life in Fiume appeared still: apart from the contrasts with the Croats, and growing Italian cultural activity in the city, marking an raise in intensity of the national polarisation, the relations with the Hungarian government appeared good. On June the 15th 1909 - the Congress of the Partito Autonomo elects a “Provisional Directorate” with the task of reorganizing the party for the next extraordinary congress.⁷⁴⁴

Then, on June the 25th, 1909 Governor Nákó resigned, for reasons that are still unknown, but probably related to a political crisis in Hungary. The functions are taken now by the vice governor István gróf Wickenburg de Capelló, a heir of the Austro-Venetian nobility.

The municipal elections took place on April the 13th 1910 - the Autonomist Party won the elections convincingly in the city casting 718 ballots out of 845 voters.⁷⁴⁵ What was more important Maylender returned to active politics after almost a decade of exile spent on finishing his monumental *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia*. On the 20th of May 1910 - an electoral county organised by Bela de Cosulich, offers publicly the candidature to Michele Maylender as Deputy of Fiume at the Hungarian Parliament, who accepts, thereby returning to the political arena after almost ten years of absence.

Governo, retto dagli uomini più illustri dell'Ungheria. E' sufficiente dunque che io mi professi fido seguace di quella fausta politica, che dalle tristi ore testé sofferte, vuoi far sorgere l'Ungheria rinnovata e più forte. Fiume gelosamente vigila i suoi aviti privilegi, custodisce con amore i suoi diritti statutari e autonomi, ama tenacemente la sua bella lingua e la sua secolare cultura italiana (frenetici applausi). Tutto il Regno tiene in alto conto la vostra cultura, non soltanto come un fecondo tesoro intellettuale e civile, non solo come spontanea espressione della vita, ma anche come necessario strumento di lavoro nazionale, a utilità di tutto lo Stato (applausi prolungati). La cultura ungherese, coltivata con amore da tanti decenni anche tra voi, è cultura indispensabile a chi voglia consacrarsi agli uffici pubblici. Ma essa non vuole sopraffare la vostra cultura nativa, la vostra « necessaria italianità ». Queste due culture non devono combattersi, ma devono essere un mezzo di più nella lotta per la vita e negli studi fecondi. Così a Fiume le due culture, l'italiana e l'ungherese, si incontrano e si rispettano. Quanto alla speciale posizione per il diritto pubblico, è un fatto ormai reale e positivo e i suoi effetti sono utili alla vostra Comunità e alla Madrepatria. Fiume appartiene all'Ungheria come « Corpo separato annesso ». Fiume le appartiene in questa forma per indiscutibili vincoli storici e giuridici e per gli indistruttibili vincoli morali dell'affetto. Quale capo del Governo politico di Fiume mi incombe di assistere alla vigile custodia che il Municipio fa delle sue statutarie prerogative e di serbare queste prerogative in benefica armonia con l'idea dello Stato ungarico. In questo importante ufficio sarò lieto di ispirarmi a quei principi che in pieno Parlamento furono esposti dal Capo del Governo dott. Wekerle. Chiamato a garantire le nostre libertà cui nessun tesoro del mondo è pari, che con nessun tesoro si possono comperare, sarà mio compito — disse il dott. Wekerle — di rin vigorire le nostre autonomie municipali e comunali, rendendole vive e vitali ».

⁷⁴³ In Antonio Luksich Jamini, appunti per una storia di Fiume 1896 – 1914, Fiume, Roma 1968, p. 743

⁷⁴⁴ members : dott. Icilio Baccich, Giovanni Minach junior, dott. Mario Blasich, dott. Nicolo Biasi, Felice Derenzini, Antonio Ravasini, Giuseppe Pus, Vittorio de Meichsner, Idone Rudan, Iginio Sucich, Francesco Dumichich.

⁷⁴⁵ There is a group of “young autonomists” (who are they, with a scarce result). There is also a Christian social party but under the name Fiuman autonomists (it is all autonomist!). the Christian socialists get 43 preferences. Erasmo Barcich the note Croatian representative presented in Cosala and got 17 votes. (big disillusion) . Anyway it was the first time that a “pure Croat” presented to the elections...

In January 1910 in Hungary was a big political change: the Hungarian Liberal Party reorganised and appeared with the new name of Party of National Work whose leader was still Count István Tisza.⁷⁴⁶

On the 8th of June 1910 at the new elections in Hungary for the Parliament, Maylender wins convincingly with 970 votes against Zanella who gets 566, out of 2.337 electors. Maylender was the governative candidate and its opponents explain the defeat by the fact that some 40% of the electors are state employees. Moreover the vote according to the Hungarian use is public and not secret.⁷⁴⁷

Khuen Hedervary, a consummate political leader, who had previously ruled Croatia as Ban for twenty years, now become head of the Hungarian executive.

On the 15th of June 1910 after the defeat the new direction of the Autonomist Party (the Associazione autonoma) is elected: Zanella, was nominated president.⁷⁴⁸ The Autonomist Party was now de facto divided in two factions, since both of the candidates were officially autonomists. On the 23rd of June 1910, at the Rappresentanza Civica Zanella spoke against the persecutions to which the Italians are victims in Fiume and concludes that Hungary is about to lose Fiume if it will continue this discriminatory policy against the local population. On the 26th of June 1910, podestà Francesco Vio resigns, adducing motives of health. There is thus a creeping conflict: he is between the Hungarians of Khuen and Wickenburg⁷⁴⁹ and the local opposition led by Zanella and Baccich, that becomes more and more aggressive.⁷⁵⁰ The provisional podestà was now the on. Corossacz, an ally of Zanella.

On the 30th November 1910 Wickenburg took office and the official ceremony instead at municipium (s it was the tradition) was celebrated at the cathedral church, and the event had was discussed even in Hungary at the parliament, on December, the 9th 1910. there was a lengthy debate.⁷⁵¹ Maylender who backed the governor was attacked by Tivadar Batthyany with the argument that since it was Maylender who created Autonomism and championed the struggle against Banffy he should have been among the first to react. Albert Appony claimed that the preservation of Fiuman autonomy was a strategic interest of Hungary since any action in the opposite direction would have given greater chances to Croatian propaganda to succeed. (B. 314)

The reactions in Fiume were immediate: on 16th of December 1910 - at the session of the Rappresentanza, Zanella exploits the moment and fiercely attacks Maylender with a lengthy speech. Acting podestà Corrossacz proposed the Rappresentanza to publicly condemn the action of Maylender, while expressing gratitude to Batthyany, Appony and Polony for their support in the

⁷⁴⁶ In 1905 the Hungarian Liberal Party joined the *Independence and 1848 Party*, and in 1906 the party was dissolved, after the conflict with the Crown and the proclamation of the Baron Géza Fejérváry government from 18 June 1905 to 8 April 1906. from 8 April 1906 – 17 January 1910, the liberals returned to power with Sándor Wekerle (Liberal): The next crisis saw the nomination of the former ban of Croatia (and relative of Count István Tisza) Count Károly Khuen-Héderváry as prime minister of Hungary from 17 January 1910 – 22 April 1912. The real strongman was Count István Tisza, who founded his new party called Party of National Work (modelled on the British labour). The prime minister László Lukács (Party of National Work): ruled briefly from 22 April 1912 – 10 June 1913, and finally Count István Tisza took the premiership from, (Party of National Work): 10 June 1913 – 15 June 1917, that is during all the First World War.

⁷⁴⁷ There is a physical clash in the gathering of the Rappresentanza and elsewhere in the town between the supporters of Maylender and those of Zanella.

⁷⁴⁸ Matteo Domicich, vice-presidente; dott. Mario Blasich, Francesco Gilberto Corossacz, Giuseppe de Emili, Giuseppe Host, dott. Lionello Lenaz, Vittorio de Meichsner, Giovanni Schittar, Iginio Susich, Icilio Baccich, direttori.

⁷⁴⁹ former substitute governor Wickenburg was nominated Governor of Fiume and the Hungarian Croatian Littoral. Having spent some 25 years in Fiume, he declared earlier he wanted to make the ceremony less formal. To this declaration Zanella reacted immediately with a communication at the parliament.

⁷⁵⁰ As we shall see, he will re-enter in political life in the last days of the monarchy with Ossoinack as reliable allies of the Hungarians .

⁷⁵¹ Khuen argues that the celebration of the new governor was not done in the municipium but in the church since nobody had invited him. Anyway it was solely a fact of symbolic significance. Deputy Tivadar Batthyany accuses in his reply that indeed the fact produces an offence of “Fiuman public law”. Batthyany was now deputy of the county of?

parliament. Possibly related to this attack on February the 9th 1911, Maylender suddenly dies at the Hungarian parliament in Budapest, by a heart stroke⁷⁵².

The ongoing division within the Autonomists successfully infiltrated by Hungarian authorities produced its effects: on April the 2nd 1911 – a New party «Lega autonoma» is formed whose head is the ex podestà Francesco Vio. The *Lega* against Khuen (who claimed that the Italianate nature of the city was respectable but not necessary to Hungary), had the motto that the position of Fiume as *corpus separatum* depends of its *italianità*. The different culture and interests of Fiume opposed to Hungary imposed a total neutrality upon the interplay of political factions within the Hungarian parliament. The strategy of the *Lega* was much less based on the exploitation of the public opinion in any sense or direction. Its exponents were in fact prominent businessmen (think of Ossoinack and the heavily subsidised *Adria*) that lived and prospered thanks to Hungarian economy.

Both groups were playing opportunistically.⁷⁵³ The group of Zanella (the Associazione Autonoma) followed daily Hungarian politics, trying to cut alliances that were in their opinion. Vio appears to keep distance from Zanella openly condemning its conflicting stance towards the Hungarian authorities that “did much harm to the city”. The Fiumani had to unite for to protect their autonomous rights and defend their culture by and integration of the Italian with the Hungarian inhabitants of Fiume. He referred to the danger of a “Slavic invasion” to the city (allusion probably to the open letter of Barcich) and that Fiumani with the Hungarians will be able to oppose it. After its formation now Fiume had two autonomist parties and the old one of Zanella become a minority. In the founding meeting of the *Lega*, also the Catholics spoke on their marginalisation during Zanella. Zanella attacked the *leghisti* as they were called because of their unabashed compromising attitude with the Hungarians.

On May the 5th 1911, after the death of Maylender elections were held to replace the Fiuman representative at the Hungarian parliament. It is Zanella again the champion of the opposition (Fiuman and Hungarian) as well as the “governmental” candidate Antonio Vio junior, candidate from the *Lega autonoma* and the Hungarian "labour party", headed by count Istvan Tisza. Vio won over Zanella, supported by the opposition of Hungary, exceeding with a pair of hundred of ballots. The voting was oral and for Vio voted, the majority of the Hungarian civil servants. Also the Catholics gave him support: it was rumoured that Vio visited Mons. Kukanich, head of the fiuman parish, asking him support from the catholic voters, and the Kukanich, through the "social Christian Circle", "Circle SS. Vito and Modesto" and others catholic organizations, churned in favor of Dr. Vio, although he was a notorious freemason he was preferred to Zanella and the association by the Fiuman clericals and Catholics, since the latter have shown an even more radical anticlerical position.

On the 20th of May 1911 the Civic Rappresentanza, in an “informal session” deliberates to elect the prof. the Zanella to Podestà di Fiume and its district. The victory for Zanella within the Rappresentanza civica is easy, considered as a counterweight against the allies of the Hungarian

⁷⁵² The news impresses people in Fiume regardless of their political position. Luksich-Jamini reported that “Although he backed Khuen it is now thought that he did it for the sake of the interests of the city”. Nevertheless, the Maylender’s funeral on February the 13th did not miss to produce another incident with the governor (who is most important the governor or the podestà?) and with the flag had to be the Hungarian or fiuman?

His testaments, made public on the 19th of march 1911, the addresses are also perplexing : Maylender leaves to his wife Giulietta Venchiarutti all his savings (200 thousand crowns in cash) and to the Croat lawyer Rikard Lenac, the future “great count” of the short-lived Yugoslav government in 1918 his legal office, 8000 crowns for the poor of Fiume and 5000 for the poor of Susak.

⁷⁵³ A later analysis from 1914 stated that : “sta il fatto che la “Lega” non era più governativa quando vinse con i voti di Wickenburg, di quanto non lo fosse “L’associazione autonoma” del periodo di potere del conte Nako e della coalizione. E perciò la “Lega”, quando il suo governo offese il diritto della città, si mise contro di lui e si fece mandare a spasso. A noi che osserviamo serenamente l’attività dei due partiti, abbiamo notato ripetutamente questo fatto: che fra “Lega” e “Associazione autonoma” non c’è differenza di programma, ma due gruppi di uomini l’uno contro l’altro, tutti e due intimamente persuasi che (non sappiamo se a ragione) che non si possa dirigere la città senza appoggiarsi a uno o all’altro dei due grandi partiti ungheresi della camera di Budapest.

government. Only 4 days later the whole Rappresentanza is dissolved by decree of the Hungarian governor.

On the 8th of June 1911 - the pro Hungarian «Lega autonoma» made public its programme and the candidates. Several former members of the Associazione Autonoma are now in its ranks: including Vio, Ossoinack, Mohovich, and others now lined up with Governor Wickemburg and Khuen-Hedervary. On the 20th of June 1911, at the Municipal elections, the lega autonoma of Vio defeats the Associazione Autonoma of Zanella for just 46 ballots. Some of the Associazione Autonoma enter however in the Rappresentanza.⁷⁵⁴ Finally, on the 8th of July 1911 - the defeat of Zanella is accomplished - dott. Francesco Vio is elected Podestà di Fiume and its district. Extremism does not fare well.

As a last step in taking control of the city the long lasting plan to introduce the Hungarian border state police is realised on the 21st of June 1913. the state police forces arrived in Fiume, with a train from Budapest. It was armed with rifles guns and bayonets. Through a leak of information the newspaper and some people were informed of their arrival thus big manifestations in the city, followed by more than 100 arrests.

Only a year before the outbreak of the Great War it is clear that the Hungarian government under the lead of Khuen who effectively put into control Croatia attempted to do the same in Fiume. And as in Croatia Khuen was successful in Fiume, achieving a complete victory for the Hungarian government.

Karpowicz remarks that apart from the official and declared proximity to Hungary all the members of the new political organisation starting from the leader Vio were Freemasons belonging to Hungarian lodges that in Fiume were organised in the Lodge *Sirius*, whose origins go back to the 1880s. According to Karpowicz, what is peculiar to the group is a strong sense of communality between its member's solidarity common symbols and identity and hatred towards other groups that display different values.⁷⁵⁵ The hypothesis of Karpowicz is that the group centred on the *Lega Autonoma* was always able to control and keep the power thanks to its Massonic affiliations. This is difficult to prove but hat is certain is that de facto they managed to survive all the turbulent times from 1911 into well into the 30s, when the members are known for the Italian police as the *Fiuman caste*.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁵⁴ According to the Hungarian electoral law which is applied in Fiume, all the seats were assigned to the party that gets the relative majority of the votes. Therefore, the parties included in their lists even the members of the opposition considered to be moderate.

⁷⁵⁵ Karpowicz, L.J. *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, 1986, p. 222.

⁷⁵⁶ ACS, Rome, fascicolo Iti Bacci, M.V.S.N.

Towards Italian Irredentism: the “Giovine Fiume.”



Logo of the “Giovine Fiume”.

Italian irredentism was never a dominant option in Fiume. It started within literary circles and clubs. The first founded in 1849 and for a long time only circle was the Croatian Citaonica, lately the sole remnant for Croats in Fiume.⁷⁵⁷ The Croats lost the offices of the County already in 1888, and the gymnasium in 1896. The first Italian cultural association in Fiume was the Società Filarmonico – Drammatica. Founded in 1872, this cultural society was modelled on that in Trieste and its regularity invited Italian artists.

The real extent of Fiuman autonomy was since 1883 subject to restrictions. The institutions were under Hungarian control, even the Municipal Council was after the introduction of the Giunta amministrativa Governiale in 1899 *de facto* deprived of several of its previous powers. The autonomist party grew gradually to an expression of frustration: the fiumani were losing their grip of the economy and the administrative institutions. They could only sabotage some of the actions of the Hungarian government or try to reduce the influence of the new forces that appeared in the scene: the Croats and the growing labour movement. The first line of action was geared towards the preservation of the cultural *italianità* as the sole bulwark for the protection of the city institutions, that with Italian as the official language prevented or reduced the influence and infiltration from Croatia or Hungary.⁷⁵⁸

On 10th august 1899 the Hungarian government (Ministry of the Interior) rejected the Statute of the «Società politica fiumana autonoma» («associazione autonoma», better known as the autonomist party) for the reason that its commitment “to defend the Italian nationality” was incompatible with the Hungarian Law on Nationalities that does not recognize legally any nationality but the Hungarian.⁷⁵⁹ Therefore, this point must be modified in compliance with the law, and that is: " the

⁷⁵⁷ The citaonica were reading rooms that became widespread in Croatia after 1848. actually they were much more aggregation points rather than literary circles. In this sense it could have been considered rather a pendant of the Hungarian “casino movement”. The first pro Hungarian patriotic casino was founded in Fiume in 1834, and in this sense it preceded by a good decade the Croatian citaonica. In these spaces usually there was a good choice of daily papers and other periodicals, and people gathered to discuss the current political and cultural events. Frequently conferences and speeches from invited speakers were held. Books were usually only a minor part of the activity. For the Hungarian “casino movement” see ...

⁷⁵⁸ Some fiumani were already active in the « Trieste e Trento » irredentist Association where Icilio Baccich was nominated vice secretary on 28th March 1899 at the general assembly of the Association in Rome.

⁷⁵⁹ The Hungarian law of nationalities defined Hungary as inhabited by a single nation – the Hungarian, but who spoke different languages (Slovak, Romanian, Croat and Italian), and therefore, had specific (cultural) rights within the polity.

Società politica fiumana autonoma resolves to do the protection of the language and the Italian culture".⁷⁶⁰

The first outburst in the name of *italianità* happened in October 1899 when the tramway was inaugurated in Fiume. Since the operating society was controlled by the Hungarian Commercial bank the inscriptions on the cars were bilingual in Hungarian and Italian.⁷⁶¹ This gave rise to widespread protests lead by the autonomists.⁷⁶² In November violent demonstrations against the tramway end up in acts of violence and the society capitulates and adopts only the Italian language for its cars and tickets. Nevertheless, several citizens are arrested, some of which were notables.⁷⁶³

The Società Filarmonico – Drammatica progressively become the fulcrum of the cultural activities of the autonomists. Their future leader Maylender, founded in 1893 the Circolo Letterario with the purpose of creating a network of libraries and organized several conferences.

In 1911 it gained new impulse as some of the members of the Circolo patriottico (heir of the Casino patriottico) Antonio, Grossich, Giovanni Prodam, Ferdinando Kuscher, and Luigi Gerbaz, left the society after offences to the city (Lega) etc.⁷⁶⁴

Antonio Grossich⁷⁶⁵ eminent surgeon of world fame, the year after was elected president. The continuity of the CNI with the Società Filarmonico – Drammatica is reflected also by the fact that the president of the CNI will be Antonio Grossich, and that several members of the directive county (Salvatore Bellasich, Giovanni Prodam, Derenzini Felice, etc.) come from the association. Later, in

Only to the Croats was granted a greater deal of autonomy that involved also the judiciary, educational, confessional realm. Fiuman autonomy was shaped along similar lines to the Croatian.

⁷⁶⁰ « La Società politica fiumana autonoma si prefigge la tutela della lingua e della cultura italiana ».

⁷⁶¹ Il carrozzone costruito nelle officine Schlick & Nicholson, portava ai due lati delle sigle bilingui e precisamente: “T(ram) E(lettrico) F(iumano), rispettivamente in ungherese F(iumei) V(illamos) V(asut). Quella bilinguità poco garbava ai cittadini, e qualcuno, in questa seconda sigla, credette addirittura di ravisare una beffa leggendo F(iumani) V(igliacchi) V(enduti)! In Franchi, Elmiro. “Avvenimenti fiumani di un quarto di secolo”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV,, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1956 pp. 85-109.

⁷⁶² The autonomists under Zanella’s leadership, diffused leaflets inviting the boycott of the tramway «Boicottiamo il tranvia elettrico ». «La Società del tranvia elettrico coll’apporte sui suoi carrozzone scritte bilingui presume al certo di falsare il carattere della nostra città evidentemente italiana e ci offende in ciò che noi abbiamo di più caro, la nostra lingua, la lingua del paese. Chi ama Fiume non deve montare su quel tramvia, e chi vi monta è nemico di questa città. Evviva Fiume autonoma».

⁷⁶³ 29-XI-1899 - Accusa a sensi dei par. 168 e 171 C.P. Ungherese «per tumulti e formazione di bande organizzate contro la proprietà altrui (punibile fino a 3 anni di carcere), formulata dal r.u. giudice inquirente e consegnata al r.u. Tribunale contro: dr. Ferdinando Kuscher, avvocato, ex procuratore di Stato, ex rappresentante municipale; dr. Stanislaio de Emili, medico, ex rappresentante municipale; Giuseppe Cesare, impiegato Civici Dazi (d’ordine del Commissario regio egli è già sospeso dall’impiego); Giuseppe de Emili, negoziante; Maylender Albino, negoziante; Mastrogiacomo Fortunato, ispettore per la caricazione; Schittar Giovanni, negoziante, ex rappresentante municipale; Silenzi Melchiorre; Sirola Alberto, ex rappresentante municipale; Lenaz Benedetto, ex rappresentante municipale, Sussain Giuseppe, possidente; Tiblias Giovanni, maestro scalpellino; Zailer Ernesto, proprietario salone da parrucchiere; Zanella Riccardo, professore; Baccich-Gilardelli Icilio, studente; Bianco Antonio, artiere; Bleich Enrico, industriale; Battistich Natale, meccanico; Carina Albino, possidente; Cattalinich Carlo, impiegato; Depoli Menotti, studente di musica; Devalerio Francesco, meccanico; Dobrovich Giovanni, cap. marittimo; Lorenzutti Pietro, agente di commercio; Lucovich Giovanni, orefice; Manzoni Luigi, agente di commercio; Novak Giovanni, barbiere; Petco Giovanni, marittimo; Sillich Paolo, studente; Rosso vich Giuseppe, marittimo; Sirola Francesco, tappezziere; Sperber Giuseppe, tappezziere; Tornari Giovanni, negoziante; Sucich Pietro, operaio; Jurcovich Ines, impiegata; Jurcovich Caterina, sarta; Maroth Luigi. Questi cittadini vennero arrestati durante le giornate delle dimostrazioni. Sei di essi, Riccardo Zanella, Giuseppe ed Eugenio de Emili, Fortunato Mastrogiacomo, Giuseppe Sussain, Ernesto Zailer, furono trattenuti in carcere «per aver inibito la circolazione del tramvia ». Dopo 12 giorni di detenzione il pomeriggio del 17-XI-1899 essi vennero scarcerati. Furono molto festeggiati da una folla di gente che li aspettava all’uscita del Castello. (« La Voce del Popolo » e « La Bilancia » - Fiume)

⁷⁶⁴ in Franchi, Elmiro. “Avvenimenti fiumani di un quarto di secolo”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV,, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1956, p. 104

⁷⁶⁵ Antonio Grossich, born in Draguch, etc. most known for his experimentation of jodium tincture as antiseptic during surgical treatment. Extremely interested in literature art etc.

November 1918, it was described as the “headquarters of the masses” while the directive county of the CNI seated permanently in the municipal palace.⁷⁶⁶

The Autonomist Party fostered competition in songs and popular poetry. On the 7th of January 1901 the Literary Circle (Circolo Letterario "Fiume") promoted and after “clamorous demonstrations of the public” the jury assigned the first prize to the song to the song "Dime Rita", song that quickly become the song of the autonomists in Fiume.⁷⁶⁷

The text written in the local dialect, was full of localistic images, while the conclusion where what is defining is the Italian language:

*Quando argento zo piove la luna
sora i tremuli flutti del mar,
e che tutta de stele la bruna
chieta note se vede brilar.*

*Quando soto el sorriso del cielo
che l'inverno non riva imbrogliar,
se distende un bel candido velo
zo dai monti a la riva del mar.*

*Quando spiega la nostra bandiera
dala Tore el suo bel Tricolor⁷⁶⁸,
che xe prova de fede sincera
che ne stringe in un patto d'amor.*

(Refrain)

*Dime Rita, no xe una beleza
el Quarnero e un amor, un incanto,
che te sveia nel seno un'ebrezza
che dal cor te fa scioglièr un canto?*

*Cantime Rita, cantime bela,
nela soave, dolce favella
che xe l'orgoglio de ogni Fiuman,
cantime Rita in Italian !*

The Circolo Letterario "Fiume" that fostered the Italian culture that made the fiumani so specific with the Hungarian polity gradually developed in some of its members a departure from the autonomist ideology that confined itself to the Hungarian polity and adopted an open Italian irredentist stance.

Icilio Baccich, member of a numerous Italian irredentist family⁷⁶⁹, become the fiduciary of the “Dante Alighieri” association in 1900. The association was crucial in organising and directing the Italian cultural activities in Fiume.⁷⁷⁰ Initially, their leaders were surprised by the italianità of

⁷⁶⁶ Alla Filarmonica c'era il “quartiere generale della massa”; mentre al municipio risiedeva – quasi in permanenza – il direttivo del consiglio nazionale, il quale però, dopo cena, con in tesata Grossich e Bellasich, suo fido segretario, veniva al completo a ingrossare le nostre file. In Franchi, Elmiro. “Avvenimenti fiumani di un quarto di secolo”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV., N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1956, p. 107.

⁷⁶⁷ The song written in the Fiuman Venetian dialect was written by the late Arrigo Ricotti and composed by Achille La Guardia (father of Fiorello, future mayor of New York, at the time living in Fiume).

⁷⁶⁸ The tricolour is the Fiuman one not the Italian one.

⁷⁶⁹ All brothers and sisters had names that started with “I” Icilio, Iti, Ipparco, Italia. Icilio become Italian senator, Iti was head of the press of the Italian CNI, editor of the *Vedetta d'Italia*, and later Segretario federale of the PNF for the Province of Carnaro.

⁷⁷⁰ A mezzo della Dante – che fu larga di aiuti e suggerimenti – fu possibile intensificare i corsi di conferenze e propaganda che funzionavano attraverso il “Circolo Letterario” e la “Filarmonica Drammatica”, i due circoli attorno ai quali si raccoglievano tutti gli italiani di Fiume e che furono in quel lasso di tempo potentemente sviluppati. In Peteani,

Fiume, but soon initiated to help.⁷⁷¹ The “Giovine Fiume”, the first Italian irredentist organization in Fiume is founded on 8th October 1905, with the help of the “Dante Alighieri”⁷⁷². Organized by Mario Toth, Marco de Santi e Gino Sirola, under the lead of Vincenzo Nascimbeni published a magazine.⁷⁷³

The organization initially officially is an “athletics club”, later it acquires also “cultural purposes” aiming at the “diffusion and development of Italian culture” in Fiume.

It was thus certain degree of secrecy and the rules of admission that guaranteed that the members of the Giovine Fiume shared a similar *Weltanschauung* and similar political views resulting form a shared set of beliefs.⁷⁷⁴

What is certain is that 1905 the year of its foundation of the circle, the Croatian option in Fiume was at its heyday: the parties in the Hungarian parliament (the “48’s” and the “independents”) that formed the government were allies of the Croats of Supilo and the “Resolution of Fiume”. In effect the periods 1905-1907 was the period of greatest nationalist mobilisation in Fiume.⁷⁷⁵ Moreover, Zanella (the champion of the autonomist party) was isolated by the Hungarians. It seems that the activation and support they enjoyed was a tactical measure against the Croats.

The Dante Alighieri” was instrumental also in sending of Fiuman students to Florence.⁷⁷⁶ This action had important consequences: the fiumani went to one of the most fertile cradles of Italian irredentism: there they met the group of intellectuals who gathered around the paper *La Voce* of Prezzolini.⁷⁷⁷ In this way a network between expelled Fiuman in exile in Italy, younger fellow and students that will study there - mostly in Florence will be established.

What had been the impact of the Giovine Fiume?. By far the majority of the memories and later celebrations of the Giovine Fiume was done by its members after Second World War. They all identify in the Giovine Fiume the ideological harbinger and organisational precedent to the Italian annexationist irredentism and fascist groups in Fiume. The contemporary sources fail to mention the

Luigi. “Icilio Bacci fiduciario della «Dante Alighieri» a Fiume”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV N.29 (Prima Nuova Serie) I Semestre 1995, p. 62.

⁷⁷¹ Fui accolto con slancio fraterno ma anche con una certa sorpresa: non si supposeva che dei fermenti così vivi di italianità esistessero a Fiume. Esposi la situazione, illustrai le esigenze più impellenti, fui ascoltato con grande interesse e con profondo amore ed ebbi precise promesse di aiuti. – promesse che furono in breve tempo largamente mantenute. In Peteani, “Icilio Bacci, p. 62.

⁷⁷² Apparently, it was the autonomist leader Ricardo Zanella who initiated this idea, but Icilio Bacci, in his memoirs, wrote that: per opera della Dante fu possibile fondare e tenere in vita il battagliero giornale “Giovane Fiume”, la cui fondazione era stata da me caldeggiata e del quale fui per qualche tempo redattore e collaboratore. Dal giornale trasse vita più tardi la società omonima. In Peteani, “Icilio Bacci, p. 63.

⁷⁷³ Il 27 agosto 1905 Luigi Cussar, Marco de Santi e Gino Sirola costituiscono con alcuni amici l'associazione, che, con il pretesto di fare sport e cultura, mirava invece a fare opera di educazione politica e di propaganda italiana. Il suo giornale “La Giovine Fiume” inizia la propaganda irredentista fin dal suo primo numero “. . . saremo all'avanguardia ed i primi a combattere per il trionfo dei nostri ideali, che sono quelli di quanti nella nostra diletta Fiume si sentono italiani...”. in A.L. Jamini, p.

⁷⁷⁴ From the statute one becomes a member only after a recommendation from one of its members and with 2/3 of the votes in a secret voting.

⁷⁷⁵ On the 6th of September 1906, the members of the Croatian sporting association *Sokol* from Zagreb directed to Zara stopped in Fiume. They make a demonstrative parade to which a fight followed. They went to Susak where all the shop insignias written in Italian are broken. Even the mayor F Vio who stayed at his cottage in S. Anna (part of Sussak) is saved only by “courage of his wife”. He will flee to Fiume where he is greeted by a public manifestation.

⁷⁷⁶ Con l'ausilio della Dante da me richiesta in questo campo delicate la gioventù fiumana fu avviata alla carriera magistrale e non pochi giovani furono inviati a Firenze per perfezionarsi nello studio della lingue e della letteratura italiana, dotati di borse di studio per le scuole di Firenze. In Peteani, “Icilio Bacci, p. 64. On the 18th of May 1909 - The School Council of Fiume approves the donation of four scholarships for Fiuman docents or students who want to go to the Florentine Summer University, from then on started an annual program.

⁷⁷⁷ Among them there will be Silvino Gigante, his brother Riccardo, Enrico Burich, and others. These people will be lawyers or literate intellectuals. People that will of course perceive the importance of the official language in Fiume as well as the threat of the introduction of Hungarian in the functioning of its daily life. Nevertheless, some of them (Gigante) will have a good command of Hungarian so their irredentism appears sincere or at least not motivated by material utility.

activity of the group at all, apart from the last years preceding First World War when several of its members gained visibility as journalists, teachers etc. But on the other hand it seems that the *Giovine Fiume* filled an ideological gap – all the political papers in Fiume mention the work and the reactions of its members to certain events. The group certainly showed a capacity to penetrate and use the local media, thereby assuring growing popularity and support for its actions. In 1907 a weekly magazine where prolific authors such as Riccardo and Silvino Gigante, Armando Hodnig (who in 1913-1914 became editor of the daily *Bilancia*) started to publish their writings. The article “Organizziamoci!”⁷⁷⁸ From the 27th of May 1908 was one of the rare texts where an analysis of the city policies and its position was enunciated. In another titled “Internazionalismo”⁷⁷⁹ the risks of socialist internationalism were openly discussed. In this way the implicit admission of Croatian or at least not Italian fears of the local working classes made it the risks of ... If the suffrage was to be extended as “it was natural to expect” to the actual dominant party the autonomist to whom a half-hearted conviction to defend the Italianità. In a case of extended suffrage the autonomists would have faced against facing two new parties the clerical and the socialist internationalist.

The argument of the *Giovine Fiume* was therefore a sober analysis of the future to come: the autonomist party suited well to the old liberal order with the autonomists as its local manifestation. It was elitist and as such it represented the Italian culture of the Fiuman upper classes. But it did nothing to extend and penetrate its influence among the popular strata. There among the working classes only the church and the socialists were active and in these milieus the dominance of Italianità was not assured. Clericalism and socialism were for the *Giovine Fiume* nothing but masked Croatian nationalism. The Italians of Fiume were therefore encircled with enemies and the local political elites that had to represent them and to defend them were doing nothing.

The *Giovine Fiume* formulated the standard criteria of determining Italian nationality of the Fiumans, besieged by the Hungarians and the Croats. Icilio Bacci, who seems the founder and the coordinator, had the explicit goal of extending the “national consciousness” among all strata of the population in order to provide a bulwark to the “strangers” who besieged Fiume.⁷⁸⁰ The members of the *Giovine Fiume* ultimately held a defensive stance:

*Al Burich fu negato più volte, a causa dei suoi sentimenti, l'accesso al tirocinio al ginnasio ungherese di Fiume, necessario per ottenere il diploma di professore. Egli continuava intanto a mandare articoli a Prezzolini, nonostante le perplessità del presidente della “Giovine Fiume”, Riccardo Gigante, che era convinto che la “Voce” non li avrebbe stampati. Invece nell'agosto del 1913 apparve sulla “Voce” il suo articolo col titolo “La tragedia dell'italianità di Fiume” che era un appello disperato: “L'animo nostro regge appena, non ha la calma per poter esporre fatto per fatto ciò che succede qui a Fiume ... Ci dibattiamo di giorno in giorno in uno strazio tragico che finisce per sfibrarci. Siamo soli, trentamila, vicino al mare e dietro a noi due razze che tendono al nostro possesso. Chi dovrebbe stare con noi è costretto a guardarci muto e far finta di non riconoscerci ... Ma la nostra voce non deve mancare, tenderà anzi di farsi più chiara e più violenta... soltanto questo sappiamo: vogliamo rimanere dentro le nostre mura e vogliamo rimanere italiani”*⁷⁸¹

778 *Giovine Fiume*, 27 maggio 1908.

779 *Giovine Fiume*, 8 agosto, 1908.

⁷⁸⁰ Il mio programma era quello di potenziare al massimo grado il sentimento di italianità della mia città natale e creare una salda e robusta coscienza nazionale in tutti gli strati della popolazione, dall'intellettuale al proletario, di unificare tutte le tendenze, affinché lo straniero, attraverso le innumerevoli manifestazioni di una salda e tenace volontà, avesse il preciso convincimento di trovarsi di fronte ad un blocco nazionale compatto ed infrangibile e la popolazione si trovasse preparata a tutti gli eventi. In Peteani, Luigi. “Icilio Bacci fiduciario della «Dante Alighieri» a Fiume”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV N.29 (Prima Nuova Serie) I Semestre 1995, p. 65.

⁷⁸¹ in - FIUME PRIMA E DOPO VITTORIO VENETO, Edizioni della Società di Studi Fiumani, Roma, Pag.32

The autonomists were adapted according to the Giovine Fiume to Hungarian politics in terms of style, priorities and restrictive suffrage rules. The analysis of Croatian penetration among the church and the working classes were more a reflection of fears than of the reality. As we have seen, the Fiuman Croats were absolutely refractory towards the working classes (especially their leader Barcich) and the Church (especially their foremost exponent ideologue Supilo).

Therefore the Giovine Fiume engaged much more in concrete political actions propaganda campaigning mobilisation than in production of juridical theories or justifications for political action. The Giovine Fiume prepared itself for the new age of mass politics that was about to come.

Already in 1907 in the Austrian part of the monarchy that is in Trieste and Istria the general suffrage was introduced with mass political organisation now on the fore. The national conflict becomes truly nationalistic in its modern sense with mass organisation of most importantly a direct appeal to the masses. But the cultural activities were not very popular as attested by the comments in the newspapers always lamenting the scarce attendance of their literary meetings.

After the death on the 13th of August 1908 of Egisto Rossi, historian and literate, considered to be the fulcrum and charismatic leader of the Giovine Fiume, the association organized some trips to Ravenna to visit the grave of Dante Alighieri, that become increasingly popular among the Fiumani of all social extractions.⁷⁸² During one of these “pilgrimages” police informers reported to the Hungarian authorities that there “openly anti-constitutional messages” were launched on the ship.⁷⁸³

On 18th September 1908 the daily paper *Budapesti hirlep* writes an article against the Giovine Fiume and its homonymous paper and the manifestations at Ravenna with their antimonarchic character. In the meanwhile at Fiume the attorney of the state has initiated an inquiry against the Giovine Fiume and for 18 articles there published which are reputed adverse to the idea of the state.

On 7th June 1911, after the dissolution of the Rappresentanza decreed on the 24th 1911 by the governor, the Giovine Fiume even presented a “list of political affirmation” for the communal elections. Apparently at the origin of the decision there was a fracture with the Autonomist Party.⁷⁸⁴

Nevertheless, they gained no results.

Finally, on the 18th of February 1912 - with a ministerial decree the circle Giovine Fiume has to suspend with its activities. The property is confiscated the imputation is that the circle had activities were against the idea of the state. The circle appears already motivated by Italian irredentist ideas. Its members are young and many of them have studied in Italy. Now probably they are driven by even greater extremism. The ban produced a fracture in Fiuman politics. After the split of the autonomists between the pro Hungarian Lega and the Associazione, the Lega will have to grant its support to the official Hungarian government. In this way the Associazione, will have plenty of possibilities to instrumentalise it. On the 29th of March 1912 an attempt to restore it was refuted by the Hungarian government.⁷⁸⁵ A year later in 1913 the Hungarians will inscene an incident in order

⁷⁸² Il pellegrinaggio si svolse fra vibranti manifestazioni d'italianità, colla partecipazione larghissima di tutte le classi della popolazione che in Ravenna diedero libero sfogo ai loro sentimenti. In Peteani, “Icilio Bacci, p. 64.

⁷⁸³ The 14th of September 1908 the group comes back from Ravenna. A great crowd gathered at the harbor, there spoke on. Icilio Baccich, municipal councilor who officially led the “gonfalone” a Ravenna. l'on. dott. Icilio Baccich, consigliere municipale, che aveva accompagnato ufficialmente il gonfalone, a Ravenna. Tra l'altro egli disse: « Questo gonfalone che ho avuto l'onorifico incarico di portare a Ravenna, per rappresentare la nostra città, ha baciato la tomba del Vate immortale. Esso è quindi divenuto sacro per noi. Ed è sotto la sua egida che in qualsiasi evento noi fiumani sapremo lottare da prodi: sapremo vincere!».

⁷⁸⁴ Un gruppo della «Giovine Fiume» presenta, sotto il nome di « Gioventù italiana di Fiume », una lista di affermazione di quattro nomi: Riccardo Gigante, Luigi Secondo Cussar, dott. Isidoro Garofolo, professor Giovanni Sirola. Sarebbe la conseguenza del rifiuto del partito autonomo di accettare nella propria lista il prof. Sirola perché ha un programma nazionale radicale. Il partito autonomo smentisce che il Sirola non sia stato accettato perché sia della Giovine Fiume e perché abbia un programma nazionale radicale, avendo esso candidato il presidente della « Giovine Fiume », Felice Derenzin, Icilio e Luigi Baccich e Luigi Secondo Cussar. Un manifesto firmato « La maggioranza della gioventù italiana di Fiume » prende posizione contro « La gioventù italiana », ed augura la vittoria « alla nobile, coraggiosa battaglia del partito autonomo ». (« Il Popolo », « La Voce del Popolo » - Fiume)

⁷⁸⁵ Con odierno decreto il Governo ungarico non approva lo statuto della neo-costituita « Associazione Giovine Fiume », di cui ordina lo scioglimento. Nella motivazione è detto che la nuova Associazione, non essendo altro che la disciolta

to accuse some of the members of the association. Several of its members flee to Italy. Nevertheless the guy who did explode the bomb close to the palace of the governor will confess in Ancona where already was Icilio Baccich. This fact will provoke an “enormous impression” in the city, and it will gain an international resonance. Nevertheless, the members will have to leave the city.

Their capacity to influence public opinion become considerable in the years before 1914, since many got posts at the newspapers, schools and other cultural institutions in the city. The aura that surrounded them in these accounts was always very favourable. An article from the *Bilancia* titled “Perché vorremmo il partito dei giovani”, was eloquent:

*A un nostro articolo di ieri, in cui esortavamo i giovani a organizzarsi in partito, la “Voce del popolo” ci rispose che chiamavamo i giovani e noi per fare da sostegno a degli uomini politici che stanno nascosti e non si vedono e non si sentono né conchiudeva si vedranno mai ... ogn'uno sa che nella vita pubblica se è o non si è; se ci si tiene nascosti e mai si avrà il coraggio di mostrarsi, vuol dire che non si esiste. Dunque anche questa insinuazione della “Voce” come tante altre è gratuita. (...) A preparare se stessi e la città alle eventualità avvenire sono chiamati i giovani; Con la disciolta “Giovine Fiume” essi fecero azione di rigoroso risveglio nazionale; ma anche contemporaneamente tumultuosa e senza tenere alcun conto della posizione speciale della città, senza che questa azione riuscisse ad avere qualche successo pratico materiale. Era sorta in un momento in cui il sentimento nazionale era atrofizzato in un campanilismo magiarizzante, contro il quale con l'indomita sincerità delle giovani energie reagirono violenti e fecero un bene che l'on. Zanella non sa apprezzare; ma che giovò almeno formalmente se non sostanzialmente, anche alla formazione di quel tanto che mostra oggi di coscienza italiana: prima dal suo dizionario di discorsi e d'articoli di giornale la parola “italiani” era esclusa e sostituita da “fiumani” con un senso di magiarismo spiccatissimo, che male esprimeva il concetto fondamentale di razza e nazionalità, per cui e su cui è fondata la nostra lotta contro tutti gli avversari che ci vogliono morti. .. ma oggi questo periodo di reazione alla falsa coscienza è sorpassato: quando il concetto di nazionalità lo si vuole artatamente rimpicciolire da qualcuno, lo deve fare di nascosto: anche Fiume ha la sua bella coscienza nazionale, sente legami e simpatie intellettuali con la grande famiglia italiana e vuol conservarli.*⁷⁸⁶

The political specificity and needs of Fiumani, a mainstay for the autonomists were never taken into serious consideration. As we shall see this will be the enduring feature of Fiuman irredentism. They simply had no project for Fiume. The whole autonomist program was centred upon a project for Fiume. Here it seems that they were fostered and created by autonomists only to oppose the Croats. When they took power at the end of 1918 they simply become a part in the larger framework of Italian irredentism that for Fiume had no project but to be neutralised against Trieste and Venice.⁷⁸⁷

The socialist paper *Lavoratore* – condemned the act since “there was no irredentism in Fiume”. The government attacked the sacred rights of association that had to be respected. On the other hand there was practical problem of giving them more voice and publicity than they had and deserved. Moreover these educated young people that were anyway to reach their position in Fiume. In this way the Hungarian government was making enemies among the future professionals elites in the city. From this sober analysis it seems that the socialist paper was moderate and appeared tuned with the government. First they had to be processed and then the association suspended in its activities.⁷⁸⁸

Giovine Fiume sotto mentite spoglie, avrebbe continuato una attività dannosa allo Stato. (« Il Piccolo della Sera » - Trieste)

⁷⁸⁶ “*La Bilancia*” 8 maggio 1914.

⁷⁸⁷ About fascism in Venezia and the appeal of the idea of bringing the Serenissima back - see Giulia Albanese, and the figure of Marsich. While for the economy of Trieste see, Sapelli Giulio.

⁷⁸⁸ Karpowicz, LJ. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, p. 199.

The Croat political acting appears even more uncoordinated. The group centred upon the Novi List and even more those in the Party of Right, are exponents of the Croatian bourgeoisie or intelligentsia. They were searching for a strategic partner in order to improve the position of Croatia within the Hungarian part of the Monarchy. All their efforts were ultimately unsuccessful. The local political success in Fiume was nil. Thus their interpretation of the situation in Fiume are more a product of frustration than a clear and rational analysis. Concerning the economical development they for Fiume had no project at least no credible one and the Fiumani knew that. The working class was organised and the internationalism prevailed. What is interesting is that no nationalistic party in Fiume attempted to address the issue of social democracy or of working class. This had the most damaging effect to the Croats since there were the greatest possibilities of national mobilisation for their cause.

A Pro-Hungarian shift developed mostly after the emergence of the Partito Autonomo in 1896 although it was useful for earlier authors in their writings to stress the legitimacy of the Hungarian authority over Fiume. Nevertheless, the first authors were continuing the municipalist tradition in which the Hungarian rule was better for the City and this legitimised it. Later on, a real pro-Hungarian party developed mainly from the ranks of the “Partito liberale” the Fiume filial of the liberal party of Istvan Deak in Fiume under whose the compromise so detrimental to Croatian claims to Fiume was signed in Budapest in 1868.

After the defeat of the liberals by the “Partito autonomo”, some authors started to publish texts in Hungarian or Italian where they claimed the illegitimacy or detrimental effects of any localist political position in Fiume. The Hungarian central government was seen (and indeed it was) as the main source of both economic and political modernisation and democratisation of the political life as well. Nevertheless, when Istvan Tisza’s government initiated a full scale introduction of Hungarian language in schools and a Hungarian language requirement for jobs in the public administration, it increasingly difficult to defend the Hungarian rule. Its measures proved exceedingly unpopular among Fiumans by giving a huge advantage to Hungarian-speaking people who were immigrating in the City.

This position has something in common with the Croatian one: N. Gelletich its main representative in the beginning of the century, frequently used the arguments of Barcic: Fiume had to be linked with the its hinterland. Since Budapest was a better choice than Vienna or Zagreb, any realistic policy should have recognized it and start to behave cooperatively. Another representative was S. dall’Asta.⁷⁸⁹

N Gelletich published (anonymously) a short book called *l’autonomia di Fiume: appunti storici e considerazioni* in 1901.⁷⁹⁰, 4 years after the autonomist party won for the first time, and was firmly established in the municipal council, supplanting the long lasting liberal domination:

“Nelle elezioni dell’anno 1897 è noto a tutti, il partito autonomo ottenne pieno e rumoroso trionfo; alla trasecolante vittoria contribuirono molti liberali, I quali da sera a mattina rinnegarono I loro principi, che li avevano guidati nella vita pubblica fino allora, e, seguendo ciechi la corrente, s proclamarono autonomi, e disdegnarono di essere candidati al partito liberale.”⁷⁹¹

The style of doing politics changed greatly from the old liberal times, therefore, for him it was a duty to react:

⁷⁸⁹ S. dall’Asta was known as a pro Croatian politician in Rijeka in the 1850s, under the Croatian administration. Again some people wanted the City to become included and integrated with its hinterland (or a state). Their opponents perceived themselves to be distant from the interior both in terms of culture and material interests.

⁷⁹⁰ Anonymous (Gelletich Nicolò) 1912. *L’autonomia di Fiume. Appunti storici e considerazioni*. Fiume, p. 65.

⁷⁹¹ Anonymous (Gelletich Nicolò) 1912. *L’autonomia di Fiume. Appunti storici e considerazioni*. Fiume, p. 5

“D’innanzi alla tempestosa agitazione degli animi ad arte suscitata da chi aumenta col patriottismo le sue mire ambiziose, d’innanzi agli insulti plateali, che vengono empicamente scagliati contro il partito, che per lunga serie di anni tenne le redini dell’amministrazione municipale; dopo che alcuni de’suoi aderenti vennero fatto oggetto a dimostrazioni ostili così triviali nella forma come puerili nell’intento che il silenzio sarebbe viltà.

Indignato dal modo poco lodevole ove taluni si arrabattano per raggiungere il potere, e dei mezzi dei qui si servono per tener vivo l’odio contro I liberali, mi proposi di pubblicare un modesto lavoro, frutto di paziente studio, e di non lieve fatica, spesi ad un intento sinceramente patriottico.”⁷⁹²

Than the rest of the book is a systematic refutation of the claims of the autonomists, very much in vein of what Barcic did 40 years before him:

“I proclami elettorali dell’anno 1897, infelice parto di mente non chiara, recano tra l’altro le seguenti espressioni: “autonomia”, “diritti aviti”, prerogative antiche diritti ereditari dei nostri avi”. Se in consimili pubblicazioni se ne trovano di questa fatta, non è da stupirsi se alle sedute della rappresentanza si udissero, e nel memoriale fossero reiteratamente espresse frasi come queste: “Fiume custode gelosa degli aviti diritti” “sarebbe lo stesso che rinunciare ai propri diritti” e poco a poco colla nostra arrendevolezza noi abbiamo perduto quasi tutti i nostri diritti ed altri simili. Non v’è occasione di cui non si fosse profittato per ripetere codesti paroloni, codeste frasi impressionabili. Ma coloro, che pomposamente le pronunziano, sono gente che non conoscono la sincerità e fanno abuso della buona fede di credenzoni, e che giurano, perché noncuranti ad ogni riflessione nel verbo rumoroso degl’intriganti.”⁷⁹³

But there was an important difference: although Gelletich quoted Barcic his motivation was almost the opposite: he claimed that he sided the claims of early autonomists “who made a heroic effort to save the City” (from the Croats) but to use the same arguments against Hungary 40 years later was not only contra productive, but even false.

Another typical representative of this ideology was Giuseppe Pausi, head of the local statistical office. He never published anything apart from statistical bulletins, but he kept a diary that remained unpublished. Unfortunately, today this diary is lost. Although he showed no interest in shaping the public opinion, his thoughts appear today very lucid and illuminating. In 1944 in the very last days of fascist rule over the City, Silvino Gigante decided to publish parts of this very interesting diary, now unfortunately lost.⁷⁹⁴ Gigante reports that the notes numbered more than 600 pages and obviously what he decided to publish in 1944 was only a selection.

The author, a representative of pro Hungarian (constitutional) autonomism criticizes and attacks most of the growing populist movements in the City. There was an almost irrational sense of pride to claim that:

“fino al 1500 Fiume e Trieste venivano poste in condizione speciale, con prerogative loro concesse da Ferdinando d’Austria. Trieste sopraffatta dalla burocrazia diventava di poi una città provinciale originaria; Fiume invece era in possesso delle sue istituzioni fino all’invasione croata del 1848.”⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹² Anonymous (Gelletich Nicolò) 1912. *L’autonomia di Fiume. Appunti storici e considerazioni*. Fiume. p. 3

⁷⁹³ *ibid.* pp. 18 - 19

⁷⁹⁴ Gigante, Silvino. 1944. “Memorie frammentarie di un vecchio fiumano”, in *Studi saggi appunti*, Deputazione per la storia patria per le Venezie: sezione di Fiume, Fiume.

⁷⁹⁵ Gigante, Silvino. 1944. “Memorie frammentarie di un vecchio fiumano”, in *Studi saggi appunti*, Deputazione per la storia patria per le Venezie: sezione di Fiume, Fiume, p. 128.

But, about the prospects of the City without Hungary, Pausi had no doubts:

“se l’Ungheria allontanasse le sue mani protettrici, Fiume sarebbe rovinata economicamente e scenderebbe al livello di Zara, Spalato, Ragusa e la inghiottirebbero i croati.”⁷⁹⁶

Commenting the activities of the growing autonomists and nationalists Pausi noticed that:

“... e per dimostrare anche qualche attività virtuale nel campo politico, pari a quello amministrativo, descritto più addietro, non trovarono nulla di meglio che appigliarsi al lato più comico, facendo da bertucce e scimmiettando non nelle buone, ma nelle cattive cose tutto quanto si faceva nella vicina Trieste, nostra eterna ed invidiosa rivale, nostra acerrima nemica nel campo commerciale marittimo ed industriale. A quei patriottardi ciò è però questione di secondaria importanza, il loro patriottismo si estrinseca unicamente nella questione di nazionalità. Trieste ha una società irredentista chiamata “Giovine Trieste”, Fiume deve avere la sua “Giovine Fiume” colle eguali tendenze.

“Trieste ha I zolfanelli della Lega Nazionale, Fiume deve avere quelli della Società Autonoma. Trieste ha delle vie denominate: Dante Alighieri, Giosuè Carducci, Giuseppe Verdi, Giacomo Leopardi, Edmondo de Amicis, insomma tutta la cronologia dei sommi italiani, Fiume deve averle essa pure.

“ Trieste ha la sua Lega Nazionale, Fiume perché troppo meschina non può disgraziatamente averla, ma deve trovare associati per quella di Trieste e così via di seguito e di questo passo.”⁷⁹⁷

Pausi had interesting thoughts about national identity that suited best to the fiuman population:

“davvero non so spiegarmi perché, senza spiegare una nazionalità I fiumani non possono dirsi esclusivamente fiumani, come gli abitanti della Dalmazia nomansi dalmati e quelli dell’Istria istriani. Naturalmente ciò non accomoderà a certe teste quadre, le quali non vogliono concedere nessun posto ad una specialità, quand’anche tanto innocua e sancita dal crisma dei secoli.”⁷⁹⁸

“eppure questo dabben uomo, che s’accontenta d’essere nient’altro che fiumano e a cui nominare l’Italia e gli italiani fa l’effetto che fa al toro il panno rosso è, in fondo, inconsciamente italiano e ci tiene alla sua italianità. Infatti poco oltre soggiunse:

“Io convengo che la lingua italiana deve essere conservata a Fiume come prezioso retaggio lasciato dagli antenati, come tesoro intellettuale che allarga il nostro orizzonte, come un mezzo sicuro per metterci a contatto con una gran parte del mondo civile.”⁷⁹⁹

Than Gigante gives this evaluation about the two factions in Fiume at the beginnings of the XX century:

“da quanti io ho potuto conoscere ed apprezzare nel loro vero valore gli elementi che trovansi a capo del partito autonomo, nego che questi abbia peccato per eccessivo amore di patria. Ambizioni, animosità, rancori, odii, asti personali, questi sentimenti furono sempre la loro caratteristica ed in ultima analisi l’amor al paese da essi tratto alla rovina.” (...)

⁷⁹⁶ Gigante, Silvino. 1944. “Memorie frammentarie di un vecchio fiumano”, in *Studi saggi appunti*, Deputazione per la storia patria per le Venezie: sezione di Fiume, Fiume, p. 134.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 116.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid, p 108.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid. p 108.

“gli oppositori degli autonomisti, quelli del partito liberale che, dopo venticinque anni di dominio, mal tolleravano di passare in seconda linea, facevano di tutto per rimpicciolire l’idea di autonomia, sbndierata dagli autonomisti, e cercavano di dimostrare che un’autonomia Fiume non l’aveva mai avuta. Del resto gli autonomisti stressi non pensavano minimamente a confondere questa con l’indipendenza. Essi si basavano soprattutto sui diritti che assicurava alla città lo statuto del 1872 e, se nei loro discorsi si richiamavano ad antichi diritti, alludevano a quelli in base ai quali il come si sera mostrato da sé, sotto il controllo, naturalmente, del “capitano cesareo” ch’era il rappresentate dell’autorità imperiale; de resto Fiume era stata sempre un “corpus separatum”, una specie di città-provincia dipendente direttamente dall’imperatore; anzi aveva tenuto dei propri consoli nei paesi con I quali aveva più frequenti relazioni commerciali, che a loro volta tenevano I propri consoli a Fiume.”⁸⁰⁰

Writing in 1928, Silvino Gigante a foremost exponent of the Italian irredentism in Fiume wrote about Autonomism:

*L’orizzonte degli autonomisti era – come s’è visto – ben meschino: il suo breve raggio era segnato dall’ombra del campanile. Il loro motto (Monroe in milionesimo) era Fiume ai fiumani, il concetto di patria per essi non varcava gli angusti limiti del corpus separatum; ed era evidentemente troppo gramo. Erano in arretrato di parecchi secoli; e, se la cosa poteva appagare qualche modesto borghese, i cui ideali non andavano più in là del fondaco o del ufficio e della casa circondata da una certa agiatezza, non appagava chi alla vita chiedeva un po’ più che meschine soddisfazioni materiali: non appagava soprattutto la gioventù assetata d’ideale.*⁸⁰¹

The war will give both of them a chance. The strong drive of Hungarian centralization obviously produced its effects on Fiume. As it managed in Croatia, the government has had some success in Fiume, for example it succeeded to establish a much more accommodating “autonomist ” party that won the elections and meeting evidently a real demand of its citizens for stability. Nevertheless, Hungarian intransigence made it is difficult to persevere in their positions even for the pro Hungarian autonomist party. This means that the public support in Fiume for Hungarians is seriously reduced but it also means that Hungarians do not care too much for it.

We can only guess what could have been the political evolution in Fiume without the unpredicted and catastrophic end it had in October 1918. Probably the inclusion into Hungary would have continued apace, but now with Croatia, the dangerous neighbour, perilously allied with the Hungarians. For Italianate Fiumans there was some room of manoeuvre – the assets they owned would have remained crucial, but the trend was clear: Hungarian capital and immigration doomed the locals to marginality.

Already in April 1914 the La Bilancia published an article titled “Il duello italo magiaro a Fiume a beneficio dei croati” of Giuseppe Volpe from the Giornale d’Italia⁸⁰², where such outcome was forecasted: First the italo Hungarian duel was benefiting the Croats, who were engaged in a “veritable invasion of the city”.⁸⁰³ Moreover also the Hungarians were pushing immigration,

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid, pp. 125 – 126.

⁸⁰¹ Gigante, Riccardo. 1928. *Storia Del Comune Di Fiume*, Bemporad, Firenze, p. 138.

⁸⁰² “La Bilancia” 15 April 1914

⁸⁰³ Gli ungheresi domiciliati qui che nel 1880 erano soli 400 e nel 1901 da tremila erano su 400 e nel 1901 da tremila cinque a quattromila, oggi son circa 6 mila, i croati che non arrivano nel 1900 a 10-12, oggi son più di 16 mila, e, al loro fianco son cresciuti e si son moltiplicati anche i serbi e gli sloveni. È avvenuto a Fiume quello che è avvenuto a Trieste, e soprattutto a Gorizia; un’invasione lenta di immigrati dall’interno, continua, implacabile, inesorabile. I nuovi venuti hanno trovato i posti pronti hanno messo su casa, hanno facilitati in tutti i modi, conquistato discreta agiatezza economica e si sono fatti centro di altri connazionali da loro fatti venire o a loro aggregati dalle oscure mani che dirigono tutto il movimento.

especially with the “zealous Jews”.⁸⁰⁴ To this a “necessary reaction” was opposed by the “besieged municipality”.⁸⁰⁵

In 1914 suffrage was extended in May 1914, and this gave rising hopes for the Italians. Now it was not necessary to have a certain taxpaying level, or a high school diploma.⁸⁰⁶ The Fiuman political organisations prepared for mass politics, forecasting the introduction of the universal suffrage in Hungary as it did happen in Austria. The article “Come vorremmo i partiti cittadini” from “La Bilancia” 7th of May 1914, was revealing that the same evolution towards mass suffrage was forecasted and auspicated.⁸⁰⁷ But the autonomist party was inadequate for the purpose, especially because of the autocratic leadership of Zanella.⁸⁰⁸ According to the article “Perché vorremmo il partito dei giovani”,⁸⁰⁹ instead it was the group of the *Giovine Fiume* that provided the right answer and corrective for the new times.⁸¹⁰

⁸⁰⁴ Sono dunque due i mezzi di cui si servono gli ungheresi a Fiume per cercare di farne una città ungherese: immigrazione artificiosa di loro connazionali, e bisogna aggiungere che si servono soprattutto di individui maggiorisatisi in altri luoghi e che portano nella loro nuova sede uno zelo di neofiti (nella massima parte sono ebrei già tedeschi, per loro natura petulanti e prepotenti, invisibili ai loro stessi patroni di bp!) e snazionalizzazione forzata degli italiani di Fiume, con l'adulterazione del loro carattere e la sostituzione della loro lingua.

⁸⁰⁵ Tutto ciò è venuto creando a Fiume un'atmosfera di irritazione, facilmente spiegabile. Percossa e flagellata l'italianità si è elevata nella più energica resistenza. Mentre il sentimento nazionale era prima, non compreso e non esasperato, piuttosto tiepido, è venuto poi caldo, veemente, bisognoso di sfogo.

⁸⁰⁶ Perché se per tutti i sudditi ungarici beneficiati del voto con la nuova legge, questo è un diritto che possono esercitare o no, per gli italiani di Fiume esso è un dovere preciso. L'italianità della città è in mano dei cittadini che hanno i diritti politici: ora la nuova legge allarga la schiera di questi, come quella dei nostri avversari. Ogni italiano che sia suddito ungarico, abbia 30 anni, sappia leggere e scrivere ed eserciti una professione o un mestiere ed abbia stabile dimora a Fiume da un anno, ha diritto al voto; nessuno che abbia queste qualifiche deve mancare di farsi valere e di farsi includere nelle liste elettorali. Per coloro che la capacità di leggere e scrivere non la possono dimostrare con attestati scolastici, sono contemplate apposite commissioni esaminatrici davanti alle quali daranno l'esame di capacità e otterranno un attestato di idoneità. Per acquistare il diritto di voto secondo la nuova legge non occorre, come finora, pagare imposta diretta o avere un attestato di scuola media. From “La Bilancia” 12 maggio 1914.

⁸⁰⁷ Qui da noi forse per mancanza assoluta di ogni forma democratica di vita politica e sociale, non esistono divisioni di parte su programma economico e sociale. D'altra parte, quando anche si vivesse in uno stato più moderno più democraticamente progredito e all'altezza dei tempi, lotte di questo genere sarebbero deleterie in una città che ha bisogno degli sforzi di tutti per difenderla dalla sopraffazione nazionale, minata com'è nella sua italianità e da croati e da ungheresi. ... Intimamente convinti che l'evoluzione sociale verso la democrazia è una fatalità storica, che dovrà trascinare anche l'Ungheria come ha già trascinato l'Austria non meno di essa attaccata a tradizioni feudali e conservatrici che sembrano invincibili.

⁸⁰⁸ Gli autonomi guidati da un capo che ha nelle sfere di Budapest relazioni che datano al periodo di governo della coalizione, sentono anche la necessità di andare d'accordo con un governo che s'intestardisce a non voler cadere forte di una maggioranza parlamentare ciecamente attaccata a lui e di appoggi e protezioni altissime; ma le precedenti relazioni del capo con l'opposizione, una guerra mossa al governo al potere, quando non gli si sospettava tanta vitalità, degenerata in una lotta personale fra il capo autonomo e il governatore rendono, lo si è visto proprio in questi giorni, impossibili gli approcci. (...) e l'on. Zanella che durante il tempo in cui era al potere con i suoi ed aveva e vantava amico un governo in fama di liberale, si vide magiarizzare pian piano le scuole dello stato, prima italiane e gli uffici; si vide togliere al comune mansioni prima delegate al comune: e tutto subì, e protestò blando e persino talvolta, tacitamente giustificò col silenzio l'opera del governo. ... i leghisti hanno dichiarato fallimento il giorno in cui burlati e schiaffeggiati dal governo col quale erano andati d'accordo; né col conte w potrebbero dignitosamente concludere nuovi patti. ... Il rimprovero che noi facciamo all'on. Zanella non è quello di cui lui rimproverava il deputato Vio i non fare nulla ma di voler far troppo anzi tutto.

⁸⁰⁹ (“La Bilancia” 8 maggio 1914)

⁸¹⁰ Con la disciolta “Giovine Fiume” essi fecero azione di rigoroso risveglio nazionale; ma anche contemporaneamente tumultuosa e senza tenere alcun conto della posizione speciale della città, senza che questa azione riuscisse ad avere qualche successo pratico materiale. (...) Era sorta in un momento in cui il sentimento nazionale era atrofizzato in un campanilismo magiarizzante, contro il quale con l'indomita sincerità delle giovani energie reagirono violenti e fecero un bene che l'on. Zanella non sa apprezzare; ma che giovò almeno formalmente se non sostanzialmente, anche alla formazione di quel tanto che mostra oggi di coscienza italiana: prima dal suo dizionario di discorsi e d'articoli di giornale la parola “italiani” era esclusa e sostituita da “fiumani” con un senso di magiarismo spiccatissimo, che male esprimeva il concetto fondamentale di razza e nazionalità, per cui e su cui è fondata la nostra lotta contro tutti gli avversari che ci vogliono morti. (...) ma oggi questo periodo di reazione alla falsa coscienza è sorpassato: quando il

concetto di nazionalità lo si vuole artatamente rimpicciolire da qualcuno, lo deve fare di nascosto: anche Fiume ha la sua bella coscienza nazionale, sente legami e simpatie intellettuali con la grande famiglia italiana e vuol conservarli.

CONCLUSION

Since the 1820s in its factional structure Fiuman politics closely resembles Hungarian politics. Hungary is perceived as the political reference of the Fiumani. The political leaders in Fiume during the whole nineteenth century are *pendants* of the Hungarian leaders: In the 1820s the pendant of Szecheny is A L de Adamich, Matcovich is the local reference for Kossuth and his faction in the whole period 1848-1868, and afterwards where the faction of the party of the 1848 survives in Fiume with dall'Asta and Walluschnigg, only to re-emerge at the beginnings of the 20th century with Zanella. Ciotta and Maylender definitely sided with I. Deak, and later with his successor Kálmán Tisza, from 1870 to 1896, a period known as “the idyll”, and afterwards when Tisza hold on power.

Still a fracture happened with Bannfy, who in 1896 was appointed prime minister by the King, who to enhance his popularity played the card of Hungarian nationalism that overlap also with the celebrations of the Hungarian millennium. The problem was of course that this could only ignite a conflict with Fiume. Bannfy moreover had no personal connections in Fiume, and therefore the possibilities for settling the conflict were reduced.

That after 1896 the system breaks up is reflected also by the change of the social extraction of the fiuman governors: after Tivadar Batthyany, the post will never more go to exponents of the Hungarian aristocracy but increasingly to bureaucrats, whose bargaining powers in Budapest were nil and had just to obey to the orders from the executive. The fiuman political leader from 1820 up to 1896 has a direct personal relationship with the Hungarian leaders, the governor being an aristocrat on equal footing with anyone in Budapest is capable to mediate effectively between Fiume and Budapest, but also to promote fiuman interests in Budapest. The situation after 1896 (but really clearly delineated already in 1883) is a predictable outcome of the “system Tisza” that transformed Hungary into a modern centralized bureaucratic state.

As we have seen, the shift towards Autonomism was an act of frustration caused by centralising Hungarian governments. When the liberals come to power again in 1901 the conflict was immediately settled. It was only an irreducible group, headed by Zanella, that pursued an uncompromising politics against the Hungarian government, but even that with strong ties with the Hungarian opposition in Budapest, and was therefore very similar to the old kossuthists.

Following Schmitt, we might say that the Autonomist ideology was defined primarily through its enemies. In the first phases from the beginnings in 1861 to 1883 the enemy was Croatia. Fiuman autonomists from 1861 to 1883 recalls very much in its rhetoric that of the Dalmatian autonomists who wanted to stay independent from Croatia even without having to deny their Slavic roots.

This year 1883 is crucial for the subsequent evolution of the Autonomism. In 1883 Croatia was on a verge of a civil war and was pacified through the imposition of the authoritarian viceroy Khuen Herdervary that was about to rule it with absolute powers (the suspension of the Sabor lasted for two decades) from 1883 to 1903. With Croatia out of the game the strategic outlook for Fiume seemed brighter than ever before. On the other hand, this meant that the residual bargaining power it had with Hungary (there was the remote possibility that Fiumani could stick to Croatia) was lost and that now from Budapest to Fiume there were no political obstacles of a sort. It is should be come of no surprise that barely a year afterwards the first conflict between the Hungarian central authority and the city exploded.

From 1883 onwards for Fiuman the model will become their traditional rival Trieste. The position of Trieste and with its autonomy secured at the level of the *Reichsrat* made the Fiuman Autonomism reclaim for their city a political status similar to those of Trieste. Thus from 1883 onwards Fiuman politics will try to emulate Triestine politics. New political and the cultural associations will all bear names similar to those of Trieste.

But the situation in Fiume was very different from that of Trieste. The Triestine financial corporations (that were among the rare ones to survive the financial breakdown of the Empire in 1873) had their own resources and the leading political organisation in Trieste, the *Partito Liberale*

is against the Hapsburg State, because it doesn't need the support of the State. In Trieste the exponents of Autonomism are from the second half of the nineteenth century the top-flight financial professionals, frequently freemasons. The Fiuman idea is to emulate Trieste but with a more limited scope to become for Hungary what Trieste is for Austria.

Now, in Fiume the situation was the very opposite: here it was Hungary who did not need the consensus of the Fiumani, since it controlled the fiuman economy that without Hungarian capital could only end up in a breakdown (as it happened in 1918). Fiume had the handicaps of the latecomer. Fiume will always lack a comparable financial infrastructure, and the triestine economy by the beginnings of the twentieth century completed its transition towards a service-based economy.

The Fiumani will lack their class of capitalists able to oppose the Hungarian (and later also Croatian) advance. The big Hungarian banks who de facto controlled the Fiuman economy were managed by Hungarian top ranking civil officers, (several prime ministers among them) most of them members of the aristocracy linked by familiar links. This engendered a widespread feeling of marginality and impotence among the Fiumani, since the system limited their possibilities of upward social mobility.

He will back all the cultural at first and then political actions in Fiume, but will also obviously accept "the system Tisza" as demonstrated by the pacification of Fiume after the fall of Banffy replaced by the moderate Szell from the Tisza camp in 1901. It will be the sudden death of Luigi Ossoinack, who committed suicide in 1904, to open up the quest for his succession, since in the role, his son Andrea will promptly be challenged by Zanella, who predictably will side against the liberals.

Key economic players among the Fiumani such as Luigi Ossoinack will be the first to feel it the changed relationship with Hungary: "The Clash of the Woodcocks" started the conflict of Ciotta with Ossoinack. Ossoinack attempted to present Ciotta as "lacking in Hungarian patriotism". The creeping conflict continues up to 1906 when Ciotta resigns.

At this point it is Maylander within the entourage of Ossoinack who presents as good Fiumani against the Hungarian government of Banffy (backed by the king but isolated in the Hungarian political forces). After 1896 Maylander first and then Zanella appear as professionals and agents paid by Ossoinack, who is the uncontested leading political figure in the city. Ossoinack has personal animosity against Batthyany, while Maylander is a continuator of the pact with the Hungarian liberal party, a follower of Ciotta. Maylander tries to keep the city calm but unsuccessfully from one hand there is a growing intransigence from both parts from the other he had probably less authority than Ciotta. Here the relationship breaks and it will be Zanella (backed by L Ossoinack) to put forward the conflict. Zanella appears as a follower of Matcovich, and adopts a more and more extreme stance.

The compromising attitude of mainstream Autonomism of Maylander first and later of Andrea Ossoinack after 1905, will initiate a split in the organisation, accomplished in 1911 with the formation of two Autonomist parties: one sided with the left (the followers of the party of the 1848 dominated by Zanella) the other, the Lega (under the leadership of Andrea Ossoinack, son of Luigi) will refer to the heirs of the liberals of Tisza. The two parties have different conceptions of the state that is reflected also in Fiume: the liberals of Tisza wanted a homogenous state; where Fiume as well as a pacified Croatia were integral parts of Hungary, that is part of the Hapsburg empire. The left (Zanella) presuppose the existence of separate entities (Hungary, Fiume and Croatia) that have opposing interests and as such can tailor different alliances: Hungary is a part of the monarchy as long as it wants it and benefits from it, but the same holds for Fiume within Hungary.

Ironically, the future champion of the Free State, Zanella gave the first impetus to the nascent irredentist movement. Thus playing the card of Italian culture and therefore cultural specificity to be able to tact and seek protection under the Hungarian law of nationalities meant playing also the card of Italian irredentism. Some fringes of the autonomist party led by Zanella are now forced to act in

illegality, especially those affiliated with the irredentist organisation *Giovine Fiume*, after its forced dissolution several will be forced to emigration.

CHAPTER 5: THE CITY AS A NATION? 1918-1924

*Des citoyens de Fiume que je questionnais pour savoir si leurs penchants nationaux étaient plutôt pour les Italiens ou les Croates, ma firent cette réponse inattendue : « fiumains nous sommes, fiumains nous voulons vivre et mourir. A ce compte, on verra l'Europe se transformer en salle de dissection. »*⁸¹¹

THE WAR

Fiume in the years immediately preceding First World War experienced the maximum expansion of its maritime traffics and industrial development. In this truly golden age, that was about to end, the port was the ending point of the rail systems of Austria, Hungary, and Serbia and growing communities from these countries permanently settled there.⁸¹² Apart from immigrants, foreign capital was pouring in the city, making its economy more international and far less “Fiuman”.⁸¹³ In the Stock Exchange in Fiume, for example, most of the companies listed in 1914 were Croatian.⁸¹⁴ Predictably, the Hungarian government promptly exploited the dwindling political influence of the Fiumani. The central government, With Khuen as the Prime Minister of Hungary succeeded to put Fiuman politics under complete control, and that already before the Great War broke. Obviously, the possibilities for the Fiumani to have an influence in local politics was greatly reduced, being confined at the defence of the municipal *italianità*. The administration of the *corpus separatum*, was now entrusted to the *Giunta governiale amministrativa*, a municipal administrative body whose members were appointed by the Hungarian Governor in Fiume. The Municipal Police was now sided by the Hungarian State Police, the judiciary had its Courts of Appeal in Budapest, and there was an Administrative Tribunal in Fiume as well that as the Tribunal, were firmly under Hungarian control. The number of Hungarian schools was rising continuously, as well as the proportion of those in Italian where more and more classes were taught in Hungarian. Finally, in 1912 a “Superior Commercial Academy” was instituted in Fiume, a first step for a planned Hungarian university.

⁸¹¹ Redslob, Robert, *Le principe des nationalités: les origines, les fondements psychologiques, les forces adverses, les solutions possibles*, Paris : Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1930. The book resulted from a series of lectures delivered at the Institut universitaire des hautes études internationales, a Geneva in February 1930.

⁸¹² In 1913 the port of Fiume export Hungarian totalled 21,084,388 tons of importations and 10,127,568 of exports. Austria 4,178,970 tons of importations and 1,862,866 of exports. Bulgaria 1,432 tons of importations and 164,643 of exports. Romania 216 tons of importations and 16,366 of exports. Serbia ?

from this data it emerges that Fiume was the single most important entrepot for Serbia and Romania, and a very important one for Bulgaria as well. See *The Port of Fiume and its future*, published by the Statistical Department of the Fiume government, Fiume Editorial Society 1922, pp. 4 passim.

⁸¹³ Croatian banks started massively to invest in Fiume. Their investments and assets concentrated in the several banks operative in Fiume such as the Banca Agraria croata, Banca Centrale Croata, Banca Federale, Banca e Cassa di Risparmio per il Litorale, Cassa di Risparmio Croata e Istituto di pegno S.A., Prima Cassa di Risparmio Croata etc. numbers? (7 out of 18). already in the Seating of the Rappresentanza of the 15 2 1907, Zanella exclaimed: “mentre sin 20 anni fa la forza e la prevalenza economiche erano in mano ai fiumani, e fiumani erano i maggiori ed i più ricchi negozianti e industriali del paese ... oggi purtroppo le parti sono invertite e l'elemento cittadino occupa un posto che non è il primo ... specialmente noi del Partito autonomo non dobbiamo ignorare questo fatale processo di immiserimento della cittadinanza autoctona”. *Avvisatore Ufficiale del Municipio di Fiume*, seduta della Rappresentanza – 15/2/1907.

⁸¹⁴ Banca Fiumana, Banca Popolare Fiumana, Prima Cassa di Risparmio Croata, Banca e Cassa di Risparmio del Litorale, Banca Commerciale Fiume, Ungaro Croata, Oriente, Ungaro Croata Libera, Indeficienter nuova emissione, Pilatura Riso Fiume, Oleificio Ungherese, Austro Americana, Libera Triestina, Gerolimich, Premuda, Ampelea, Cemento Spalato, Kerka, in Listino di Borsa Fiume Gennaio 1914 (Bilancia 5th January 1914)

Therefore, the ongoing conflict with the Hungarian government reached its height at a time of maximum prosperity and economic development of the “Jewel of the Hungarian Crown”.⁸¹⁵

On the 20th of June 1913 the Governor, “with the consent” of the Executive in Budapest, suspends the Rappresentanza for “opposition to the laws of the State”, and for “perturbation” of the “constituted order”.⁸¹⁶ Although the Presidency and the Municipal Delegation remain in their place, already on the 24th of June 1913 - the Governor put his veto on the last deliberations of the Presidency. An Extraordinary gathering of the Municipal delegation follows on the 26th of June 1913, where several representatives announced their resignation.

In Fiume the political climate was very tense and all the political fractions in the city were opposing the governmental measures. Disillusion was the dominant feeling in Fiume of 1914, and the press was pushing for a “*Partito Unico*”, to contrast the besiegers.⁸¹⁷ On February the 28th 1914 at the new elections for the Rappresentanza “all the political groups of the city” publicly supported the *Partito Autonomo*, as it was reported in the local press, but the pro-Hungarian *Lega* simply refused to participate at the elections⁸¹⁸. The voluntary absence of competing political forces gave an overwhelming majority to the Autonomist Party at the local elections, marked with apathy despite the strong mobilisation campaign attempted by the local press.

The elections showed once more the extant fracture within Fiumani politics. The *Lega* renounced to nominate its candidates, and gave only the leaders a tacit assumption to vote for the only group that presented at the ballots that lead by Zanella and the *Partito Autonomo*.⁸¹⁹ At the beginnings of March, la *Bilancia* by the hand of Marco Druscovich, who was staunchly opposing the *Partito Autonomo* of Zanella (*Associazione Autonoma*) and in the press the conflict articulated between the *Voce* and the *Bilancia* wrote an analysis of the errors of Fiumani politics. In the first article from the 2nd of March 1914, Marco Druscovich recognized that the goals that the *Bilancia* set were not reached, and the *Associazione Autonoma* was the principal cause of disunion of the Fiumani.⁸²⁰ The “impulsive” Zanella, excluded any member of the *Lega* in his party list, forcing them to the margins of the political scene⁸²¹. Moreover, in this way also the “young radicals” (the group of the

⁸¹⁵ See for example the texts from La Difesa, about the future position of the fiumani within a Magyar Fiume in La Difesa ...

⁸¹⁶ On the 19th of June 1913 the daily of the party of Count Tisza «Az Ujsag», in an article with the significant title “The Degeneration of Fiume” claims that in Fiume “open tendencies towards Italy” are manifested in public. Now it was necessary not only to introduce the State Police but also a Royal Commissary in order to stop the anti patriotic and irredentist actions of the fiumans.

⁸¹⁷ Nella nuova Rappresentanza, che sarà così composta dalla tanto invocata fusione delle forze cittadine migliori ovunque essere verranno. E da questa fusione nascerà anche, che i diversi rappresentanti, non legati da vincoli di disciplina a un partito unico, potranno reciprocamente compiere nel futuro consiglio quell'azione di critica e di reciproco controllo che renderanno per l'avvenire, impossibile l'andazzo tanto deplorato nelle amministrazioni passate. (*Bilancia* 21 feb 1914). towards the city of Fiume

⁸¹⁸ On 26th February the leader of the Lega Antonio Vio, gave his explanation in an open letter to Zanella: “Egregio signor Riccardo Zanella presidente dell'associazione autonoma FIUME. Mi riesce oltremodo increscioso di doverle comunicare che per un indiscrezione da parte che per un indiscrezione da parte a me ignota i signori appartenenti alla lega autonoma hanno risaputo che la direzione dell'associazione autonoma ha preso il deciso di non comprendere nella lista nessuno di quei signori, i quali nel passato appartenevano al PARTITO AUTONOMO, per colpire in questa maniera la pretesa loro defezione dal vecchio partito.” Nevertheless, the paper concluded with “che domani la città possa inalberare il vessillo di vittoria simbolo della volontà tenace di conservarsi italiani!” (la *Bilancia* 27 feb 1914, “Le ragioni che indussero la LEGA a non presentare le proprie candidature”)

⁸¹⁹ Only 920 voted, out of 2606, in the midst of confusion ... the parties did not proclaim their candidates etc.. nelle condizioni in cui si svolse tutta la preparazione elettorale e con la confusione che ancora questa mattina c'era in città., è un vero miracolo. (*bilancia* 28 feb 1914)

⁸²⁰ “unione sincera e leale di tutti i cittadini nello sforzo di dimostrare al governo di tutto quanto siamo capaci per difendere la nostra vita nazionale e le nostre prerogative autonome, interessamento dei cittadini per l'amministrazione, stretta concordia dei partiti cittadini nei riguardi delle preannunciate trattative per un modus vivendi che assicuri alla città un periodo di pace ... si raggiunse tutto questo? Evidentemente no, ...” (*Bilancia* 2nd of March 1914, “I nostri errori”)

⁸²¹ Lo Zanella è un impulsivo. Convinto di valere qualche cosa, convinto dell'onestà dei propri intendimenti, desideroso che quanto è diritto della città debba trionfare di tutto e di tutti , non può, stando fuori della responsabilità diretta

Giovine Fiume) were excluded.⁸²² That was a crucial error since they could have defended the *italianità* much better from the inside of the Rappresentanza.⁸²³ The *Lega* made the only error to refuse the presentation of its candidates. All the other errors were those of Zanella.⁸²⁴ And the conclusion was that the “apathy” of the Fiumani towards daily politics exposed them to intolerable risks.⁸²⁵

On March the 12th 1914 - 51 members of the Rappresentanza Civica during a meeting at the *Associazione Autonoma* headquarters deliberated to candidate Riccardo Zanella as podestà of Fiume. The *Associazione Autonoma*, gains 51 out of 56 members of the Rappresentanza and now acts as an umbrella organisation for all the political organizations in the City. Zanella, is seen as the right person to oppose the Hungarian government, also thanks to his connections in Budapest, especially with Prime Minister Tisza, with whom he had extensive contacts thanks to the leaders from the *Lega*, much more accommodating to Hungarian initiatives such as Francesco Vio or Andrea Ossoinack who were (for the moment) unjustly marginalized.⁸²⁶

Soon the *Lega* representatives collectively resigned, including Vio, who was deputy at the Hungarian Chamber. The fracture seems definitive. According to an article from “*La Bilancia*” the city was besieged by enemies and any fracture within the Fiumani exposed the *italianità* to intolerable risks.⁸²⁷ Zanella was considered as the principal factor of disunion and in shirt the greatest fiuman problems.⁸²⁸

fuori dalla palpante prova dei fatti, trattarsi dal deplorare e rimproverare come, e lo fa sempre con una passione che sa di acredine, agli altri comune una colpa o almeno una debolezza, ogni torto che venga loro imposto. Così fu nel passato, così sarebbe nell'avvenire, non perché lo faccia con la speculazione di spazzare gli altri e di farsi posto lui; ma perché spesso, pensiamo, si trova nella condizione di spirito di colui che sapendo un amico della parte della ragione, non può capacitarsi che abbia pigliato torto in tribunale e dice: sei un bel ciuco tu; se fossi stato io, la sarebbe andata altrimenti! (*Bilancia* 12th of March 1914, “Attendendo la costituzione del Consiglio”).

⁸²² the only preoccupation of the *Associazione Autonoma* was to grab power and the “giovani radicali, che da parecchi anni hanno tenuto una direttiva diritta e severa anche con notevoli sacrifici di parecchi fra loro, non furono accolti nella lista, perché non vollero entrare nel partito autonomo ed accoglierne un programma, che non è il loro ma anzi sostanzialmente diverso ...” (*Bilancia* 2nd of March 1914, “I nostri errori”)

⁸²³ “Avrebbero potuto farsi assertori e sostenitori di tutte quelle iniziative che servono a fare nei cittadini una salda coscienza nazionale che ora loro manca: avrebbero infine portato in consiglio una voce simpatica d'italianità sana, fuori dalle preoccupazioni politiche senza pregiudicare né compromettere, fori come sarebbero stati e divisi da essa, la maggioranza che per più ragioni ora più che mai avrà un atteggiamento sempre prudente e (Dio non voglia!) forse remissivo.” (*Bilancia* 2nd of March 1914, “I nostri errori”)

⁸²⁴ la critica alla *Lega* è di nuovo critica allo Zanella. Ma il prof Zanella non è un santo e avrebbe dovuto essere un santo, per il bene e la concordia della città; ora quando in un momento particolarmente grave e importante della vita cittadina, un partito forte e guidato da un uomo che quando vuole sa essere anche troppo forte e autoritario, si lasci trascinare da così piccoli sentimenti di astio e da piccole vanità, non può e non deve essere lodato. (*Bilancia* 3rd of March 1914, “I nostri errori”)

⁸²⁵ “Per queste elezioni ci furono complessivamente 2606 elettori, dei quali votarono appena 920 e gli altri 1686? se fossero tutti ungheresi governativi o croati, saremmo bel e spacciati: di questi certo la metà sono italiani, che non soltanto in questa elezione ma sempre prima sia per apatia, sia perché non persuasi dalla politica che si fece in città per tanti anni se ne stanno appartati.” (*Bilancia* 7th March 1914, “Per concludere i nostri errori”)

⁸²⁶ ... Sanno anche i passeri che fra il deputato dott. Vio e il prof Zanella corsero lunghe trattative, che conseguenza di queste furono i colloqui dello Zanella con Tisza resi possibili da relazione onesta, leale e pacificatrice e talvolta generosa del deputato. (“*La Bilancia*” 18 mar 1914)

⁸²⁷ “Il compito che si è prefisso “*La Bilancia*” da quando incominciò ad infuriare sulla nostra città la reazione, è quello di difendere fuori e sopra le piccole guerricciole di partito, l'italianità di Fiume e i suoi diritti autonomici. Fedele a questo programma si mise in aperta lotta contro il governo liberticida, dopo l'introduzione delle guardie confinali e del regio commissario e prima che si aprisse la campagna elettorale, sostenne la necessità della concentrazione cittadina contro il nemico, fuori di ogni competizione di parte.” (“*La Bilancia*” 17th March 1914, “Le dimissioni dei leghisti”)

⁸²⁸ “parve che la sua voce fosse intesa, ma i partiti hanno un substrato d'odio e di risentimento e di superbiette da far valere, che anche questa volta prevalsero e le elezioni si svolsero capitante e vinte dal solo partito autonomo, che riuscì a tenere lontane dall'amministrazione persone ottime dei gruppi di minoranza”. (“*La Bilancia*” 17th March 1914, “Le dimissioni dei leghisti”).

On March the 31st 1914 the newly elected Rappresentanza Civica gathers for the first time, to elect Zanella as the new podestà and Corossacz and Grossich as the two vice presidents.⁸²⁹ Although Zanella showed a clear will to compromise with the Hungarians essentially in an anti Croatian fashion⁸³⁰, the King Franz Joseph explicitly refused to accept his election as podestà of Fiume on April, the 10th 1914. On April, the 18th 1914 Francesco Gilberto Corrosacz is elected as a new podestà of Fiume.⁸³¹

That was a deadlock, and some of the Fiumani who within the *Giovine Fiume* were already embracing irredentism, saw in that an intolerable limitation that anyway weakened their position. In a very important article that followed the final rupture on the 18th of March 1914 the editorialist clearly saw the deadlock of Fiumani politics:

*A noi che osserviamo serenamente l'attività dei due partiti, abbiamo notato ripetutamente questo fatto: che fra "Lega" e "Associazione autonoma" non c'è differenza di programma, ma due gruppi di uomini l'uno contro l'altro, tutti e due intimamente persuasi che (non sappiamo se a ragione) che non si possa dirigere la città senza appoggiarsi a uno o all'altro dei due grandi partiti ungheresi della camera di Budapest.*⁸³²

With the Austro-Hungarian declaration of war to Serbia, most of the Fiuman industry was reorganised for military production.⁸³³ The port was paralysed by the war and greatly reduced its activities.⁸³⁴ Although the better position of Fiume which was more defensible than Trieste meant a relatively better situation.⁸³⁵ Also the provisation service worked quite well.⁸³⁶ The local press,

⁸²⁹ After the election of Zanella as podestà di Fiume, he delivered the inaugural speech. "(...) spezzate dopo quattro lustri di servaggio croato, le catene che la tenevano legata, Fiume poté tornare fra l'allegrezza sua e il compiacimento degli ungheresi, a formare un comune autonomo annesso alla corona ungarica. Ma la fiducia e l'amore fra italiani e ungheresi sono da tre lustri cessati. L'idillio di fraternità del 1868 e passato e ne è svanito il ricordo e sono subentrati guai, amarezze e sospetto. La città diventò campo e arena di dissidi e di lotte a tutto vantaggio del comune nemico: il croato. (...) In questo stato di guerra sono passati tre lustri, e sono stati per la città e per il governo severamente ammonitori. Noi vediamo indebolita la nostra autonomia e la nazionalità, e il governo vede rilasciati i vincoli fra città e governo; mentre i croati in falange compatta stanno per invadere vie e case: ora con l'inganno or con la violenza essi tendono al possesso della città per incorporarla al Regno di Croazia e così togliere all'Ungheria l'unico suo sbocco al mare e al mondo intero (applausi, grida di bravo: dalla galleria vengono gettati fiori sull'oratore). (...) a Fiume e per Fiume il potere dello Stato è grande e fiorente; se uniti siamo forti, sono speranze fallaci e disastrose, tutte quelle che posano sulla guerra. L'autonomia e l'italianità di Fiume sono necessarie per noi e per il governo; perché finché Fiume resta italiana e autonoma resta legata alla Corona Ungarica, la morte della sua autonomia e della sua italianità, segnerà il dominio dei croati. This time the speech of Zanella was basically anti Croatian. Zanella was concerned in presenting himself as a moderate presumably to get support from the Hungarians. In (*La Bilancia* 31 mar 1914).

⁸³⁰ Corossacz went on with a "tono politico e polemico": « Il Governo ungherese deve intendere che il mare Adriatico fu e resterà sempre italiano. Noi che vi siamo nati, alle sue sponde, e coloro che verranno dopo di noi cresceranno italiani; e italiani diventeranno anche i figli degli stranieri che calassero fra noi». While Grossich declared: «Il mio programma culmina nella difesa strenua della nostra autonomia, di quella rocca che costituisce il nostro supremo bene, la nostra nazionalità, la nostra cultura, la nostra lingua italiana». From *La Bilancia*, 1 April 1914.

⁸³¹ In his inaugural speech Corrosacz exclaimed that it was Zanella who was the legitimately elected podestà.

⁸³² ("La Bilancia" 18 mar 1914)

⁸³³ Actually some of the biggest industrial plants in Fiume were already military industries. The Danubius-Ganz works were de facto a military industry specialised in the construction of warships including submarines and Dreadnought battleships. The yard launched a single Dreadnought, the *Szent Istvan*, sunken by Italian torpedo boats, off Premuda, in March 1918, more ships were planned but never built. The Whitehead Torpedo Works were now forced to recede the signed contracts with several navies with whom Austria-Hungary was waging war, and for security reasons (after a bombing by the Italian Zeppelin "Città di Ferrara", later shot down by the island of Lussino) in 1917 most of the production was transferred to inner Austria (st. Polten).

⁸³⁴ Although the au Navy retained supremacy in the Adriatic until the end of the war, the Entente fleets were successful in blocking all of its penetration attempts to force the Otranto straits.

⁸³⁵ "La posizione geografica di Fiume, meglio protetta in fondo del Carnaro, consentiva una sufficiente regolarità di contatti colla Dalmazia sotto la difesa dell'arcipelago. Così tutto il rifornimento sia civile che militare della Dalmazia si svolse attraverso Fiume mentre Trieste diveniva del tutto inattiva." In considered the cabotage, than after an initial drop the overall traffic from Fiume reaches a peak in 1916-1917 even if compared with pre-war years. In Depoli Guido, *La*

now subject to war censure, came under direct supervision from the offices of the Hungarian governor (procura).⁸³⁷ Initially, in the first year of war the Monarchy was in war with Serbia while Italy was neutral. Therefore, even by admission by Italian nationalists, in Fiume the Croats and Serbs in Fiume were the most hardly pressed by the military and police authorities, not the Italians.⁸³⁸

Immediately on the outbreak of the World War measures of extreme severity were taken by the civil and military authorities of Austria-Hungary throughout their Yugoslav provinces. The exact number of persons arrested or interned will probably never be known, but that the Yugoslavs were regarded, and treated, as a hostile population, is abundantly proved. In Dalmatia the leading deputies (e.g. Smodlaka, Cingrija, Tresic, Drinkovic) and many priests, advocates, doctors and other intellectuals were arrested, some being used as hostages and forced to accompany railway patrols, under the threat of instant death in case of sabotage by the population. All the municipal councils in Dalmatia (with the solitary exception of Zara, which had an Italian majority) were dissolved at an early stage in the war.

Initially, in the period of Italian neutrality, the main source of information was provided by the Italian press, that was allowed to circulate.⁸³⁹

On May the 23rd 1915 Italy by declaring war to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy enters the war on *Entente* side.⁸⁴⁰ By that time many Italian immigrants in Fiume had already left the city, soon followed by Hungarian banks and commercial enterprises who moved back to Budapest.

The war itself did not struck Fiume, the city reported a single aerial attack performed by an Italian Zeppelin, that bombed the torpedo works and some port facilities. The fiumani (out of some 12-14000 mobilised) experienced a remarkably low number of casualties - reportedly due to their massive desertion rate.⁸⁴¹

The Rappresentanza formally continued to gather, but war forced many of its members to army service or to exile. The communal government had to apply the ministerial ordinances.⁸⁴² The

politica economica di Fiume durante l'indipendenza statale (1918-1924), *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno IV, I Semestre 1926, pp.46-47.

⁸³⁶ Fiume fu tra le prime se non la prima città della monarchia, a istituire e organizzare un vero e proprio approvvigionamento sequestrando grandi quantitativi di merci che giacevano nei magazzini del punto franco, coi quali poté far fronte alle prime difficoltà della critica situazione economica subentrata nell'inverno 1914-15. In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.15.

⁸³⁷ Fin dal 26 luglio era istituita a Fiume la censura preventiva della stampa. Qualche ora prima di essere diffusi tra il pubblico, i giornali dovevano mandare le loro bozze di stampa al procuratore del re che segnava con matita rossa gli articoli, i capoversi, le righe, le frasi o le parole che si dovevano togliere. In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.19. the first to be cussere was la *Voce del Popolo* of Zanella, then the *Popolo*.

⁸³⁸ Gigante, p. , also Susmel: vero era soltanto che podestà e maestri e preti e giornalisti e agitatori e contadini croati e serbi delle isole del Quarnero, del litorale croato passavano, incatenati, per Fiume e venivano condotti nelle fortezze dell'interno. L'incubo della caligine umida e nera delle carceri austriache aveva spinto croati serbofilo, come i fratelli Mateljan di Fiume, a elargire cospicui importi alla Croce Rossa Ungherese per mascherare il loro irredentismo slavo; e la comunità serba non tardò a esprimere il cordoglio dei serbi di Fiume per l'assassinio dell'arciduca e rendere devoto omaggio alla casa d'Austria. In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.13.

⁸³⁹ But Susmel reports that the Italian press coined to arrive until Italy entered the war. I giornali arrivavano giornalmente. Le notizie giungevano abbondevoli. I fiumani erano informati di ogni cosa. Ricercatissimo tra i giornali il *Corriere della Sera*, gli altri meno. In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.15.

⁸⁴⁰ The *Bilancia* from May the 20th 1915 reports news from the imminent Italian entry in the war and her strategic goals.

⁸⁴¹ Elmiro Franchi reports that there were not even a hundred widows or orphans and not more that 150 invalid or mutilated soldiers, less than 2% of the total of mobilised (estimated at 12-14000). The numbers represent it seems the lowest grade of the lands of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In Franchi, Elmiro. "Avvenimenti fiumani di un quarto di secolo", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV,, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1956 p. 101.

⁸⁴² Le ordinanze ministeriali fiocavano l'una dopo l'altra all'ufficio comunale, dove gli assessori attendevano a recarle immediatamente nella veste italiana per presentarle in grandi manifesti al pubblico. I primi mesi ci fu una vera ossessione di ordinanze che giungevano fin dieci al giorno, restringendo l'ambito della costituzione, tanto che ormai

papers that marked the age as the *Voce del Popolo* of Zanella⁸⁴³ and the *Novi List* of Supilo ceased with their publications since both editors were in exile.

In Susak that was the main logistic base for recruitment sending to the front, and Croatian nationalist manifestations were on the rise.⁸⁴⁴ After a series of incidents between the fiumani and the Croatian conscripts, the manifestations remained confined to the church.⁸⁴⁵

The Rappresentanza was dissolved on June the 5th 1915, with the pretentious reason of a quarrel among the councillors. Francesco Gilberto Corrosacz podestà of Fiume was removed from office. The *Lega Autonoma* the party allied with the government swiftly gained power. Their exponent Antonio Vio, at the time deputy of Fiume at the Hungarian parliament was nominated podestà. After Vio's resignation from the position of deputy of Fiume at the Hungarian parliament, Andrea Ossoinack, the old adversary of Zanella, and head of the *Lega Autonoma* was in elected "by acclamation" on 10th October 1915 deputy of Fiume at the Hungarian parliament.⁸⁴⁶

For the first time, the new elected Rappresentanza had 12 Hungarian councillors imposed by the Hungarian government.⁸⁴⁷ On the 24 May 1915 after a vast operation in the city. It became clear to the fiumani that the Hungarian border police was the main instrument of oppression.⁸⁴⁸ On the 1st May 1916 the border police becomes state police, and all the competences of the fiuman communal police ceased.⁸⁴⁹ On 5th May 1916 magyarisation of the street names in Fiume on proposal of G Fesus.

After the Italian defeat at Caporetto, on the 12th September 1917 the group of nominated Hungarians to the Rappresentanza gathered to discuss how to put a remedy to the "injustices that the Hungarian community was suffering by the Fiuman citizens". Given the delicacy of the task, the reunion was kept secret. The group produced also a program document on how was Fiume to be reorganised after the victory.⁸⁵⁰ The report was organised according to several priority points: the first was the Language Question – Hungarian language was to become official at the municipal government since it was the language of the State.⁸⁵¹ The Rappresentanza had to use also the Hungarian language and the vice president had to be a Hungarian. Regarding the municipal elections: a person who was already included in the municipal electoral list could not be deleted salvo that the premises upon which the right was conferred did not cease. Posts at the municipal

ogni vestigio di libertà poteva dirsi abolito. In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, pp.18-19.

⁸⁴³ La *Voce del Popolo* of Zanella ceased on 16th April 1915. In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.20.

⁸⁴⁴ I richiamanti scendevano dai villaggi e dai dintorni sventolando bandiere croate e cantando in croato. E queste dimostrazioni si spandevano anche oltre il ponte dell'Eneo e giungevano a Fiume. I richiamati partenti s'incolonnavano in cortei, e accompagnanti da suonatori d'armonica, infilavano il corso e attraversavano piazza dante dirigendosi alla stazione ferroviaria. In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 21.

⁸⁴⁵ E salvo qualche processione dei padri cappuccini, che avvolgevano la Madonna in nastri e gonfaloni croati, gl'incidenti non si ripeterono più. In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 27.

⁸⁴⁶ In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.123.

⁸⁴⁷ Of the 12 some were of the radical nationalist group, while there was also a moderate one. (rad. Giorgio Fesus notar, David Friedman, Giovanni Melocco (!), and prof Samuele Szabo. The mod Ugo De Eidlitz, Giulio Fischer, Prof Stefano Mozog, Eugenio De Pazmany, Ing Samuele Polgar, Lodovico Stolzenbreg, Avv Giulio Szego And Dott Samuele Maylender.

⁸⁴⁸ (...) tutto quanto di antiitaliano si osservava in città partiva dalla polizia di confine. In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 67.

⁸⁴⁹ the communal police in opposition of the border polikce, follwod the actiosn, mired at compmomising the fiumani. P. 66. afterwars the police repitaiton -..

⁸⁵⁰ The document (whose origins and present status are unknown) in Italian translation, titled *Proposta della commissione delegate dai rappresentanti municipali di lingua ungherese, ed accettata da questi ad unanimità nella loro riunione tenutasi addì 3 novembre 1917*, is given in Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.123- 133.

⁸⁵¹ The Italian language of the fiuman municipal administration was now debased to "officious".

government since the Hungarians were to Italians 1 – 2 the number of Hungarians in the municipal affairs had to be augmented.⁸⁵²

The priorities expressed by the Hungarians of Fiume, were then drafted to much more conciliatory conclusions: The political position of Fiume in the Provisory was the outcome of the struggle between Italians and the Slavs for the possession of the City. But with faith in an happy outcome of the present war (after Caporetto) nevertheless, the Croats were recognised as main enemies.⁸⁵³ The Croat efforts for the control of the city are gaining ground no matter for the opposition of the fiumani, or the investments from Hungary.⁸⁵⁴ It was only the municipal government of Fiume who resisted these attempts and therefore it had to be helped.⁸⁵⁵

Now an interesting evaluation of the real extent of autonomy is given: the *italianità* of the municipality had to be preserved in what looks as a strategic deal between the fiumani and the Hungarians. The autonomy was only a fiction masked with the insistence on the Italian language and culture – the *italianità*.⁸⁵⁶

They “as Hungarians” comprehended perfectly this attachment to “symbols of the past that enabled them to survive and preserve their state or nation”, moreover this feeling had to be enhanced.⁸⁵⁷ Even if the Hungarians perceived their position as an besieged minority, any forceful act would have been interpreted as an unnecessary imposition that would have led to the alienation of support by the fiuman majority. Fiume as the only maritime emporium was the only link of Hungary with the world, therefore was to be kept by soft power.

The pretensions of the Hungarians were solved by podestà Vio with his *Comunicazione presidiale* dated 14th December 1917 with whom the Hungarians were interpreted as the request that the important communications had to be written in Hungarian as well. The pronouncement of the podestà did not imply the acceptance by the Rappresentanza, that could refute it at the next meeting as a personal or arbitrary act of the podestà.⁸⁵⁸

⁸⁵² This is false since the report was rather at 1/7, but maybe it referred to those with voting rights, where the Hungarians were favoured by their social position.

⁸⁵³ “Seppure fiduciosi di un felice esito della presente Guerra – noi volessimo mettere un non cale le aspirazioni territoriali dell’Italia, non dobbiamo dimenticare che i “fratelli” croati non hanno dimessa l’idea del grande regno slavo meridionale comprendente Fiume e continuano sistematicamente e con fanatica conseguenza vantare i loro diritti “storici” a questa terra, e che da ultimo sono decisi a qualsiasi sacrificio pur di raggiungere tale loro intento.” In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.127- 128.

⁸⁵⁴ “Tutti noi siamo spettatori del consapevole lavoro dei croati, che dura da decenni e che tende a conquistare la città di Fiume, e dobbiamo con sbigottimento constatare che pur troppo i loro sforzi non rimasero infruttuosi e che il loro potere in questa città va di giorno in giorno crescendo. Questo loro potere si fa ormai sentire in tutti i rami della vita economica: la navigazione, l’industria e il commercio sono passati in gran parte nelle loro mani, e le recenti statistiche sull’alienazione degli immobili mostrano terrificanti progressi anche in questo campo.” In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.128.

⁸⁵⁵ “Di questa influenza il solo municipio di Fiume seppe finora mantenersi immune, si fu solamente il municipio quello che ai dolci richiami di Zagabria seppe opporre il suo reciso e categorico “no” oppure un profondo e tanto più eloquente silenzio.” In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.128.

⁸⁵⁶ “Poichè ammettiamolo Signori, è a questo carattere che si è ormai ridotta la speciale posizione autonoma di Fiume. Ed invero, questa città non possiede meritoriamente diritti autonomi più vasti, che ne possenga qualunque altro municipio d’Ungheria – che al posto di una giunta amministrativa autonoma ha un organo puramente governativo – il consiglio governiale, e che recentemente, prima fra tutti gli altri municipi si vide – se anche necessariamente, se anche emotivamente – privata dalla propria polizia, sostituita da quella dello Stato.” In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.129. The autonomy was now reduced to the right to use its language; it seems ages have passed since the times when Caldara from Milan envied the level of autonomy enjoyed by the municipality of Fiume.

⁸⁵⁷ “In nessun modo può a noi, dal lato dell’idea dello stato ungarico, essere di pregiudizio questo attaccamento incondizionato del municipio al suo carattere italiano, anzi è nostro eminente interesse di tener desta nella popolazione fiumana la fedeltà al medesimo, è nostro interesse di rinvigorirlo, poichè considerato l’isolamento geografico di Fiume, il suo carattere italiano è addirittura l’unico baluardo contro la marea slava che altrimenti minaccerebbe d’inondare questo nostro scoglio.” In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.130.

⁸⁵⁸ As remarked by Karpowitz, the podestà was an isolated political figure.

The Treaty of London

*Coloro che prepararono il Patto di Londra, non pensarono mai a Fiume, anzi vollero assegnarla specificamente alla Croazia, sia nel caso che l'Austria-Ungheria, rimanesse unita, sia che la Croazia se ne distaccasse.*⁸⁵⁹

The genesis of the Italian intervention reflects the contradictory war aims of Italy. First of all, Italy was included in the tripartite alliance with Germany and was an ally of Austria-Hungary. Initially, the Italian interventionists pushed for an entrance together with Germany. The Triestine irredentists Attilio Tamaro and Mario Alberti orchestrated a interventionist campaign (aimed against Austria) already in 1913 sending some journalists to the main Italian daily *Corriere della sera* to report on the hard situation of the Italians in the Austrian littoral. Given the international context they had a hard job: their argument was that Trieste was essential for the development of the Italian commercial penetration in the Balkans and in eastern Europe, and that with it Italy could have rivalled Austria-Hungary in the Balkans.⁸⁶⁰ Cattaruzza rightly notices that they deliberately ignored the fact that the commercial success of Trieste was owed to massive Austrian investments in the port infrastructure, favourable tax regime, and in its centrality with respect to the central European hinterland, all to be lost with annexation to Italy.⁸⁶¹

Although fragmented (the Julian *irredenti* will never organisationally merge with the irredentists from the Trient and South Tyrol) the Italian governmental and semi official institutions provided them with extensive and consistent support. They especially lobbied with Italian MPs like Salvatore Barzilai, Piero Foscari, Andrea Torre, Luigi Federzoni, and Giovanni Giuriati. What seems central is that their action is not aimed against Austria (as it was for Italian interventionists) but by the impossibility of the Austrian government to protect them from the growing and more organised Slovene and Croat movement in the Littoral. Italy had to protect them from the growing Slavic tide and it was localism rather than Italian nationalism seems to drive their political passions.⁸⁶²

Thus behind the Italian intervention there were at least three strategic orientations: one was that to secure a secure land border towards the north and the east, aimed at the Hapsburg empire. According to that view Italy had to annex the Trentino and Istria up to the Monte Maggiore that is up to the borders of the Fiuman *Corpus Separatum*. The second, aimed at securing the whole Adriatic, was initially fostered by Dalmatian exponents in Italy and later embraced by the Italian navy circles. The third was the dimension of the Julian emigration who essentially sought a protection of the littoral and Istrian coast cities from Slavic expansionism. Three concepts interacted: that of the natural defensive border, that of the ethnic border and that of the strategic border that had to secure a great power status to Italy.⁸⁶³

These were the basis for all the subsequent talks about the eastern Adriatic will posed by the secret agreement between the Allies and Italy after the negotiated entry of Italy in the war on the side of the Entente. Italy, France, Russia, and England stipulated the 26th of April 1915.

With this Treaty Italy was promised the territories of the eastern Adriatic with Istria and Dalmatia, with most of the islands. The frontier was to follow the watershed of the Julian Alps from Tarvis as far east as the Snjeznik (Schneeberg) and to reach the sea just east of Volosca, Fiume being expressly reserved to Croatia. To Italy was assigned the northern half of the Dalmatian mainland as far as Cape Planka, and all the islands save Krk (Veglia) and Rab (Arbe) in the N., Solta and Brazza in front of Spalato, and the few which lie to the south of Meleda.

⁸⁵⁹ Nitti, Francesco Saverio. *Europa senza pace*, Firenze, Bemporad, 1921, p. 77.

⁸⁶⁰ A very good synthesis on the mobilisation of the interventionist front is provided by Cattaruzza, Marina. *L' Italia e il confine orientale: 1866-2006*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2007, pp. 71-84.

⁸⁶¹ Cattaruzza, Marina. *L' Italia e il confine orientale: 1866-2006*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2007, pp. 76.

⁸⁶² Cattaruzza, Marina. *L' Italia e il confine orientale: 1866-2006*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2007, pp. 79-82. In Fiume the situation was very similar, with growing concerns appearing in the press (also from Italian journalists) on the Croatian threat to the city that manifested through demographic and economic penetration.

⁸⁶³ Cattaruzza, Marina. *L' Italia e il confine orientale: 1866-2006*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2007, pp. 79-84.

The remaining territory had to be distributed between “Montenegro, Serbia and Croatia” - meaning that the creation of a unitary Yugoslav state was still not in the agenda. Fiume was therefore probably to be assigned to Croatia, although this was not explicitly stated.⁸⁶⁴

Although the London pact reflected a maximalist rather than a realistic evaluation, the goals of the Italian irredentists comprised more or less the territories promised to Italy by the London pact, where Fiume was not included. Only later, when Austrian defeat became foreseeable, did the irredentists from Trieste realise that Fiume would prove to be a formidable competitor for the new Italian ports of the northern Adriatic including Venice⁸⁶⁵.

Fiume was excluded from Italian pretensions chiefly because Sonnino hoped the Hungarians would rebel and sue for a separate peace.⁸⁶⁶ Sonnino who negotiated the Treaty in 1915 could not forecast that the Hapsburg Monarchy was about to collapse with the war. Salandra and Sonnino reputedly argued that they left Fiume out because “non ebbe in mente la dissoluzione dell’impero austroungarico”. Still a serious reduction of the Austrian part was envisaged. Hungary was considered to be a possible ally in the eyes of the Italian negotiators, a partner that shared similar interests in the area. Keeping most of St. Stephen crown lands together with Croatia and Fiume might have induced the Hungarians to ask for a separate peace.⁸⁶⁷ The overall project was to reduce Austria and to take Dalmatia, while Greater Hungary was to survive.⁸⁶⁸ Since Fiume was the main Magyar port it was crucial and strategic to Hungary. The Italians meant that Fiume and Croatia firmly included in Hungary could still serve as a bulwark against pan Slavism.⁸⁶⁹

Although the Treaty of London of 1915 explicitly “left Fiume, city district, and *Corpus Separatum* to the territory of Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro” the phrasing indicated clearly that the framers of the Treaty ultimately had an idea of Yugoslav unity.⁸⁷⁰

During the war some “Geopolitical projects” were made public in England. They explicitly refused the claims of the Treaty of London the contents of which were already leaking out already by the end of 1915. Seton Watson in a series of writings denied the right on Dalmatia or Fiume but gave to Italy some strongholds on the Adriatic such Trieste, Pola, Lussino, Lissa, and even Valona in Albania.

Fiuman Emigration

As seen in Chapter 4, irredentism (both Yugoslav and Italian) was still a minor force in Fiume but on the rise, since a strong acumination of the conflict happened in the years that preceded the war. The champions of the local Yugoslav movement (like Supilo) will be targeted already in 1912 during the Friedjung trial.⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶⁴ I territori dell’Adriatico enumerati qui sotto saranno attribuita dalle quattro Potenze alleate alla Croazia, alla Serbia, e al Montenegro: nell’alto Adriatico, tutta la costa dalla baia di Volosca sui confini dell’Istria fino alla frontiera settentrionale della Dalmazia comprendente il litorale attualmente ungherese e tutta la costa della Croazia, col porto di Fiume e i piccoli porti di Novi e Carlopago, nonché le isole di Veglia, Pervichio, Gregorio, Goli, e Arbe. E nel basso Adriatico (nella regione interessante la Serbia e il Montenegro) tutta la costa etc.

⁸⁶⁵ Especially the Triestine Mario Alberti, whose vision and plans were later synthesised in Alberti, Mario. *L’irredentismo senza romanticismi*, Borsatti, Trieste, 1936.

⁸⁶⁶ Valiani, Leo, *The End of Austria – Hungary*, Secker And Warburg London 1973. 213-31.

⁸⁶⁷ Šepić, p. 30.

⁸⁶⁸ The explanation given by Marjanović a friend of Supilo, is plausible. I think Supilo was informed about these schemes and he might even had some influence on it. In Marijanovic, M., 1953 “Rijeka na konferenciji mira i u Rapallu 1919-1920” [Rijeka at the Peace Conference and Rapallo 1919-1920]. In *Rijeka - Zbornik*, pp. 305-346.

⁸⁶⁹ Tisza, *Memoirs* in Marijanovic, M., 1953 “Rijeka na konferenciji mira i u Rapallu 1919-1920” [Rijeka at the Peace Conference and Rapallo 1919-1920]. In *Rijeka - Zbornik*, pp. 305-346. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, p. 307. and also H James Burgwyn, *Italian Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period 1918-1940: 1918-1940*, Praeger/Greenwood, 1997, p.4.

⁸⁷⁰ Reeves, 253.

⁸⁷¹ The treason trial which opened at Zagreb in March 1909 pursued the parallel aims of intimidating the Serbs of Croatia, of splitting the new-found unity of Serb and Croat and of proving to the outside world the existence of a dangerous Pan-Serb movement organized from Belgrade inside the monarchy and amply justifying the countermove of

Now, in 1913 some Fiuman notables will be forced to leave the city for exile in Italy. On the 8th of June 1913, after an enquiry from the Hungarian State Police, the Royal Attorney of State in Fiume decreed the “immediate expulsion” of Icilio Baccich Gilardelli. The imputation is that in 1912 along with Lionello Lenaz, Baccich fostered the Italian journalist Amedeo Fava in pro Italian propaganda activities on the columns of the Fiuman daily “*Il Giorno*”.

In the meanwhile, on the 23rd of June 1913 a new Law on foreigners (“aliens”) was introduced in Fiume, whose application in force was immediate. A foreigner (everyone who has not the Fiuman pertinence even if he is born in Fiume) could be expelled within 24 hours without justification. The law was primarily aimed against Italian “regnicoli” who reside in Fiume⁸⁷². The first case happens on the 10th August 1913, when Emilio Marcuzzi, chief editor of the autonomist paper *la Voce del Popolo* was expelled from the city being native from Fiume but pertinent in Trieste⁸⁷³.

Finally, on the 30th of June 1913 - the Hungarian Council of ministers granted to governor Wickemburg full powers to rule the city after the demonstrations at the municipal delegation. On 14th of July 1913 The “affaire Bacich” is discussed at the Rappresentanza at what was to be its last gathering? Government actions that are more and more extreme and heavy handed make it impossible for the Fiuman Italianates to remain loyal to the Hungarian government. Podestà Vio resigns. Governor Wickemburg knew he was going to be backed in his action by the Tisza government.

By 1914, It seems that the extremism is much more induced by Hungarian governative intransigence than by the real feelings of the local people.⁸⁷⁴ To label them irredentists justifies the repressive measures taken, on the other hand this also gives popularity to the local irredentists. The feeling is that now a general agreement between Hungary and Croatia leaves the Fiumani without coverage against the Croats⁸⁷⁵. A general agreement and reassessment with Croatia seems possible, fostered but the way by the prospect of annexing Bosnia and Dalmatia in which both should have some benefits⁸⁷⁶. On the other hand, faced with the risk that Fiume could become a compactly Hungarian city the irredentist options gain appeal for the Fiumani.⁸⁷⁷

Emigration was not confined only to intellectuals who increasingly gathered in Italy. Baccich, who was already in the directive county of the Italian irredentist association Trento e Trieste went to Ancona where he receives immediate support from the authorities. In the meanwhile, Bacich

annexation. None of these aims were attained; for the trial, which turned on the evidence of the police spy Nastic (already chief witness in the doubtful Cettinje bomb trial of 1908) degenerated into a public scandal, owing to the conduct of the judges and public prosecutor, and rallied Croat public opinion in defence of the S3 Serb victims. Serbo-Croat solidarity became still more apparent when the Austrian historian Dr. Friedjung, in the *Neue Freie Presse* of March 25 1909, openly charged the leaders of the Serbo-Croat coalition with being in the pay of Serbia.

⁸⁷² *Regnicoli* was the nickname of the Italian immigrants in the lands of the Habsburg Empire.

⁸⁷³ In mezzo a una folla di cittadini il dott. Antonio Grossich rivolge a Emilio Marcuzzi parole di affetto e di augurio, cui egli risponde col grido di « evviva Fiume italiana ».

⁸⁷⁴ When the Giovine Fiume appeared they even tried to present their candidatures for the municipal elections but failed miserably, so for most of the time they were marginal, at least in terms of diffusion of their political ideas.

⁸⁷⁵ The visit of Count Zichy to Fiume, who publicly noticed that great many street insignia are in foreign languages in Fiume, the Rappresentanza deliberated to put only Italian but the Hungarian government vetoed, to foster the Hungarians but: “chi provocò questo diluvio di insegne straniere sono stati proprio gli ungheresi, i quali scesi a Fiume in questi ultimi tempi col proposito deliberato di magiarizzarla, s'illusero meno abili dei croati, di conquistarla a forza di tabelle magiare: e ogni sarto e ogni barbiere e pizzicagnolo venuto dall'Ungheria, ci espose la sua barava tabella nazionale. I croati ne seguirono l'esempio, e, siccome sono e più vicini e più numerosi, la vinsero su questi nuovi crociati del magiarismo. (*Bilancia* 27 jan 1914, “Le insegne della città e il Conte Zichy”).

⁸⁷⁶ This is the influence of Supilo's “new course”. He is trying to maximise the utility for Croatia and does a very articulated policy with separate negotiations and agreements depending on the outer context.

⁸⁷⁷ “Il governo ungherese continuerà nei suoi tentativi di strozzamento dell'italianità, si farà strada, e non sarà lontano in cui Fiume sarà come Trieste e Zara, non più autonoma, ma italiana, con l'anima volta alla nazione urlante al soccorso per non morire. (...) i croati ed i rumeni, forti di numero, si difendono da soli energicamente e, e sanno imporre rispetto al governo soprafattore con la forza; noi ci difendiamo implorando il soccorso, amando chi ci ama, odiando chi ci vorrebbe morti. E questo non è irredentismo ma legittima difesa. (*Bilancia* 5 jan 1914, “Un articolo di Orazio Pedrazzi sul sentimento nazionale di Fiume”)

apparently succeeds to mobilize the public opinion in Ancona.⁸⁷⁸ By May 1914, the growing community of people expelled from Fiume starts after Baccich to publish and agitate. Already in November 1913 - *La Nazione* from Florence a certain "Dott Quarnero" acts as a correspondent has. Emilio Marcuzzi, the journalist from *La Voce del Popolo* now in Bergamo published a booklet the "Martyrdom of an Italian city", reassuming the "oppression by the Hungarian government, at the hands of the Minister Tisza President and his agent Governor Wickemburg towards the city of Fiume". The Fiuman *Voce del Popolo* starts the publication of the pamphlet under the pseudonym Flaminio Spinelli.

The Yugoslav Committee

Gigante admits that the prime targets for the Hungarian police after the ultimatum to Serbia were the Yugoslav sympathisers (arguably the group centred on Supilo).⁸⁷⁹ Thus Supilo will leave the country immediately after the ultimatum, already in 1914 from Fiume together with the mayor of Split Ante Trumbić. First they went to Italy, and then moved to London, where they established the "Yugoslav Committee".⁸⁸⁰ The activities of this Committee reputedly "proliferated" in promoting the "the ambitions and hopes" of the two of the "least known smaller nationalities" - the Croats and the Slovenes.⁸⁸¹ The Committee was an extraordinary success: in fact the foundation of the new state was entirely the working of relatively small group of people almost all originating from the south Slav lands in Austria namely Slovenia Istria, and Dalmatia. When the war broke out, several leaders of the "Yugoslav Movement" fled abroad. Having established offices in London and Paris as early as 1915, the Yugoslav Committee became an active lobby for the cause of a united South Slav state during the First World War. The Yugoslav Committee was formed by exiles living outside the Croatian homeland during World War I. The Committee was led by Franjo Supilo and Ante Trumbić and it included the famous Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović among others.⁸⁸²

In 1915, the "Yugoslav Committee" learned that the Treaty of London had promised Fiume and part of Dalmatia to Italy in return for Italian help to the Allies. The Committee informed Nikola Pašić and the Serbian government about the Treaty, and the two groups protested jointly. The Allies had to accept plans for a South Slav state at the expense of Austria, in order to end the crisis. The episode also established first important connections between Serbian and Croatian leaders.

The Yugoslav Committee issued a Manifesto calling for the formation of such a South Slavic state on May 12, 1915. The document, like the rhetoric of those who produced it, was vague concerning the form and system of government. It received little official recognition, and was granted by no support from the Croatian Sabor, where the Trialist program remained the preferred option up to the last months of the Monarchy in 1918.⁸⁸³

⁸⁷⁸ The daily «L'Ordine-Voce Marchigiana» : « Sappiamo che molti cittadini anconetani stanno coprendo di firme un indirizzo di plauso all'avv. Baccich. Ecco il testo dell'indirizzo: 'All'avvocato Icilio Baccich, valoroso assertore e propugnatore dell'idea nazionale nella sua città natale di Fiume, onorato da un decreto di sfratto dall'Ungheria per la sua nobilissima attività, espressione di cordiale solidarietà e di protesta contro l'incivile persecuzione ».

⁸⁷⁹ Gigante, Riccardo. 1928. *Storia Del Comune Di Fiume*, Firenze, Bemporad.

⁸⁸⁰ Šepić, Dragovan. 1968. The Question of Yugoslav Union in 1918 *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1918-19: From War to Peace. (Oct., 1968), p. 29.

⁸⁸¹ Alan Warwick Palmer, *Victory 1918*, Grove Press, 2001, p. 152.

⁸⁸² Each repudiated the Committee within a few years of the founding of Yugoslavia. It also included Doctor Hinkovic (known as the chief advocate in the Zagreb treason trial), Ivan Mestrovic the sculptor, the Slovene deputies Gregorin and Trinajstic, the Bosnian Serb deputies Stojanovic, SrSkic and Vasiljevic, publicists of repute such as Marjanovic and Banjanin, and prominent representatives of the Yugoslav colonies in North and South America, such as the scientist Pupin and the shipping magnate Baburica. Their original centre was Rome, but in view of the hostile attitude of the Salandra-Sonnino Government they transferred their activities to Paris and London early in 1915.

⁸⁸³ The "Trialist Project" envisaged a South Slav State within the monarchy that would have become austro Hungarian Slav (or Croat). See Hrabak, Bogumil. "Jugoslovensko pitanje na sednicama austrougarskog zajedničkog ministarstva 1914.-1918.", *Istorijski zapisi* 4, 1969., pp. 553-583.

In 1916 the Yugoslav Committee had also set itself to recruiting among its compatriots in America, but in this case its success was hampered by many cross currents of republican, clerical, Austrian and Montenegrin feeling; and those who did actually volunteer showed considerable lack of discipline and were not always treated with the necessary tact by the Serbian military authorities.

The Yugoslav Committee sought further cooperation towards a South Slav state to be organized on the Croatian model of a federation of Serbs and Croats. Because Yugo-Slav ideas contradicted some tenets of Great Serbian nationalism, the exiled Pašić government at first displayed little interest. In 1917, however, developments forced the Serbs to be flexible. When Russia left the war, Serbia lost her most powerful ally against Italian claims and felt the need to find new supporters. The success of Yugo-Slav agitation both in the United States and within the Habsburg Monarchy made the Yugoslav Committee into an attractive ally.

Although no formal agreement was announced until July 1917, the Yugoslav Committee and the Serbian Government-in-Exile worked hand-in-hand only from November 1916 onwards. On July 20, 1917 the Serbian government and the Yugoslav Committee issued the text of an agreement known as the Declaration of Corfu⁸⁸⁴ which called for the formation of a multi-national state, which laid plans for a post-war state:

The Preamble stated that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were "the same by blood [and] by language," and for the first time, the Pašić ministry used the term Yugo-Slav, and appealing to the right of self-determination, it declared in favour of complete national unity under the Karagjorgjevic dynasty, " a constitutional democratic and parliamentary monarchy, equality of the three national names and flags, of the Cyrilline and Latin alphabets, and of the Orthodox Catholic and Mussulman religions, equal rights for all citizens, universal suffrage in parliamentary and municipal life, and the freedom of the Adriatic to all nations." The future constitution was to be established after the conclusion of peace by a constituent assembly, which " will be the source and consummation of all authority in the State."

The balance between Serbian centralism and Croatian federalism was left unresolved, pending a constitutional convention, but the greatest concession were from the Croats who accepted a centralist and Serbian controlled solution. The document was deliberately mute as to whether the government would take the form of Western-oriented Croatia or of the Eastern-oriented Serbia. The vast majority of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian people had no knowledge of the declaration made by a small group of exiled intellectuals and the Serbian Government-in-Exile. Nonetheless, the signers claimed to speak for all South Slavic peoples and the Declaration of Corfu became the justification claimed by Serbia for the forced unification of Croats and Slovenes under the Serbian Crown.

The content of the secret treaty of London had already leaked after the Soviet authorities made it public, flowed by the official denunciation by the American government. To the leaders of the Yugoslav Committee Supilo and Trumbić it became clear that the biggest obstacle they were going to face was to be Italy. Here a distinction must be made: the Yugoslav Committee and its political project was representing the south Slavs under Hapsburg rule, while the Serbian government did not identify with them. Although Ante Trumbić, the leader, was for a complete alliance with Serbia, Supilo feared that Serbian hegemony could ultimately prove to be more damaging and therefore resigned from the Committee already in 1917.

⁸⁸⁴ The signatories were careful to disclaim all idea of a pact or treaty, and to define the declaration as a mere statement of ideals and principles which could not acquire binding force until ratified by elected representatives of the nation as a whole.

Pro Fiume e Carnaro.

As the war went on many Fiumani left for Italy initially with passports produced by the Italian consulate, and later with falsified ones arriving directly from Italy.⁸⁸⁵ The emigration was also fostered by the alarming notices of the repressive measures for many members of the nationalist organisations in Fiume such as the *Giovine Fiume*, the *Club Alpino Fiumano* the *Filodrammatica*, even the *Associazione Autonoma*. It was clear to the exiled Fiumani who intensively lobbying for inclusion in the Italian annexationist program that any change to this unfavourable situation depended from the outcome of the war.

A group of Fiuman emigrates, will be in close contact with irredentists from Trieste. Mario Alberti will stress the risks of an independent Croatia a possible outcome of the world war and of Fiume in its hands. Fiume will have taken the place of Trieste as the outpost of a much stronger state an enlarged Germany comprising the German speaking Austrian lands with Slovenia and Croatia as their access to the sea.

The Comitato pro Adriatico Italiano where all the major Fiumani irredentists were operating since 1915 was connected with the Trento Trieste and the society Dante Alighieri. Their initial campaign in Italy was aimed to inform the Italian public on their position as a “forgotten island of Italian culture”. Icilio Baccich, exiled in Ancona, appears to be the organisational fulcrum of the “Fouriusciti Fiumani”.⁸⁸⁶

The first organised attempt to explicitly foster the campaign for the annexation of Fiume was the Comitato pro Fiume e Carnaro, established in Rome on the 15th of May 1916.⁸⁸⁷ The Comitato had to frame its activities within the Commissione centrale dei fuoriusciti trentini e adriatici. In the provisionally executive county were nominated Icilio Bacich (later Bacci), exiled in Italy since 1913. Icilio Baccich was already a protagonist in 1914 when he unmasked the bomb plot organised by the Hungarian governor will be discovered in Ancona by the anarchist who was paid by the local Hungarian authorities. The first pamphlet is a programmatic one. They just announce their existence on order to gather the other Fiumani who are scattered across Italy. Their goals is this to coordinate the section of the Fiumani, and to agitate in the press.⁸⁸⁸

In a series of books and articles they attempt to argue for the annexation to Italy in nationalist terms.⁸⁸⁹ In his next book *Fiume, Il Quarnero e gli interessi d'Italia nell'Adriatico* out in 1915, Baccich initiated an open polemic with the Yugoslav County of Supilo. The history of Fiume as a free Italian commune is reconstructed in terms of its resistance to constant magyarisation and the impellent Croatian assault. If the Croats got Fiume thanks to their “primitive enthusiasm” they

⁸⁸⁵ It seems that the activity was well organised. Da ultimo I passaporti giungevano belli e pronti dal Regno. Passaporti regolari rilasciati da una supposta autorità del regno ad un immaginario cittadino italiano. Arrivavano a decine e a decine partivano i cittadini che avevano fiutato il vento infido. Partivano Armando Odenigo, Riccardo Gigante. Guadagnavano il confine Pietro Pillepich, Giovanni Mrach, Giuseppe Scarpa, Enrico de Domini, Rodolfo Fabiani, Gino Merlacchi, mentre i fratelli Icilio, Ipparco, e Iti Baccich, Giovanni Host, Giorgio Conighi, Giuseppe Susain, Giovani Serena, Goffredo Verzegnassi, Enrico Burich, Gastone Iscra, Emilio Dorini, Enrico Duimich ed altro che erano da tempo nel Regno, attendevano impazienti l'ora dell'appello. In Susmel Edoardo, *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p.36.

⁸⁸⁶ Negli ultimi mesi di neutralità, stando in Ancona ricevetti un notevole numero di fuoriusciti irredenti che indirizzai a Roma, molti presentandone alla dante con la quale – a mio mezzo – furono posti a contatto. Fra questi annovero i fiumani Giovanni Host Venturi, Riccardo Gigante e Armando Hodnig (oggi Odenigo) i quali diuturnamente mi scrivevano per informarmi di quanto facevano a Roma. In Peteani, Luigi. “Icilio Bacci fiduciario della «Dante Alighieri» a Fiume”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV N.29 (Prima Nuova Serie) I Semestre 1995, p. 65.

⁸⁸⁷ Karpowitz, LJ. 1988, Riječka iredenta na mirovnoj konferenciju u Parizu 1919, *Dometi* XXI, nr. 9, 1988, pp. 483-491.

⁸⁸⁸ From a writng of Zanella, from 1925 we learn that Icilio Bacich Armando Hodnig, within the dante Alighieri society organised a campaign to denunciate the operation of the Yugoslav Committee of Supilo in the same year, 1916. in Karpowitz, LJ. 1988, Riječka iredenta na mirovnoj konferenciju u Parizu 1919, *Dometi* XXI, nr. 9, 1988, pp. 487.

⁸⁸⁹ The irredentists submerged Italy with an enormous production of books, articles and pamphlets usually supported by the government or by parliamentary factions, as a response to the growing Yugoslav propaganda initiated in London. The action of the Fiumani falls completely within this tray.

could even succeed to make of it a successful emporium that would hurt ultimately the interests of Italy and its cities in the Adriatic. There was no hope of loyalty from the Hungarians concluded Baccich (he probably referred for the persistent view in Italy of Hungarian Italian interests in the Adriatic) Sticking to the maximal view of the irredentist Dalmatians, the Italian program of annexations had to spread “from Cervignano to the Narenta river”.⁸⁹⁰

Armando Hodnig one of the Fiuman exiles, gave with this pamphlet a full-fledged interpretation of the position of Fiume within a new context: in the light of the end of the Hapsburg Empire. The history of the City now had to legitimate a completely new future. The City was not anymore the main port of Hungary but a possible outpost for German expansionism.

*Ora, la questione di Fiume assomma e, per così dire, esaspera in sé I peculiari caratteri della questione adriatica, di cui è parte essenziale. Riconquistate alla latinità Trieste, l'Istria veneta (1)⁸⁹¹ e la Dalmazia; concessi ai Serbi e ai Croati gli sbocchi necessari alla loro vita economica, Fiume rimane l'unico varco aperto nel gran baluardo latino, da cui il germanesimo (o direttamente o per mezzo di quelle popolazioni che fino a ieri gli hanno servito, e ancor oggi gli servono, d'avanguardia) possa riaffacciarsi al mare della storia.*⁸⁹²

*Noi vorremmo che ogni Latino e ogni Inglese si persuadessero che Fiume italiana è veramente un'opera di difesa avanzata verso il germanesimo, e che il suo abbandono potrebbe avere conseguenze incommensurabili non soltanto per l'Italia, ma per la civiltà del mondo anglo-latino ch'essa è chiamata a difendere nell'Adriatico.*⁸⁹³

Hodnig reports also that Icilio Baccich Fiuman vice major of the City by 1914 “exiled in Turin by the beginnings of the Great War”, held a similar argument, that without the annexation of Fiume Trieste will become subject to fierce competition. Hodnig concludes the exposition:

L'obbligo morale dell'Intesa di cancellare dalla carta d'Europa la monarchia degli Asburgo, piuttosto che dal fatto dell'essere quest'ultima composta da varie nazionalità, viene dal fallimento criminale di quella che sarebbe dovuto essere la funzione storica degli Asburgo.

Abbiamo parlato dell'Austria-Ungheria anche perché la soluzione italiana della questione di Fiume è strettamente connessa al necessario smembramento della monarchia danubiana. Senza questo non è possibile quella; e se in noi appare ostilità alla Croazia o alla “Jugoslavia” non è né slavofobia né rancore. Seriamente crediamo che Fiume croata equivalga a Fiume ungarica o austro ungarica o germanica, che in fondo è la stessa cosa. In possesso della Croazia, Fiume perderebbe tutto il suo valore antigermanico, per la semplice Ragione che la Croazia non è antigermanica. E con la Jugoslavia sarebbe anche peggio, perché oltre a quello di Fiume sarebbe distrutto anche il valore antigermanico della Serbia, dove la miglior parte della nazione rimarrebbe sopraffatta dai croati e dalli sloveni austrofilo collegati con gli amici degli Obrenovich, che non sono ancora del tutto scomparsi.

Certo la Croazia non deve rimanere soggetta agli Asburgo e se non fosse per il timore del pericolo che ne potrebbe derivare, o se questo si dimostrasse infondato, non ci sarebbe Ragione di temere la sua aggregazione alla Serbia. Se una tutela è da consigliare, nessuna meglio adatta di quella serba... se tutela può essere.

Ma in ogni caso, sia che la Croazia costituisca un piccolo stato indipendente e neutro sotto la tutela dell'Intesa, sia che venga unita alla Serbia, il possesso di Fiume non sarebbe mai giustificato

⁸⁹⁰ That is to comprise the whole Istria and half of Dalmatia. possibly the adoption was just a tactical measure since it assured that Fiume was included.

⁸⁹¹ (1) così si distingue comunemente l'Istria occidentale fino all'Arsa, dall'Istria liburnica di là dall'Arsa.

⁸⁹² Hodnig, Armando 1917. *Fiume italiana e la sua funzione antigermanica* / Armando Hodnig impressum: Roma: Athenaeum, . p. 10.

⁸⁹³ Hodnig, Armando 1917. *Fiume italiana e la sua funzione antigermanica* / Armando Hodnig impressum: Roma: Athenaeum, p. 11.

da un bisogno qualsiasi. Alla Croazia sola sarebbero più che sufficienti I piccoli porti del litorale da punta Dubno a Obrovazzo; alla Croazia unita alla Serbia basterebbero gli sbocchi serbi. Fiume sarebbe comunque un lusso, un di più che altri interverrebbero a sfruttare.

Ma soprattutto deve valere il concetto che Fiume è un potente e delicato strumento di difesa economica contro la Medieuropa, e che affidarlo a mani deboli e malsicure sarebbe errore pericoloso e pieno di imprevedibili conseguenze.

*Gli italiani del Quarnero, difendendo per quindici secoli la latinità del sacro termine, hanno compiuto una funzione storica che in questa tremenda vigilia di sangue addita la via di salvezione. Se non la seguissimo tradiremmo la Patria, la Storia e la Civiltà.*⁸⁹⁴

If we define *irredentism* as a political program aimed to change the borders of a state for ethnical or national reasons, then for a long time only the Croatian side had an irredentist program in Fiume. Namely, they wanted the suspension of the *corpus separatum* enacted by the “provisory” from 1870 rejecting it as an illegitimate solution for historical, constitutional, and national reasons. The Italian autonomist program was *secessionist* and not irredentist for most of the time: Fiume had to be separated from Croatia no matter what and for them the 1868 solution was a good outcome: distant Hungary provided protection against neighbouring Croatia.

Later on, when an irredentist movement started to gain momentum (and become the mainstream after 1922), local irredentists and their new sympathizers worked hard to prove that irredentism has had a long history in the City. Autonomism showed a teleological progress towards the unification with the Italian “motherland”. In fact, the first histories of the City written in this fashion will not appear before 1918.⁸⁹⁵ Probably the first overtly irredentist work that explicitly referred to Fiume was that of Armando Hodnig, “Fiume italiana e la sua funzione antigermanica” and was published in Rome in 1917, where he lived in exile.

*Quando or sono vent’anni a Fiume cominciò a rifiorire quella radiosa primavera italiana che ricongiunse in ispirito i suoi cittadini alla patria risorta, alcuni cultori di storia paesana sentirono, allora come non mai vivissimo, il desiderio di sapere se quel rapido rifiorire non fosse virtù della terra memore, oltrecchè dei nuovi germi venuti d’Italia col Risorgimento nazionale.*⁸⁹⁶

After this reinterpretation of the past, done in the accordance with the tradition of Italian irredentism of the “Giovine Fiume”, Hodnig continues with the second “rational” part of the argument.

This exceptionally interesting small book is divided in two parts: one “Fiume italiana” is the first reinterpretation of its previous political history of the City in the light of its essentially Italian nature. The second - “la funzione antigermanica di Fiume” is a sober argumentation for its annexation to Italy done on solid economic and geopolitical arguments well before the war ended:

Ora il concreto, nella questione di Fiume, è che se il suo territorio non pare imprescindibilmente necessario per la difesa dei confini orientali d’Italia, poiché il primo arco delle Giulie, che scende al Quarnero col Monte Maggiore, sarebbe frontiera strategica non cattiva; se, ancora, per al supremazia militare dell’Adriatico, chi possiede Pola, l’arcipelago dalmata e Vallona, non ha

⁸⁹⁴ Hodnig, Armando 1917. *Fiume italiana e la sua funzione antigermanica* / Armando Hodnig impressum: Roma: Athenaeum, pp. 87-88.

⁸⁹⁵ Interesting exceptions are: Mario Alberti (Anonymus) 1914, *la Conquista di Trieste*, Roma, Bontempelli; Icilio Baccich, Mario Alberti, *Trieste e la sua fisiologia economica*. Roma, 1916. Baccich Icilio, *Fiume il Quarnero e gli interessi d’Italia ne l’Adriatico*, L’ora presente, Torino, Firenze, I problemi attuali, Anno I n.2-3, gennaio 1915. Hodnig, Armando. 1917. *Fiume italiana e la sua funzione antigermanica* / Armando Hodnig impresum: Roma: Athenaeum.

⁸⁹⁶ Hodnig, Armando 1917. *Fiume italiana e la sua funzione antigermanica* / Armando Hodnig impressum: Roma: Athenaeum.p. 15.

*assoluto bisogno del golfo di Fiume, il problema economico dell'Adriatico non si risolve che con l'occupazione italiana di Fiume.*⁸⁹⁷

*“Fiume” scrive Mario Alberti in un opuscolo pubblicato prima della partecipazione dell'Italia alla guerra (1)⁸⁹⁸, deve seguire le sorti di Trieste, poiché (a parte il diritto nazionale e le necessità strategiche) fiume austro-ungarica – in misura minore Fiume serba o croata – potrebbe diventare se non la distruggitrice, per lo meno la sminutrice della posizione commerciale di Trieste italiana menomando così il valore e la portata della nostra posizione nell'Adriatico.*⁸⁹⁹

*La Ragione per cui Fiume è necessaria all'economia nazionale italiana dipende dalla natura stessa del problema economico dell'Adriatico, il quale non offre soluzioni parziali: o si risolve tutto o non si risolve affatto. Perdendo Fiume, dice l'Alberti (1),⁹⁰⁰ l'Italia perderebbe lo strumento per la propulsione dei suoi prodotti nel Balcani e, soprattutto, nel Levante, che sarebbe conservato all'espansione economica austro-germanica. E qui il problema da italiano diventa europeo; non riguarda più soltanto l'Italia, ma acquista un'importanza più vasta che tocca direttamente gl'interessi di tutta l'area antigermanica.*⁹⁰¹

The leader of Fiuman Autonomism Riccardo Zanella, surrendered to the Russians, after being sent to the Eastern front from where he managed to reach Italy.⁹⁰² In Russia, however, Zanella, it seems, operated already for the Italian secret services.⁹⁰³ From there he sent information of the propagandistic attempts displayed by the Yugoslavs in Russia, mostly from his adversary from Fiume, Frano Supilo who already contributed to the formation of the Yugoslav county in London after his unsuccessful attempts to change the Serbian war aims in direction of Yugoslav unification. At the beginnings of his political activity in Italy, Zanella met the already operating irredentist associations such as the Comitato dell'Associazione Nazionale pro Dalmazia. Soon Zanella became president of the Associazione (Comitato) pro Fiume e Quarnero, also become president of the Associazione Politica degli italiani irredenti, constituted in Rome on 12th February 1918. His career went quickly upwards, in Fall 1918 Zanella was even part of the commission (together with Pitacco, Bennati, Ghiglianovich, and the journalist Massimo Rocca) whose purpose was to lobby for the Italian cause in the forthcoming peace settlement and its relative conference. In this Zanella went to London, (where they met Balfour and Northcliffe) Paris, (Clemenceau) and the planned trip to the States to meet Wilson, was cancelled due to the announcement of the Armistice.

Several Fiumani (like the Gigante or the Baccich brothers) will serve as volunteers in the Italian army. This fact will have profound consequences. Not only they will afterwards enjoy legitimacy as Italian fighters but they will also acquire important contacts and acquaintances with the Italian army headquarters and high officers.

⁸⁹⁷ Hodnig, Armando 1917. *Fiume italiana e la sua funzione antigermanica* / Armando Hodnig impressum: Roma: Athenaeum., p. 68.

⁸⁹⁸ La conquista di Trieste, Roma, Bontempelli

⁸⁹⁹ Hodnig, Armando 1917. *Fiume italiana e la sua funzione antigermanica* / Armando Hodnig impressum: Roma: Athenaeum., p. 68.

⁹⁰⁰ Mario Alberti, Trieste e la sua fisiologia economica. Roma, 1916. pag. 12.

⁹⁰¹ Hodnig, Armando 1917. *Fiume italiana e la sua funzione antigermanica* / Armando Hodnig impressum: Roma: Athenaeum., p. 70.

⁹⁰² First sent to the Serbian front then dismissed, and finally sent to Galithia on the Russian front, from where he successfully escaped, only to reach Italy.

⁹⁰³ Tosi, Luciano. *La propaganda italiana all'estero nella prima Guerra Mondiale. Rivendicazioni territoriali e politica delle nazionalità*, N.11 Civiltà del Risorgimento, Del Bianco Editore, Udine, 1978.

The initial idea was to In Fiume suffrage never reached more than 10% of the population, this is a crucial fact often overlooked by historians when explaining the events initiated by the Rappresentanza in 1918 and 1919 as well as the democratic legitimacy of the CNI. punish the Hapsburg empire by reducing its size. According to the Treaty of London parts of the northern Dalmatian coast with its islands, the cities of Trieste, Trent, and Istria were to be ceded to Italy. The kernel of Austria-Hungary nevertheless was to be preserved, possibly as a federal republic. In effect Wilson's 14 points envisaged a certain right of the nationalities of the empire to an autonomous development which by no means meant the break-up of the empire along its natural national boundaries.⁹⁰⁵ (Shifting to recognised to recognisable)

It is hard to overstate the importance and relevance of Wilson's principle of the lands of the Habsburg Empire, but (at the beginning of 1918) chances for survival or even an enlargement of Austria-Hungary were real. In effect Wilson's address from the 8th of January claimed the rights of autonomy of the expellees of Austria-Hungary but not the dissolution of the Empire.

Things in the Yugoslav camp were not easier: the main problem being the mode and extent of unification. For The Serbian government it was intended only as an enlargement of Serbia while for the Croats and Slovenes it implied a new state where they would have been endowed with a form of autonomy or federalism. In realizing how far were the Serbians from this initial plan Supilo left the County in 1916. Supilo, who at that time was sticking to the Italian strategy towards the Empire, envisaged the survival and premium for Hungary with Croatia while the problems of Dalmatia (a part of Austria) were to be solved later.

The option of a federation centred on the Kingdom of Serbia emerged probably with the English contacts that were already changing their views on Hungary. Ideas about a radical rearrangement of the status of the nationalities of the empire had been circulated from years already, most notably in Britain. The main sponsors of the Yugoslav union in England R W Seton-Watson, W Steed, A Evans tried to improve the relations between Italy and the south Slavs (represented by the yu county) The Yugoslav county. When Evans published his article about the new south Slav state in the *New Europe* on 11 Oct 1917 he was close to Wilson's official line from 1918.

Italy refused recognition to the Yugoslav county and its representatives. Only after the disastrous defeat of Caporetto (October 1917) that made Italian contribution to the allied cause problematic and weaken the bargaining position of the Italians. at the beginning of 1918, the claims of London treaty could not have been justified and were not compatible with the principle of nationalities after the speeches of Lloyd George and Wilson in January 1918. Thus, on 7 March 1918 an agreement between Trumbić president of the Yugoslav county and la Torre, president of the Italian "County For Oppressed Nationalities".⁹⁰⁶

The agreement signed between them in London on March 7 1918 laid down the basis of Italo-Yugoslav cooperation: it recognized each of the two nations to be equally interested in the completion of the other's national unity, and in the liberation of the Adriatic. It left territorial questions to be decided amicably after the war, "on the basis of the principle of nationality and self-determination," and mutually guaranteed the rights of national minorities.

This agreement is known as the Pact of Rome, because it was publicly proclaimed at a " Congress of the Oppressed Nationalities of Austria-Hungary," held on April 8 in the Roman Capitol, organised by the "County for Oppressed Nationalities".⁹⁰⁷ There Ante Trumbić, of the Yugoslav

⁹⁰⁵ Walworth, Arthur. 1986. *Wilson and His Peacemakers. American Diplomacy at the Paris Peace Conference*, 1919. Norton.

⁹⁰⁶ In Dec. 1917 Mr. Wickham Steed succeeded in bringing together Trumbic and his colleagues first with General Mola and Signori Emanuel and Chiesi (of the *Corriere* and *Secolo*), and then with the Italian Irredentist Socialist leaders. Their informal discussions laid the basis for more serious negotiations between Trumbic and Signor Torre, representing an influential committee of Italian deputies and senators.

⁹⁰⁷ The Yugoslavs were represented by Trumbic and his Committee and by 12 deputies of the Serbian Skupstina, the Czechoslovaks by Benes and Stefanik, the Poles by Zamorski, Skirmunt and Seyda, the Rumanians by Draghicescu, Lupu and Mironescu. Baron Sonnino held aloof, but Premier Signor Orlando, greeted the congress with enthusiasm, and

County, signed the “Pact of Rome” with Orlando - an unofficial statement where both sides showed goodwill to amend the Treaty of London.⁹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, in October 1918 the situation for the Italians will look as far more optimistic than they could ever have imagined in 1915, an outcome of the unexpected success achieved by the diplomatic and military offensive against the Monarchy, and the need for a Italian-Yugoslav alliance simply disappeared.

The “Pact of Rome” produced one important consequence: it definitely shifted the opinion of the American president Wilson towards the disintegration of Austria-Hungary as solution for the world peace. The United States Government gave semi-official recognition in a form of a declaration from the Department of State on May 29th that “the proceedings of the Congress of the oppressed races of Austria-Hungary, which was held in Rome in April, have been followed with great interest by the Government, of the United States, and that the nationalistic aspirations of the Czech Slovaks and the Yugoslavs for freedom have the earnest sympathy of this government”. Following that the Supreme War Council of the Allied governments expressed on June 4 “the greatest sympathy with the national aspirations of the Czechoslovaks and Yugoslavs for freedom.”⁹⁰⁹ It seems that the decisions from the United States congress had an impact huge effect on the morale of the troops of Austria-Hungary, leading to the failure of the spring offensive on the river Piave.⁹¹⁰ Rights of the peoples in the sense of the congress of Rome were recognised by the note of Lansing, followed by the recognition of the Versailles conference 1918 and the recognition of the Italian government 1918.⁹¹¹

At the time Fiume was still not considered by Italian claims. It was reputedly a “very late starter”. According to Gaetano Salvemini the agitators started to make claims only after the Italian victory at Vittorio Veneto.⁹¹²

Nevertheless, the first affirmation of the new political principles was made by the Fiuman deputy at the parliament in Budapest Andrea Ossoinack. The Hungarian Parliament had to discuss the Emperor Karl “Peoples' Manifesto” of the 16th of October 1918 the principle of nationalities and thus to transform Austria into a federal state, but at the same time proclaimed the integrity of the lands of the Hungarian kingdom. Croatia therefore was to remain separated from Dalmatia.⁹¹³ The Hungarian Prime Minister Wekerle said about Wilson's principles raised by the Hungarian Romanians Vajda that Hungary was against any foreign inference in what he considered to be internal affairs.⁹¹⁴ The same was for the new polity organisations nobody outside the Hungarian government

the first result was a combined propaganda on the Italian front, organized by Allied delegates and members of all the national committees.

⁹⁰⁸ Marijanović, M., 1953 “Rijeka na konferenciji mira i u Rapallu 1919-1920” [Rijeka at the Peace Conference and Rapallo 1919-1920]. In *Rijeka - Zbornik*, pp. 305-346. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska. the act was the first statement signed by Italian and Yugoslav representatives, fostered also by the change of Italian diplomatic course after the disaster of Caporetto. In one of the first encounters between Italian and Yugoslav representatives one Italian general explicitly stated that what was the driving force behind the Treaty of London was the allied fear of the Russian attempts at the Dardanelle and Constantinople.

⁹⁰⁹ Charles G. Fenwick, “Recognition of the Czechoslovak Nation”, *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 12, No. 4. (Nov., 1918), pp. 715-718.

⁹¹⁰ The effect of the congress and of this propaganda was to hasten the disintegration in the Austro-Hungarian army, and the High Command (in a communiqué of July 27) admitted that wholesale defections of the Czechoslovaks and the Yugoslavs had materially contributed to Italy's brilliant stand against the last Piave offensive in June.

⁹¹¹ Marijanovic, M., 1953 “Rijeka na konferenciji mira i u Rapallu 1919-1920” [Rijeka at the Peace Conference and Rapallo 1919-1920]. In *Rijeka - Zbornik*, pp. 305-346. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, pp. 309-310.

⁹¹² C.J.Lowe and F.Marzari, *Foreign Policies of the Great Powers, Italian foreign policy 1870-1940*, Routledge, 2002, p. 162.

⁹¹³ On the 16th the Hungarian Government declared in favour of personal union, and next day Hussarek published an imperial proclamation, dividing Austria (not Austria-Hungary) into four federal units (German, Czech, Yugoslav and Ukrainian) and leaving the Poles to make their own decision. This project was stillborn and pleased no one.

⁹¹⁴ Alexander Wekerle (1848-1921) served as Hungarian Prime Minister from August 1917 until his declaration of Hungarian independence in October 1918, which brought about his own dismissal from office. 1918 saw Wekerle shift his position to a more clearly definable Hungarian nationalist stance as he assumed leadership of the country's republican movement. Consequently on 16 October 1918 he effectively vetoed Karl's last-ditch attempt at preserving

could have taken part in the peace negotiations. Clearly, Ossoinack intervention reflected the initiatives taken by the Croatian members who proclaimed that the links with Hungary had ceased and thus did not even attend the parliamentary meeting. Resuming the old argument of Autonomism, Fiume, he argued, (speaking in Italian) had the very same right to decide its own future as it had Croatia since their status within the Kingdom was similar:

La Guerra mondiale ha sconvolto il mondo e la pace mondiale sembra voler rendere anche più completo questo sconvolgimento, perché mentre nell'interno i croati reclamano per sé la città di Fiume, anche secondo dispacci giunti dall'estero si vuol sacrificare Fiume alla "Jugoslavia". Di fronte a queste tendenze ritengo mio dovere di protestare solennemente qua alla camera in faccia al mondo intero contro chiunque volesse assegnare Fiume ai croati. Poiché Fiume non soltanto non fu mai croata, ma anzi fu italiana nel passato e tale rimarrà anche nell'avvenire.

Per questo motivo, ma anche per al posizione di diritto pubblico di Fiume, per cui anche oggi costituisce un corpus separatum, una simile arbitraria soluzione della sorte di Fiume sarebbe nel più aperto contrasto col diritto dei popoli all'autodeterminazione. Pertanto, mi permetto di presentare la seguente dichiarazione, quale deputato di Fiume eletto all'unanimità e con richiamo alle concezioni esposte:

Poiché l'Austria Ungheria nella sua offerta di pace ha accettato come base il diritto dei popoli all'autodecisione proclamato da Wilson, anche Fiume quale corpus separatum rivendica per sé questo diritto. In conformità, desidera esercitare liberamente e senza limitazioni il diritto di poter decidere della propria sorte.

*Ho voluto esprimere innanzi a codesta camera questo punto di vista semplice ma preciso. Fiume dunque sta sulla base del diritto di autodeterminazione dei popoli.*⁹¹⁵

It is worth noting that the Italian nature is stressed once in the declaration but in terms of the political destiny of the city. There is no mention on the future asset of the city but only stressed its right to self-determination.

Ossoinack opposed to the principle of intangibility of the Hungarian Kingdom the right for Fiume to self-determination. Moreover, it was explicitly directed against Croatia. Rumours that foreign agreements assigned Fiume to Croatia were widely circulating, and on the other hand the National Council in Zagreb stressed it on a daily basis. As we have seen from Chapters 3 and 4, Croatia never accepted the "provisory" settlement of Fiume. The declaration produced several reactions in the contemporary press.⁹¹⁶

Depoli wrote that the declaration made by Ossoinack produced widespread approval when the news arrived in Fiume. This enthusiasm for Depoli reflected a consensus between the autonomists and those of the former "Giovine Fiume". Depoli mentions that Ossoinack was the member of the "Hungarian faction" in the town. After the break-up of the war he was elected as the only candidate deputy of Fiume at the Hungarian parliament. Depoli claims that it was this impossible to state how much support he really had, but Ossoinack, as we have seen, was the founder and main financial sponsor of the Autonomist party and its related cultural associations. Anyway apart from the

the Empire with his October Manifesto. Fast on the heels of his rejection of Karl's policy he proclaimed Hungarian independence on 19 October 1918. However Karl remained nominal King of Hungary under the terms of independence: he therefore used his remaining power to exact revenge upon Wekerle, forcing him from office on 23 October. Despite Wekerle's fall from power Hungarian nationalism continued unabated with the appointment of Count Karolyi as his successor. Karolyi proclaimed a Hungarian republic on 11 November 1918. Retiring from politics Wekerle died in 1921.

⁹¹⁵ From Depoli, Attilio. 1958. "XXX Ottobre 1918", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, pp. 99-219.

⁹¹⁶ It was reported in the main press of the Empire. The *Pesti Naplo* commented that ossinckj with this univocal claim for self determination meant the complete dissolution for hungary. The *Neue Freie Presse* from Vienna commented the session of the hungiran parliament that nor the Rumanians nor the Slovaks went beyond the borders of the hnaghrian state in their pretensions, with the exception of the deputy of Fiume who claimed that Fiume was Italian and that it had to remain such. In Benedetti, Giulio. *La pace di Fiume*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1924, note 1 pp. 25-26.

irredentist groups of the “Giovine Fiume” (marginal up to 1918) there was the Autonomist party that was leading the scene since 1898. The role of the “Giovine Fiume” seems exaggerated at a glance but in effect they will receive the greatest support from the occupying Italian troops and their propaganda service, due also to their acquaintances and connections within the Italian army where they served as volunteers. Thus their role will be greatly enhanced when they will have the monopoly of political violence.

On the other hand, the immediate practical problem of the principle of self-determination was to delimit the portion of a land that had to be involved in a possible popular referendum. Ossoinack probably foresaw the problem since he mentioned the political subjectivity of the *corpus separatum* along with the right of this political subject to self-determination.

Thus the interpretation of the declaration of Ossoinack was open to very different solutions: it ranged from an Austro-Hungarian empire reconstituted under new principles to annexation to new or old nation states or complete independence of the City. One cannot fail to notice that the claims of Ossoinack were closer to the positions of Autonomism than to Italian irredentism, whose legitimacy was thus established by combining the previous status of the city with the new principle of self-determination. Similarly, as Croatia stated its sovereignty and could have accepted the union with the other south Slavs of the Hapsburg Empire or even the union with Serbia, Fiume had the right accorded by the principle of self determination, to choose its destiny as a political body with a comparable status to that of Croatia.



One of the rare pictures of Andrea Ossoinack from the period preceding 1918. (Rijeka, DAR, chartes Ossoinack)

Later Gotthardi and Zanella will drive to its extreme consequences since Fiume has had a political specificity and a cultural specificity and it was thus suitable for self determination - it represented itself a nation. He represented the pro-Hungarian politics on Fiume. He was thus a man from the old times now about to come to an end. The supporters of annexation both Yugoslavia and Italy will rather consider the disputed lands before military (allied) occupations a *res nullius*.

Luigi Peteani, writing in 1940, about the legitimacy of self determination of Fiume noticed that Fiume represented a typical case where the principle should have been applied.⁹¹⁷ It was necessary since Fiume was situated in an area where the ethnical structure made difficult an easy border definition. Second, the treaties preferred that the territorial units where plebiscites were organised were small such as municipalities and districts, since the results reflected clearly the will of the people.⁹¹⁸ But Fiume was also constituted as an independent state, even freer then to renounce its sovereignty by demanded annexation to Italy.⁹¹⁹ And that was also confirmed at the memorandum that the Italian government sent to the allies on the 3rd January 1920.⁹²⁰

Peteani in the same book, considers the 30th October as the date when the city constituted as a state. But since the establishment of the State is “always a gradual process that ultimately ends with international recognition”, one has to identify which kind of political body inherited the sovereignty of the previous one. The argument is straightforward: Peteani recognises the primacy of international law upon national legislation, and refutes the status of the *corpus separatum*, Croatia and Hungary as relevant factors, since these were not internationally recognised, and referred to internal administrative divisions of the Hapsburg empire. The Monarchy *de facto* disappeared, and with it, its sovereignty as well - by *debellatio*. Therefore, the territory of Fiume as it was that of Croatia represented a *res nullius*. In this circumstances the institutions that organised and preserved powers was *de facto* entitled to claim sovereignty. With the Rapallo Treaty the City was internationally recognised as a sovereign State, and this was the Consiglio Nazionale Italiano (CNI). The CNI, though, was initially not alone.

⁹¹⁷ Peteani, Luigi. 1940. *La posizione internazionale di Fiume dall'armistizio all'annessione e il suo assetto costituzionale durante questo periodo*, Firenze : Casa editrice del dott. Carlo Cya, Pubblicazioni della R. Università degli Studi di Firenze. Facoltà di giurisprudenza ; 17

⁹¹⁸ Conference of Cristiania 1917, Organisation centrale pur une paix durable and league fo the peoples of Bern 1919, also by a note from the Austrian Government in 1919. « On ne peut arriver, par la voie du plébiscite, à une expression non viciée de la volonté du peuple qu'en partant de la plus petite unité primordiale administrative, viable au point de vue économique. »

⁹¹⁹ Però Fiume, al contrario di altre città dove pure ebbero luogo dei plebisciti, era una città che si costituì a stato, sovrano ed indipendente, libero quindi di rinunciare alla propria esistenza mediante l'annessione all'Italia.

⁹²⁰ Sarebbe una ingiustizia negare il diritto di autodeterminazione dei popoli, il quale ha costituito uno dei principi essenziali che gli alleati e l'associato hanno proclamato durante la guerra, al *corpus separatum* di Fiume, la cui individualità ben distinta risulta dall'evidenza: 1) dal suo carattere etnico indiscutibile; 2) dalla sua antichità che rimonta a parecchi secoli; 3) dalla volontà manifesta dei suoi cittadini.

NARODNO VIJEĆE SRBA, HRVATA I SLOVENACA

*The ideal of Yugo-slav unity was conceived by literary men and visionaries; it was realised by men of action under conditions and with a quickness which would have been thought incredible only ten years ago.*⁹²¹

In Fiume there were no political groups (not even clandestine ones) with publicly irredentist programs until the beginnings of 1918, and even then only in its eastern suburb of Susak that belonged to Croatia, with a Yugoslav stance.

Thus it appears that the Croatian (or Yugoslav) side in Sušak was ready to cope with the looming collapse of the monarchy in its last months in Fall 1918. Fiumans were showing almost no organised activity at any level. This is understandable since while the Croats were fighting bravely for the monarchy, Italy was on the other side. The support of the Slavs appeared essential for the success of the war that the Monarchy was waging.⁹²² Cultural and political initiatives blossomed in Croatia, now far less controlled by the Magyars than ever before.

On Oct. 4 Austria-Hungary, in a note to America, accepted President Wilson's speeches as a "basis of discussion", and with the Austrian Imperial Manifesto from October the 6th Emperor Karl will accept some of the south Slav claims such as self determination leading to federalisation of the Empire. But still many solutions for the central European lands were still possible: ranging from a stronger Austria-Hungary to a reduced one, a surviving greater Hungary or a complete dissolution of the empire. Interestingly, the Fiuman arrangement of *corpus separatum* was intended to be applied to Bosnia Herzegovina annexed to Hungarian kingdom as a *corpus separatum*.⁹²³

On Oct. 10 the Yugoslav National Council was transplanted from Ljubljana to Zagreb and strengthened by the inclusion of representatives of all parties, after the breakthrough achieved by the Allied armies at the Thessalonica front.⁹²⁴ This twenty-eight member Council was self-appointed, not elected.⁹²⁵ It was similar to the National Councils that were formed in Bohemia and Gallitzia as Councils of the Republic of Poland or the Czechoslovak National Council.⁹²⁶

⁹²¹ R.G.D. Laffan 1921 (repr. 1969). "The Liberation of the New Nationalities" in *The Oxford History of the Peace Conference of Paris*.

⁹²² Andrew Wechtel, "Culture in the South Slavic Lands", in Aviel Roshwald, Richard Stites (eds.), *European Culture in the Great War*, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 194-5.

⁹²³ Krizman, Bogdan. 1969. Austro-Hungarian Diplomacy before the Collapse of the Empire, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol 4. No.2. (Apr. 1969), 97-115. This last attempt to win support for the Magyar solution was everywhere met with a blank refusal, and in Bosnia especially the Orthodox, Catholic and Moslem leaders united in a manifesto assuring him of their adherence to the full programme of Yugoslav unity.

⁹²⁴ During 1918, the initiative among the Yugoslavs of the Monarchy fell more and more into the hands of the Slovenes, led by Father Korosec since the premature death of Monsignor Krek. The official recognition accorded to the Pact of Rome by Lansing in the name of America (May 31) was a fresh encouragement: and Korosec, after constituting a Yugoslav National Council for the furtherance of unity, convoked a new Slav congress at Lyublyana (Ljubljana) on Aug. 18.

⁹²⁵ For the central authorities in Austria or Hungary these organisations were little more than groups of illegal conspirators far from being a recognised political body this group of people claimed to represent and gradually started a credible alternative to the survival of the Austria-Hungary in the southern Slav lands. The Yugoslav National Council was indeed recognised by the Croatian Sabor very lately. Up to that moment, the dominant idea in Zagreb in October was to develop the old trialist program (the favoured solution for Supilo) that meant a new south Slav state from the Hapsburg lands and no union with Serbia, especially until the modalities of the unification were clearly defined. National Council's rigidity reduced the chances of finding any other solution, and it was clear that the Empire was doomed.

⁹²⁶ Already in September the U.S. Government recognised the Czechoslovak nation with its National Council - headquartered in Washington - but with claims to represent the whole Czechoslovak nation. The armed units it controlled were commanded by the French, or fighting the Bolsheviks in Siberia. Similarly as a unit of Yugoslav volunteers was commanded by the French at the eastern front of Salonika, from where then after the breakthrough at Kajmakčalan they ran through the whole Balkan Peninsula.

From its session held on 17, 18 and 19 of October the National Council of Slovenes Croats and Serbs assumed responsibility for “national policy”. According to another Declaration signed in Zagreb on 19th October 1918 “no party or group, or parliamentary fraction, will separately conduct policy on national questions”.⁹²⁷

The Croatian State Assembly (Sabor) on proposal from the National Council deliberated to “discharge all national and legal relations and connections between Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, from on one hand, and the Kingdom of Hungary and the Empire of Austria, on the other”. The Croato-Hungarian Compromise was declared “null and void on the basis of the complete right of people’s self determination” recognised “by all the warring parties”. The suspension of the Nagoda on 26th was to be its last session of the Croatian Sabor: on 29 Oct. the Croatian Sabor voted its suspension transferring all its powers to the National Council. The Croatian Sabor (an elected body or Parliament) met in Zagreb on October 29, 1918 to declare "the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia" to be a free and independent state. And finally on the basis of “the modern national principle, and on the basis of the unity of the Slovene, Croat and Serb peoples, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia with Fiume are proclaimed an independent State with respect to Hungary and Austria and becomes the joint people’s sovereign State of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs on the entire “Ethnographic territory of its people”, without regard to any “territorial or State boundaries”.⁹²⁸ As the (last and highly controversial) official act of the King towards Croatia, the Habsburg Crown transferred the Austro-Hungarian fleet to the Croatian government on October the 31st.⁹²⁹

The next step, on November the 3rd, will the proclamation of the State of the Slovenes Croats and Serbs,⁹³⁰ recognised only by Serbia on November the 8th.⁹³¹ Soon afterwards the National Council will prove a very efficient policy instrument: Although its president was a Slovene, the Council was dominated by Svetozar Pribičević, a Serb. On November 24th this self-appointed group called for a common state union with Serbia. at the declaration of Geneva they will proclaim the annexation of the State of the Slovenes Croats and Serbs to Serbia and the cessation of Montenegro and its incorporation into Serbia.

Under the threat of an Italian occupation of substantial territories in Croatia, Slovenia and Dalmatia⁹³² the National Council sent a delegation to Belgrade where it accepted the union with Serbia in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on December the 1st 1918. in Belgrade already at November 13th, 1918 a Military Convention Between the Allies and Hungary was signed.⁹³³

A new Veliki Župan is nominated for Fiume (Rijeka), explicitly mentioned on the Proclamation as part of the new State. Although the Nagoda could not be receded only from one side there must be

⁹²⁷ Translated in *Yugoslavia Through Documents*, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1994, pp. 146-147

⁹²⁸ The term “Ethnographic territory of its people” was deliberately blurred and left open all eventual changes of borders with respect of the self determination principle.

⁹²⁹ The arsenals of Pola and Cattaro were already in the hands of the Yugoslav insurgents; and the Emperor Charles, arguably with the hope either of winning the favour of the new *regime* in Zagreb or of throwing an apple of discord between it and the Entente, signed a decree on Oct. 31 making over the whole Austro-Hungarian fleet to the Yugoslav State. This was not unnaturally interpreted by the Italian Nationalists as a proof of collusion between Zagreb and Vienna; The Allies insisted that the fleet must be surrendered into their hands, but before this could take place the "Viribus Unitis" dreadnought (now flagship of the Yugoslav fleet) being blown up by an Italian mine, with the (first) Yugoslav admiral Janko Vukovic Potkapelski and crew on board.

⁹³⁰ The State of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (Država Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba), comprised all the Yugoslav peoples from the Habsburg monarchy, comprising therefore contemporary Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. According to Mirjana Gross, The Croatian government in Zagreb was “fully formed” before the fall of Austria on November 3, Germany on November 11, and Hungary on November 13.

⁹³¹ Still, Mihaly Karoly when he became Minister President in Hungary, at the beginnings of November, sent agents to persuade the Croatian NC to declare the independence of Croatia, in order to prevent the union of the SCS with Serbia.

⁹³² At the time Italy was still negotiating the peace at Villa Giusti, thus its units occupied some harbours in Dalmatia before the agreement was reached. See Manfroni, *Storia della Marina italiana – 1914 – 1918*.

⁹³³ **Text of Military Convention Between the Allies and Hungary, Signed at Belgrade November 13, 1918**, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 13, No. 4, Supplement: Official Documents. (Oct., 1919), pp. 399-402.

consensus on the other side as well. On the other hand, the other part of the agreement de facto ceased to exist, since Hungary was no more a part of the Hapsburg empire.⁹³⁴

Apparently in Sušak some clandestine activity took place much earlier⁹³⁵. The Croatian Narodno Vijeće named Narodno Vijeće Rijeka – Sušak is reported to have formed secretly in the Čitaonica already by the end of 1917, directed from Zagreb. One of the first actions it took was to organise a Signature campaign in favour of the May Declaration, at the time was accepted only by the Croatian Party of Right, at the opposition⁹³⁶.

On January the 25th 1918 The *Primorske novine*⁹³⁷, issued an article that proclaims the support for the Declaration of the Yugoslav Club⁹³⁸ and the necessity that Fiume had to be annexed to Yugoslavia.⁹³⁹ The “Declaration” was signed in Sušak on January, the 18th with 6012 signatures by “mature people from both sexes from Fiume and Sušak”. As a part of “the three sprouts of the broken Yugoslav people”⁹⁴⁰, their goal was the unification of all the regions inhabited by these peoples. Since in Fiume the Yugoslavs were deprived of all the fundamental rights by appealing to the principle of self-determination they expected that Fiume will be annexed to Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Committee is supported, as well as the Yugoslav Declaration and the Yugoslav Club considered to be an expression of all the unified parties according to the “Declaration”, “should continue on the road it has taken”. Finally, they expressed gratitude to the “Czech brothers” for their help and support.

The first outburst of violence in the City was the rebellion of the Jellacic regiment. Since the event has never been investigated the interpretations diverge.⁹⁴¹ Possibly the only reliable source is Peroslav Ljubić, who participated at these events.⁹⁴² According to P. Ljubić, after the proclamation of the NV SHS in Zagreb (on the 22nd October 1918), the day after (October the 23rd) there was “a great manifestation” in Sušak. The participants celebrated Yugoslavia, etc. with them went also several soldiers from the Jellacic regiment, composed by Croats from the surroundings and Lika. They bring a Croatian flag received at the meeting of the National Council in Sušak with the purpose to put it in their barracks in Fiume. Although their officers intimated them to pull it down they refused, threatening the officers. After a Yugoslav flag was beflagged the Hungarian border guards (the State Police in Fiume) intervened and a fight begins. Reputedly the soldiers attacked the police headquarters killed one policeman while the others escaped. The soldiers from the Jellacic

⁹³⁴ Čulinović, F., 1953, “Rijeka u državnopravnom pogledu” [Rijeka from a Constitutional Perspective]. In *Rijeka - Zbornik*, Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska. p. 270. Belatedly attempting to preserve the Dual Monarchy the Emperor, Karl I, appointed Count Mihály Karolyi von Nagykaroly (1875-1955) as Hungarian Prime Minister on 31 October 1918, replacing Alexander Wekerle, who had earned the ire of Karl by declaring Hungarian independence on 19 October. The day following his appointment as Prime Minister Karolyi asked for release from his imperial oath, a request granted by Karl. Ten days later, on 11 November 1918, Karolyi completed Wekerle's earlier task by proclaiming a Hungarian republic, partly with the hope of stemming the Allies' subsequent territorial demands at treaty talks by distancing the country from the dissolved Habsburg Empire.

⁹³⁵ Sučić, op. cit. p. 279.

⁹³⁶ The Declaration of May 1917 envisioned a creation of a separate Yugoslav state within the Hapsburg lands united with a personal union to the Hapsburg ruler, in similar vein as Hungary was linked to Austria, thereby creating a Tripartite monarchy where Germans Hungarians and Slavs would have been put on equal footing. The Yugoslav Committee in London took a reserved attitude on the Declaration. The support for the declaration in Sušak was achieved only regarding its proclaimed goals of loosening the ties of the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs with the Hapsburg dynasty.

⁹³⁷ A paper that inherited the *Novi List* of Supilo, now based in Sušak and not in Fiume, writing in Serbian rather than in Croatian its editor was Peroslav Ljubić.

⁹³⁸ The Yugoslav Club, not to be confused with the Yugoslav Committee in London, was an informal association of the South Slav parliamentary deputies in the Reichsrat in Vienna. It took an ... stance

⁹³⁹ Bartulović, notes, p.425.

⁹⁴⁰ Meaning Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs.

⁹⁴¹ The only exception so far is Nenad Labus, “Arhiva Okružnog suda Rijeka i pobuna jelačićevaca”, *Dometi XXI*, nr. 9, 1988, pp. 521-523.

⁹⁴² Peroslav Ljubić, *Sabirno zrnje*, Osijek, 1930. In 1918 he was the chief editor of the *Primorske novine* in Susak at the time.

regiment irrumped in the Tribunal and the prisons and liberated all the inmates.⁹⁴³ Soon afterwards the mob from Fiume followed looting the offices, breaking in the prisons and the tribunal and destroyed the Hungarian State police archives in Fiume.⁹⁴⁴

Post war Yugoslav writers considered the rebellion of the Jellacic regiment, as a case of a social revolution like the rebellion in Cattaro or the rebellions in Germany⁹⁴⁵. For the Italian writers looting the offices by the local population amounted to little more than a riot and certainly did not represent an act of military occupation of the City.⁹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the event has had important consequences and was the main cause of the resignation of the Hungarian Prime Minister Wekerle and his government.⁹⁴⁷

Given the exceptional situation the podestà Vio, asked the Commander of the Fiume Garrison, Feldmarschalleutnant von Ištvanović to give assurance against similar events. On October the 28th the Feldmarschalleutnant Ištvanović assured the citizens and asked for help the armed forces in the maintenance of order to avoid further troubles in the City.⁹⁴⁸

On the same day the Field Marshal Ištvanović went to Zagreb to assist at the official proclamation of the National Council “showing clearly his political sympathies”.⁹⁴⁹

In the same day of the 28th the Governor Zoltan Jekelfalussy convoked the military commanders of the City where they declared that the troops will not oppose the take-over by the Croatian National Council, since for the most part they were Croats. Simply they had no troops at their disposal. The Governor (urged by major Vio who claimed that “the City would not have accepted the *fait accompli*”) unsuccessfully tried to contact and ask for instructions to the Prime Minister Wekerle who had already resigned – ironically precisely because of the facts in Fiume of the 23rd and the

⁹⁴³ Several people were wounded and one prison guard killed.

⁹⁴⁴ And not the acts from the Tribunal, as it was so far believed. See Labus, pp. 522-523. Even Perroni, in his inventar of the archives of Trieste and Fiume, claims that: “Gli archivi giudiziari di Fiume, avevano già subito gravi manomissioni nell’ottobre-novembre 1918, quando nel Palazzo di giustizia furono alloggiate le truppe croate che occupavano la città. (Perroni, 1924, p. 110). On the other hand, an act from the Procura di Stato, Fiume, dated 30 June 1919 claims that: “Tutto l’archivio della sezione criminale della preesistita Polizia di Stato ungherese andò devastato durante l’invasione jugoslava nel mese di novembre dello stesso anno.” In (HAR, 112, IV:788/1918). It can be concluded that only the Hungarian State Police archives were destroyed, certainly not the acts from the Tribunal, still preserved in the archive in Fiume, and that certainly the Croatian troops were not beleaguered in the tribunal.

⁹⁴⁵ Strčić, Petar, Rijeka od 1918 do 1924, *Dometi*, 13, pp. 3-19.

⁹⁴⁶ For Depoli (p. 109) it was an expression of intolerance between the Hungarians and the Croats certainly not a seizure of powers in the City performed by the Croats. On the other hand the befreed prisoners (mostly Russian, Serbs and Italians, roamed in the city and apparently participated in the subsequent manifestations. Depoli quotes a document from the admiralty office in Pola, a despatch from the Austrian naval commander in Fiume from the October the 30th 1918: *la situazione a Fiume continua ad essere insostenibile. Da tre giorni qualunque lavoro è sospeso in porto, perché russi e serbi fanno dimostrazioni in città. Anche la compagnia di marcia dei cacciatori italiani (prigionieri) ricusa di lavorare e gli equipaggi abbandonano il servizio; solo il rifornimento di carbone alle navi ospedale procede ancora con grandissima fatica. Dimostranti jugoslavi e italiani, con l’attiva partecipazione di soldati e prigionieri di guerra, si fanno sempre più numerosi in città. Il movimento bolscevico dalla Slavonia si sta avvicinando a Fiume...* it is unknown where is the document and in what language was written. In Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, p. 129.

⁹⁴⁷ As referred by M. Karoly in his memoirs, his local informant announced that the Hungarian Governor in Fiume had been was imprisoned. After having read this communiqué in the parliament in Budapest. The opposition accused Wekerle of incapacity to defend the integrity of the State. Wekerle, without any reliable information decided then to resign. In Depoli, pp. 166-167 (Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, pp. 99-219.)

⁹⁴⁸ Sučić, Ivo. 1953. “Rijeka 1918-1945”. In *Rijeka - Zbornik*, pp. 277-304. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska., p.282. also in In Depoli, pp. 166-167 (Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, pp. 99-219.) The appeal issued by Ištvanović: “Cittadini! Io mi rivolgo a Voi e Vi invito, nell’interesse Vostro, ed in quello della tranquillità e dell’ordine pubblico di appoggiare il militare nel disimpegno di questo suo grave compito e di non tollerare fra Voi perturbatori della pace o delinquenti ai quali non è da darsi ricetto e vitto. Aiutiamoci a vicenda e teniamoci uniti per assicurare così la nostra vita ed i nostri beni e per poter vivere in pace e tranquillità.”

⁹⁴⁹ Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, pp. 99-219.

Jellacic regiment! Nevertheless, from Budapest the instructions were to leave the city since it was “politically impossible to hold, and any bloodbath had to be avoided”.⁹⁵⁰

The Governor thus decided to resign and leave the city. According to Depoli, he transmitted the powers over the *corpus separatum* to the Rappresentanza, in “order to avoid to hand them to the Croats”.⁹⁵¹

In fact, it was the Croats who took the building and the office. On October the 29th two officers and a forest accountant (sic) went to the Hungarian governor who wanted to be assured for his personal safety while leaving the city. For the Croats this was the symbolic passage of powers: the Governor’s palace was with the Yugoslav flag. Depoli categorically excludes that the Croats took power on the 29th according to him only the edifice was taken.⁹⁵² Bartulović gives a completely different interpretation: they did not recognise the authority and legitimacy of the Hungarian governor but only of the authorities entrusted by the National Council in Zagreb. Therefore no high representatives went to take the Governor’s office, but it was done by lower officials. The official act happened only on the following day when Konstantin Rojčević was appointed Commissar of the Slovene Croat Serb National Council for Fiume-Sušak. From the Slovene Croat Serb authorities in Zagreb he was sent to relieve the Hungarian governor from his office. The Governor handed over the keys of the palace and departed the same evening, escorted by the Hungarian state police who were also leaving the city.⁹⁵³ On the other hand, the vice governor Lajos Egan, stayed in Fiume, where he was still receiving instructions from the Hungarian government.⁹⁵⁴

The Ban (Viceroy) of Croatia (still in office) proclaimed Rikard Lenac as Supreme Sheriff (Vrhovni Župan) of the City and district of Fiume on October the 31st. Colonel Teslić (from the Jellacic Regiment in Fiume, but with strong connections with the Yugoslav Committee) was nominated Military Commander of the City, Dr Rikard Lenac was appointed Governor.⁹⁵⁵ Konstantin Rojčević has the control of the police, but it was the armed units of colonel Teslić who were entrusted with the maintenance of order.⁹⁵⁶ Finally, the Veliki Župan Konstantin Rojčević took office in Fiume-Rijeka, now part of the new State. In correspondence the Narodno Vijeće of the SHS, formed in Sušak, moved to Rijeka.

The Croatian view opposes this and since their National Council claimed the control of the State, not of the city; moreover, because of the war, in Fiume the major was subordinated and has to obey the orders from the military commander Ištvanović, now member of the National Council. In fact

⁹⁵⁰ Petar Trajković, “Rijeka u beleškama Egana Lajoša”, *Dometi* XXI, nr. 9, 1988, p. 474. It is, however, unclear who gave the instructions.

⁹⁵¹ Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, p. 111. The act was probably informal, there is no document to prove that claim.

⁹⁵² The cession referred only to the building of the Royal Hungarian Governor and the offices of the Royal Hungarian government in Fiume. The text: On day 29th of October, at 4 pm, we signed took over the building of the Royal Hungarian Governor and the offices of the Royal Hungarian government in Fiume. At this the Yugoslav tricolor and the flag of the City of Fiume was flagged. The takers nadporučnik Josip Krpan, porucnik Milan Batalo, Bartol Baretic sum. Rac. Rav. Predao Jelkelfalussy Royal Governor. In Sučić, Ivo. 1953. “Rijeka 1918-1945”. In *Rijeka - Zbornik*, pp. 277-304. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska., p.283.

⁹⁵³ Macdonald J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D’Annunzio*, London John Murray. P.23

⁹⁵⁴ For example, on October the 31st the president of the Hungarian government (Prime Minister) informs him that the Supreme Maritime Authority was to be moved from Fiume to Budapest. The communication with Budapest was extremely difficult if not impossible. There was a revolution on October 25th after Wekerle’s resignations. The Hungarian National Council was formed and Egan tries desperately to come in contact with the new Hungarian government. To this he contacts on November the 4th the Italian admiral Rainer to send dispatches and protect the “Hungarian citizens” in Fiume, only to be told by Rainer that he came as a part of the allied forces with the specific task to protect the “Italian citizens” in Fiume. Rainer contacts him for information about the ethnic, national and other data about Fiume. In Petar Trajković, “Rijeka u beleškama Egana Lajoša”, *Dometi* XXI, nr. 9, 1988, pp. 474-477.

⁹⁵⁵ Notice that R. Lenac as veliki zupan replaces the Hungarian governor, meaning that the Croatian Narodno Vijeće in Zagreb took the place of Hungarian government. Leaving to Fiumans the right to their municipal administration, a right sanctioned also by the armistices. But the as we shall see the Fiumans were not satisfied with the control over the municipal administration: they claimed sovereignty in the name of the *corpus separatum*.

⁹⁵⁶ Macdonald J.N. 1921, p. 25.

the city was without the governor and Hungary (where it still formally belonged) without a government. There was no parliament in Budapest, no Sabor in Zagreb and no Municipal Council in Fiume anymore. Instead there were substituted by National Councils in Fiume and Zagreb. There was no King and the Ban joined the Council in Zagreb.

The problems for the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs lie not only in the constitutional realm, as it soon become evident. The military units at its deposal were still considered enemy forces by the allies since thanks to Italian pressures at the allied commands (since constituted by South Slav remnants of the defeated Austro-Hungarian army and navy).⁹⁵⁷ The occupation was urgent for reasons of internal security and external integrity of its borders. This is why it had to call the Serbian army units to prevent the “Green Cadre” and the fear of anarchy and unrest was growing. The new state simply had no means to guarantee safety to its inhabitants to say nothing about its capacities to prevent an invasion of the approaching Italian units.⁹⁵⁸

In the West, the front at Piave was still holding, only after the defeats in the east will the troops composed mainly by Germans and south Slavs start to defect massively. As we shall see this fact is of utmost importance to understand the dynamics at Fiume as well as the better organisation of the s h s with respect to the Italians in Fiume or Trieste.⁹⁵⁹

Actually the Fiumani will show a remarkable level of boldness and initiative such as in the case of the “impresa degli argonauti”.

*Già nel pomeriggio del 29 ottobre cinque valorosi cittadini: Giovanni Matcovich, Giuseppe de Meichsner, Mario Petris, Attilio Prodam e l'avvocato Giovanni Stiglich, s'erano assunti l'incarico d'andare a Trieste per affiarsi con quel comitato di salute pubblica circa un'azione concorde e tentare di raggiungere Venezia per invocare l'intervento delle armi italiane in nostra difesa.*⁹⁶⁰

Later event will become one of the myths produced about the Fiuman events. It is clear from the account of Gigante that they were working in close contact with similar groups in Trieste, forming a network that might explain the audacity of a group of young enthusiasts to meet the commander in chief of the Italian fleet in the Adriatic for help a city he did not even know. Nevertheless the presence of gather first units of the Italian fleet will give tangible support for the CNI but not as much as they needed. Namely it was sad that the Italian units were sent there as parts of the allies and there to protect Italian national interests and the lives of their conational. Obviously the vast majority of Fiumans even the in favour of annexation were not Italian citizens but Hungarian subjects.

The Yugoslav National Council acted with great rapidity too. Thus they called Serbian units to come as soon as possible to Fiume. Already on November 2nd the first Serbian land army units arrived under the command of the Serbian colonel Maksimović. Stanislav Krakov in his memoirs⁹⁶¹ recalled that on 28th of October as they entered the town of Ruma in western Vojvodina, close to the

⁹⁵⁷ Cattaruzza, Marina. *L'Italia e il confine orientale: 1866-2006*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2007, pp. 117-128.

⁹⁵⁸ In certain cases they were successful: Serbian units quickly stopped the advance of Italian troops in Postojna towards Ljubljana. There the Serbian colonel Švabić informed the Italian troops that were marching on Ljubljana well beyond the armistice line and that he had orders to oppose the Italian advance. The Italian troops in accordance with the allies eventually withdrew and the incident was avoided, in Macdonald J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D'Annunzio*, London John Murray. P.11

⁹⁵⁹ As we have seen, in Fiume the Hungarian authorities de facto lost control already on Oct the 23rd with the rebellion of the Jellacic Regiment composed by Croats from the Littoral, in Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, pp. 108, Depoli clearly stated then while in Fiume was already in revolution and the control was disputed by the two National Councils, their emissaries sent to look for support from Italian forces went to thereto where they found the city still under the control of the Austrian police! - “Nulla si sapeva però a Trieste del crollo austriaco o di un prossimo arrivo di truppe italiane”. (p. 134)

⁹⁶⁰ Gigante 1928, pp. 182-183.

⁹⁶¹ Stanislav Krakov, “Dolazak srpske vojske na Rijeku i severni Jadran”, *Almanah Jadranske straže*, Beograd 1928/29, pp. 78-93.

Croatian border, the commander of his 2nd battalion 5th Infantry Regiment, Colonel Maksimović was ordered to gather his soldiers and to prepare a train with whom to send his troops to Fiume. On October the 31st the chief of staff of the Kolubara Detachment (Kolubarski Odred) Colonel Ljubomir Marić issued an order to Colonel Maksimović to head for Rijeka in order to “maintain order” in the Littoral. The trip was planned to last 3 days. They had “around 300 rifles, 32 light machine guns and 6 machine guns”.

After and adventurous trip they met scores of former Serbian prisoner returning home, former troops in Austrian uniforms, Czech revolutionary battalions from Russia etc. they finally reached Rijeka on November the 2nd in the morning. They were received by “the former colonel of the Austrian staff Petar Teslić, ho commanded now the battalion of the Narodno Vijeće of Fiume. Moreover there were several exponents form the ”National Councils from Istria” who were fleeing “in front of the advancing Italian units”. They met also the župan Lenac and the Orthodox priest Kosanović. Then after the exit from the railway station some 30,000 people were greeting them enthusiastically. In front of them was the battalion of the National Council where the au hats mixed with Serbian “šajkače”.⁹⁶²

They moved the procession was full of Serbian and Croatian flags. Colonel Maksimović went to the official visit to the governors’ palace where was a piquet from the Narodno Vijeće battalion. Afterwards, he visited Captain Durand Vielle commandant of the torpedo boat *Tuareg*, the only French warship stationed in the Fiume harbour.

The Serbs had reasons to celebrate. The others too, banquets were organised - in Fiume there was the Austrian depot for furnishing the Austro Hungarian units in Albania they estimated food and equipment for 100,000 soldiers, in the port 20 brand new hydroplanes.

The Serbs were part of the I Jugoslovenska Dobrovoljačka Divizija, were put under the supreme command of the French general D’Esperey the same who than was the head of the French military forces in Fiume.⁹⁶³ He was contacted by the Yugoslav County headed by Trumbić who was recruiting volunteers for the Adriatic legion across neutral America.⁹⁶⁴

Thus in the first days of November, it seemed that the Narodno Vijeće of Fiume won its battle: it had legitimacy, since his troops were considered not belonging to the defeated Austro Hungarian army but to the victor state of Yugoslavia.

⁹⁶² Serbian military hat in use since the 1870s.

⁹⁶³ Between September 15-29, 1918 General Franchet d’Esperey, in command of a large army of Greeks (9 divisions), French (6 divisions), Serbians (6 divisions), British (4 divisions) and Italians (1 division) - staged a successful offensive in Macedonia that knocked Bulgaria out of the war. General Franchet d’Esperey followed up this victory by overrunning much of the Balkans and by the war’s end, his troops had penetrated well into Hungary.

Desperate Frankie (as the British called d’Esperey) pushing ever forward, the Franco-Serbian Army re-captured Serbia and overran several weak German divisions that tried to block its advance. On November 10, d’Esperey’s army crossed the Danube river and was poised to enter the heartland of Hungary when the war finally came to an end. Count Karolyi, leading the revolutionary Hungarian government, came to Belgrade and asked for an armistice.

After World War I ended, General Franchet d’Esperey directed operations against the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919.

⁹⁶⁴ The story of the unit is fascinating. They came a long way To Fiume - from Thessalonica. The 1st Serbian division (later labelled 1st Yugoslav) was composed by volunteer Croat and Serb and Slovene soldiers imprisoned by the Russians of the eastern front composed division. After a long way and many problems and riots caused by the fact that officers trained them form the Serbian army, eventually there were reunited at Thessalonica coming under command of the French general Franchet d’Esperey. Their commandant was Colonel Lj. Maksimovic. In Margot Lawrence, “The Serbian divisions in Russia 1916-17”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 6, No. 4. (1971), pp. 183-192, p. 192.



A very rare picture depicting the arrival of the Serbian troops in Fiume. The “Battalion of the National Council” in the background is composed by the Croat troops from the Jellacic regiment. Fiume, probably November the 2nd 1918. Courtesy of Saša Dmitrović.



The Croat troops from the Jellacic regiment and the Sokol activists in Fiume. Probably late October 1918. Courtesy of Saša Dmitrović.

CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE

The Narodno Vijeće, officially constituted on October the 29th, soon had another competitor for the control of the City, but this one was sited at the Municipal building. As the old institutions ceased to exist new people entered the political scene.⁹⁶⁵ Among the Italians, soon the members of the only Italian irredentist organisation in Fiume the marginal “Giovine Fiume” will take the lead. Thus young people from different backgrounds but a common goal of annexation to Italy previously marginal and targeted by the repressive measures of the Hungarian government. (Isidoro Garofolo of the “old irredentists” where they gathered, Attilio Depoli who was the elected as a member of the Municipal Council from the *Giovine Fiume*, Francesco Codrich “young autonomist” and now a “firm annexationist”⁹⁶⁶ the three then take “the fearless catholic” Annibale Blau, Silvino Gigante, Elpidio Springhetti, Salvatore Bellasich, Gino Sirola.

According to A. Depoli, the only institution that still retained a legitimate political authority in Fiume was the municipal government with its podestà Vio and a certain “restricted county” constituted on the same day:

Annibale Blau, il più spericolato dei cattolici di Fiume, rilevato che riunioni così numerose, mentre esponevano i convenuti ad inutili pericoli, non potevano riuscire a nulla di positivo, propose la costituzione di un piccolo comitato segreto che, autorizzato ad aggregarsi altri membri di fede sicura, provvedesse a concretare l'azione da svolgersi al momento del crollo che si sperava prossimo....⁹⁶⁷

Allegedly they gathered to see what was to do in cases of a collapse of the Hungarian authorities and the Croatian occupation that should have inevitably followed. First they changed the city political institutions since they "did not respond to the sentiments of the population" and second, they tried to avoid any conflict with the Croats, who controlled the armed forces in the city, that as we have seen on Oct 23rd rebelled to the Hungarian state police forces and put the Croatian flag (from Sušak) to their barracks, their commander Teslić, was a member of the National Council in Zagreb and had close contacts with the Yugoslav county. Although general Ištvanović military commander of the city of Fiume, will assure, podestà Vio the situation was critical:

Il podestà di fronte al precipitare degli avvenimenti, riunì alcuni amici per esaminare la situazione che si era così creata: riconoscendo che la rappresentanza municipale non rappresentava ormai il sentimento dei cittadini, e conosciuta l'esistenza di comitati segreti che si erano costituiti, decise di mettersi in contatto con essi.⁹⁶⁸

Apart from Depoli's group they also contacted another committee gathered “alla sede della Società Operaia dove quello usava riunirsi: vi trovammo Igino Sucich, Giovanni Schittar, Adolfo Gottardo e qualche altro”⁹⁶⁹

Even the Fiuman historian (later one of the foremost fascist historians) Edoardo Susmel ignored their meetings, suggesting that they were fairly secretive. Or better that there was another committee: Susmel in his book that is still the only comprehensive treatment on Fiume during First

⁹⁶⁵ According to Ruggiero Gotthardi, champion of renewed autonomism, the new political organisations that will claim to represent the will of the people will bear *totally different* people, and will possess therefore a totally different source of legitimisation.

⁹⁶⁶ In an interview, that I did in summer 2006, his daughter who lives in Belgrade, said that he definitely remained autonomist, and after the evacuation to Portorè went with Zanella in Belgrade, only to return to Rijeka after WW2. Depoli's characterization is therefore doubtful.

⁹⁶⁷ Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, p. 108.

⁹⁶⁸ Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, p. 111.

⁹⁶⁹ Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, p. 111.

World War,⁹⁷⁰ writes about a “secret committee that gathered after the Beffa di Buccari of D’Annunzio. The committee appears to be fairly organised. Gathers at the house of Stiglich and is subdivided in sottocomitati⁹⁷¹ .

Therefore apart from the Council that was more or less open and public and where a good half of the old members of the municipal council operated, there was a much more secretive and elusive “committee” that will soon become the “comitato direttivo”. Riccardo Gigante explains the Italian position these days:

*Dopo l’affermazione del 30 ottobre il Consiglio Nazionale s’insediò al municipio e assunse l’amministrazione e il governo della città, continuando però a tenere divise le due amministrazioni, comunale e la statale, nella speranza sicura, che se non proprio fra giorni, certo fra un paio di mesi, quest’ultima sarebbe stata assunta dall’Italia.*⁹⁷²

What does mean that the *state* and the *municipal* administrations were kept separate? In effect this is a suggestion that the sovereign one was embodied in the “Comitato ristretto” who renamed itself in Consiglio Nazionale Italiano di Fiume.

Even then the representative of the Croatian government, who replaced the Hungarian authorities at the governors office, tried to establish a contact with the “representatives of the City”⁹⁷³ but with no success, being considered “sedicenti governanti croati saranno, pertanto da considerarsi come mandatari di un organismo statale esterno ed usurpatore”.

In the same evening, On October the 30th the “restricted county” as a reaction renamed itself as the “Consiglio Nazionale, in modo che fosse accentuato il suo carattere di detentore dei poteri nella città-stato, divenuta indipendente di fatto.”⁹⁷⁴

The proclamation of annexation of Fiume united with his “Mother Country Italy”, explicitly addressed the protection of America “mother of liberty and of universal democracy”:

*Per le ore 11 era convocato, in seduta plenaria, il Consiglio Nazionale ancora nelle sedi locali della Società filarmonico drammatica. Fra la commozione generale fu letto il testo del proclama concordato nella riunione del comitato ristretto e l’assemblea diede la sua adesione con entusiastiche acclamazioni; allo scopo di dare alla proclamazione la sanzione del voto popolare si decise di farlo approvare dai cittadini nel corso della manifestazione già indetta per le prime ore del pomeriggio.*⁹⁷⁵

In fact by Depoli’s admission no regular elections were held in what was later know as “The Plebiscite of the 30th October”:

Si avanza alla balaustra il segretario del comitato Salvatore Bellasich, che con voce a volte squillante a volte tremula per la commozione, legge il proclama votato dal consiglio nazionale, nella riunione plenaria della mattina; urla di acclamazione accolgono la solenne affermazione

⁹⁷⁰ Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921.

⁹⁷¹ Il comitato segreto aveva costituito dei sottocomitati in tutte le associazioni e in tutte le classi, allo scopo di tener informata la città degli avvenimenti che riguardavano le terre irredente in particolare Fiume. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 138. Reputedly organised by don Maria Luigi Torcoletti, with men of “proven Italian faith” (Isidoro Garofolo, John Stiglich and his brother Stanislao, Igino Sucich, ing Attilio Prodam, Annibale Blau and Edoardo Susmel, the group appears to be the kernel of the fiumano Fascio.

⁹⁷² Gigante, Silvino. *Storia del comune di Fiume*, Bemporad, Firenze, 1928, p. 181.

⁹⁷³ Intended as municipal administration.

⁹⁷⁴ Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, p. 120. From the *Bilancia* 29th of October 1918 we read that: I membri del comitato nazionale fiumano risiedono in permanenza alla filarmonica da dove è stata esposta la bandiera fiumana e quella italiana ed il ritratto del prof. Zanella.

⁹⁷⁵ Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, p. 123.

*che dichiara Fiume unita alla sua Madre Patria l'Italia; nessuno sente il bisogno di un voto formale, il proclama è sancito dalla volontà universale, il plebiscito è compiuto.*⁹⁷⁶

On October the 30th there were two National Councils in the City claiming their right to represent the will of the people of Fiume/Rijeka according to the principle of national self-determination. Both constantly claimed they were the sole legitimate and sovereign institutions of public law. From a legal perspective little more than associations of citizens, or private clubs. Their relied on pressure groups and lobbies, as well as private capitals for support. Their argument was a blend of old elements (the boundaries of the land, both grounded in the history of the Habsburg empire – the *corpus separatum* and the kingdom of Croatia) and new ones mass democracy self-determination and liberation of nationalities.

*Ma accanto al nostro operava un altro consiglio nazionale, quello croato – o jugoslavo, come eufemisticamente si faceva chiamare, - dell'avvocato Riccardo Lenac, insediatosi al governatorato, non riconosciuto da noi, come il nostro non era da quello riconosciuto. Ne seguì una gara tra i due consigli: noi si approfittava d'ogni occasione per gridar alta la nostra italianità in faccia al mondo, essi non meno per affermare che l'italianità di fiume era un fenomeno artificiale, d'importazione, e che la popolazione autoctona era ed era stata sempre croata; ai nostri cortei, che frequenti percorrevano le vie della città, agitando al sole il tricolore ed intonando gli inni patriottici del '48 e del '59, quelli ne opponevano altri, poco meno numerosi, raccogliendo, o meglio scritturando, i villani dei sotto comuni e delle borgate d'oltre fiumara, retribuendoli per le giornate che perdevano a far da comparse. Essi però erano i più forti in quanto potevano disporre delle milizie – croate – comandate dal capitano Teslic, contro le quali ben poco poteva la nostra guardia civica, formata in massima parte da giovinetti, soldati improvvisati e male armati per giunta.*⁹⁷⁷

The Italians held as usual the municipal local administration as they always did. The quest of sovereignty was left to be decided by external factors. Or better they waited for the developments. The Croats had from beginning another strategy – they controlled the State. In Fiume the Croats simply took the place of the Hungarians. But even then the Consiglio Nazionale gathered at the *società filarmonico drammatica* (a private club) and not at the municipal palace as Gigante claims. There is always the conflict between nation (state) and the city.

In the same evening also the Socialist Party of Fiume (still a section of Socialist Party of Hungary) organised a meeting where a “Worker’s council” was formed with the program centred on three points. First, Acceptation of Wilson s principle of self determination, and invitation to the CNI to prepare a real referendum with no exclusion of race nationality, class or gender. Second it claimed the Freedom of opinion speech and press, and third, the CNI had to stop any oppressive activity⁹⁷⁸ Apart from the Serbs, whose land units were the first to arrive in Fiume, other occupation forces in Fiume was conducted by the most mobile units at the time - navies. The first to arrive on November the 2nd was a group of American destroyers followed on the 3rd by the Interallied Command with the French general D'Esperey as a commander. The first Italian warships entered the harbour, on

⁹⁷⁶ Depoli, p. 129. the text: Il Consiglio Nazionale italiano di Fiume, radunatosi quest'oggi in seduta plenaria, dichiara che in forza di quel diritto per cui tutti i popoli sono sorti a indipendenza nazionale e libertà, la città di Fiume, la quale finora era un corpo separato costituente un comune nazionale italiano, pretende anche per sé il diritto di autodecisione delle genti. Basandosi su tale diritto, il Consiglio Nazionale proclama Fiume unita alla Madre Patria l'Italia. Il Consiglio Nazionale italiano considera come provvisorio lo stato di cose subentrato addì 29 ottobre 1918, mette il suo deciso sotto la protezione dell'America, madre di libertà, e ne attende al sanzione dal Congresso della pace. Benedetti, Giulio. *La pace di Fiume*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1924, p. 26

⁹⁷⁷ Gigante, Silvino. *Storia del comune di Fiume*, Bemporad, Firenze, 1928, p. 182.

⁹⁷⁸ Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, p. 131.

November the 4th, but still with no land units.⁹⁷⁹ The sudden arrival of naval forces from 4 different countries suggests that the allied diplomacy felt that Fiume could have arisen as a major international issue after the armistice.

When Serbian troops entered on November the 2nd there were no other occupation land forces in the city. But soon Admiral Rainer, with his ships already in the port of Fiume, (along with some English and French units) announced his intention to disembark troops from his ships. With the Italian ships on Fiume, the Fiumani obviously felt that the redemption was about to come. But the Serbian colonel Maksimović threatened to open fire on the first man who set foot on shore.⁹⁸⁰ On the other hand, the Croatian National Council apparently organised its own manifestations of jubilee.⁹⁸¹ Then the first Italian encountered by the Serbians were the sailors of admiral Rainer. When they still negotiated, some “20 armoured cars entered the city with crashing noise”, and Rainer repeated his request of permit to enter the City.⁹⁸² To avoid the outbreak of a conflict a hurried meeting of the allied commanders was held. Present were the Governor Lenac, the Italian admiral Rainer, commander Viel from the French destroyer *Touareg*, commander Foster from the British destroyer *Martin*, the Yugoslav colonel Teslić (from the National Council) and the Serbian colonel Maksimović from the Franco Serbian army of the Orient, with a battalion under his command. Progressively, the Italian units will start to gather and reach the armistice line situated some 10 km westwards from the City⁹⁸³. But apart from the French and Serbian units of Maksimović there will still be no Italian ground troops in Fiume. The Italian army managed to enter thanks to a trick.

Obviously, as one of the allied powers Italy had the right to enter but there was the fear that the Yugoslav National Council would have protested.⁹⁸⁴ The Italian army headquartered at Abbazia

⁹⁷⁹ Five Fiumani, sailed on their own risk to Venice, still before the end of the hostilities. Later known as the “Argonauts of the Carnaro”, in Venice they met admiral Thaon de Revel, and managed to persuade him to send some naval units in Fiume at least to protect the port infrastructures in the harbour.

⁹⁸⁰ Macdonald J.N. 1921, p.26

⁹⁸¹ I croati, avviliti dalla possente manifestazione d’italianità, vollero dimostrare alle navi redentrici l’anima croata di Fiume. E vennero da ogni parte i croati. Scesero dai paesi vicini, calarono dai monti lontani, affluirono coi vaporini dell’Ungaro croata dalle isole e dal litorale croato, s’incolonnarono in quell’indimenticabile ed interminabile corteo che, ingombrando piazza dante e le banchine, cantava la bella patria croata. In s, p. 163.

⁹⁸² Stanislav Krakov, “Dolazak srpske vojske na Rijeku i severni Jadran”, *Almanah Jadranske straže*, Beograd 1928/29, pp. 85-89.

⁹⁸³ Point 3. of the PROTOCOL OF THE ARMISTICE BETWEEN THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY signed at (Villa Giusti, Italy, 3 November 1918) - Evacuation of all territories invaded by Austria-Hungary since the beginning of the war. Withdrawal within such periods as shall be determined by Commander-in-Chief of Allied forces on each front, of Austro-Hungarian armies behind a line fixed as follows: from Piz Umbrail to north of Stelvio it will follow crest of Rhetian Alps to sources of the Adige and Eisach, passing thence by the Reschen and Brenner and the heights of Oetz and Ziller.

The line thence turns south, crossing Mount Toblach as far as present frontier of Carnic Alps. It follows this line as far as Mount Tarvis, thence to watershed of Julian Alps by Col de Predil, Mount Mangart, the Tricorno (Terglou) and watershed Podberdo, Podlaniscan and Idria. From this point the line turns south-east towards the Schneeberg, excluding the whole basin of the Save River and its tributaries; from Schneeberg it descends to the coast in such a way as to include Castua, Mattuglia and Volosca in evacuated territories.

It will follow the administrative limits of present province of Dalmatia, including to the north Lisarica and Tribania, and to the south territory limited by a line from the shore of Cape Planka to the summits of watershed eastwards so as to include in evacuated area all the valleys and watercourses flowing towards Sebenico, such as Cicola, Karka, Butisnica, and their tributaries. It will also include all the islands in the north and west of Dalmatia from Premuda, Selve, Ulbo, Scherda, Maon, Pago and Puntadura islands, in the north, up to Meleda, in the south, embracing Sant' Andrea, Busi, Lissa, Lesina, Tercola, Curzola, Cazza and Lagosta as well as neighbouring rocks and islets and Pelagosa, only excepting the islands of great and small Zirona, Bua, Solta and Brazza.

⁹⁸⁴ According to the art. 4. Allied Armies shall have the right of free movement over all road and rail and waterways in Austro-Hungarian territory which shall be necessary. Armies of Associated Powers shall occupy such strategic points in Austria-Hungary at such times as they may deem necessary to enable them to conduct military operations or to maintain order. They shall have right of requisition on payment for troops of Associated Powers wherever they may be. Depoli quoting Mermeix, *Les negociations secretes et les quatre armistices avec pieces justificatives*, Edité par Ollendorff - Paru en 1921, reports that this measure was negotiated by Vesnic, the Serbian minister in Paris who in at the gathering

offered a compromise to the Serbians if they retire from Fiume that they will not enter the City. After some negotiations colonel Maksimović did retire towards Kraljevica - Porto Re and the Italy units (by “breaking the pacts” remarks Ivo Sučić) enter the city of Fiume on November the 17th 1918. The agreement was reached at whereby no foreign troops were allowed in Fiume until inter-Allied Naval Commission at Venice was to be informed by commander Foster asked to process with a report on the situation. In the meantime the Serbian battalion was requested to withdraw to Porto Re, there to wait for further decisions.

The Serbians accordingly withdrew about 3.30 p.m. in the same day of November the 17th an hour later, as reported by MacDonald (who used British despatches from Fiume), the Italian forces entered the town by land and sea in what was later defined by general Grazioli as the conquest of Fiume and by D’Annunzio as the “fifteenth Italian victory”. General Enrico di San Marzano, commander of the land units that entered together with the marine battalion, handed over the administration of the town to the Italian National Council.

In the town there were no more Croatian or Serbian soldiers except a handful of soldiers of the now disbanded Jellacic regiment. The American and British soldiers were in their barracks with the explicit order not to leave them. Ivo Sučić reports to have witnessed the order Rainer gave that at 4 pm of November the 17th, when the “Italians” realised when then the town as without troops around - admiral Rainer decided to land with some marine troops in the port. From the Italian ships the sailors with full fighting equipment were continuously landing. Bayonets on their rifles, hand grenades on their belts, after the sailors were lined admiral Rainer gave the order “palazzo governatoriale!” where the veliki župan Rikard Lenac still hold his office. In this action the Italian troops (granatieri di Sardegna) General Di San Marzano informed Rikard Lenac that he had to remove him from his office and to take control of the building - being empowered by Italy, the Allies and the United States, in order to preserve peace and stability in Fiume.⁹⁸⁵ According to Susmel, Lenac answered he was nominated by the NC in Zagreb and protested against this suppression of the “will of the people”⁹⁸⁶

Dr Lenac went to Sušak and General Enrico di San Marzano took his place in the (former Hungarian) Governor’s palace⁹⁸⁷. According to Ivo Sučić, from that time there was always an Italian military governor in that building⁹⁸⁸. Reportedly, there was a crowd who gathered in front of the Croatian Čitaonica, waiting for “someone to save Rijeka, but there was no such hero on sight” as Sučić sadly remarks. After 5 p.m., columns of Italian troops started to enter the city, “protected from the sea by Italian warships”. The parallel evacuation of the Croatian troops (the remnants of the Jellacic regiment) started.

This day marks the end of the relative balance of power between the two Councils. From that moment the Consiglio Nazionale Italiano will have an advantage that it will never lose - the largest occupation military force in the city at its disposal. The Yugoslav National Council will have no substantial military support and no possibility to stop the campaign of intimidation started by the

of the Supreme War Council (based at Versailles), insisted on the necessity to occupy all the south Slav territories of the former monarchy, where were turmoil, in forecast of the planned Serbian annexation of Bosnia and parts of Croatia. In Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n. 3-4, p. 145.

⁹⁸⁵ Sučić, Ivo. 1953. “Rijeka 1918-1945”. In *Rijeka - Zbornik*, Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska. p. 285. For Susmel, the discussion was about who assumed the civil administration of Fiume. San Marzano went to “protect the public safety”, while Lenac tried to preserve his office as a governor (that is the head of the civil administration in Fiume), in Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 169.

⁹⁸⁶ Susmel, la Marcia di Ronchi.

⁹⁸⁷ Il 17 novembre 1918 a riequilibrare la situazione per l'Italia arrivarono in città alcuni battaglioni della III Armata italiana, comandate dal generale Enrico di San Marzano, che s'avviarono al Palazzo del Governo per far ammainare la bandiera croata e issare il tricolore italiano. All'arrivo dei soldati italiani, fece seguito un battaglione di fanti inglesi e americani.

⁹⁸⁸ The Governor’s palace after the departure of the Hungarian governor Jekelfalussy, and Lenac, was the place where state sovereignty was manifest: after San Marzano, there went Grazioli, and D’Annunzio. Only with the Government of Riccardo Zanella a civilian was again in charge of the building. After the Italian annexation the palace was the seat of the Italian prefecture. Only after ww2 it was turned to a museum.

Italian soldiers, which were by far the largest military contingent in the city. The CNI won its second battle.

Čulinović says that afterwards what happened could best be explained in terms of a military occupation.⁹⁸⁹ The actions taken immediately by San Marzano give little doubt on the aim of the operation: the Italian flag was immediately hoisted on all government offices.⁹⁹⁰ It was reported that Italian Soldiers forced their way into private apartments to and demanded the removal of Yugoslav flags. The catholic printing house Miriam was forbidden to publish in any other language but Italian.⁹⁹¹ San Marzano took control of the entire Porto Franco, the warehouses and the cargo ships were commandeered, all state propriety and factories were confiscated. It seems that merchandise was being flown into Italy. The CNI administered the public finances devoting great sums for propaganda for securing supporters.

According to the armistice provisions, it was deliberated that the occupying force should not change the nature of the local government and administration until a peace settlement is reached. This happened since according to the armistice provisions the Italian army had to respect the local municipal Rappresentanza that now was also the CNI. In Sušak under Italian military occupation there were no previous municipal bodies since the town had no municipal city status before 1919. The control for the Italian forces was thus easy, still respecting the armistice.

Since the risk of violent outburst was real the naval commission headquartered in Venice decided that the occupation of Fiume should be joint and inter-allied with strength of two battalions per nation. This was never achieved: *de facto* the Serbian units stayed in Porto Re, while the force and strength of the Italian units was augmenting on a daily basis. The others had nothing comparable. On November the 25th, a single British battalion – the 8th battalion of York and Lancaster regiment – reached Fiume from the Italian front and were quartered on a demised vessel in the port. Brigadier general Gordon fixed his head quarters first in Sušak, at the hotel Jadran, then in villas lent by the gentleman of the Whitehead Torpedo Company. An American battalion of the 332nd regiment arrived only to be withdrawn for unknown reasons in the first months of 1919. Reportedly, the advent of the two battalions was hailed with joy by the population.

The coming of the French contingent, was regarded with annoyance both by the Italian military command and the National Council. According to MacDonald, there was an explanation for the differential treatment deserved to the French: general Tranie arrived of the Army of the Orient arrived on November 25th with one infantry battalion and two companies of engineers for instituting a joint Franco Serbian supply base for the Serbian army. The supply base, that become a constant source of friction of the Fiumani with the French was nonetheless established. The idea was to establish a clear military outpost in Fiume by the French after the armistice.

Soon after general Di San Marzano general Grazioli is nominated commander of the Italian troops in Fiume. A senior in the rank of the allied generals he claimed supreme command of all allied troops.⁹⁹² The French general Tranie in Fiume to “occupy the city” and to establish the base refused to consider himself as subject in any way to the orders of the Italian general Grazioli but to the French commander of the Army of the Orient general d’Esperey.

Probably general Grazioli received precise orders to impede any attempt to organise a French base in the town. Claiming exclusive control of all means of communication and supply, to the complete exclusion of Serbian troops, Grazioli refused to allow the re-entry of the Serbian battalion from Portoré with the argument that they did not belong to the Entente. A severe censorship on the

⁹⁸⁹ Čulinović, F., 1953, “Rijeka u državnopravnom pogledu” [Rijeka from a Constitutional Perspective]. In *Rijeka - Zbornik*, pp. 253 -276. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska.

⁹⁹⁰ Il generale di San Marzano instaurò, in pratica, un vero e proprio Comando di Occupazione Interalleata, che pur avendo liquidato il Comitato fiumano degli Slavi del Sud, manteneva di fatto una situazione ambigua e non chiara nei confronti dei fiumani.

⁹⁹¹ The Miriam printing house was run by the Capuchins, and it was the main Croatian publishing house in the city.

⁹⁹² So determined were the Italians that they even put the very senior General Caneva whose task was to set forward in the eventuality of any allied general senior to Grazioli being posted to town. The allies reportedly referred to him as “the man in the cellar”.

telegraph press was established claiming the right to suspend the civilian traffic on the Fiume-Zagreb line if necessary. The French protested against the requisitioning the warehouses especially of coal and naphtha depots.

STATE-MAKING IN FIUME

According to the Armistice of Villa Giusti, allied troops were entitled to occupy any part of the territory of the Hapsburg empire for logistical or security reasons. In the disputed regions military control soon proved decisive: as the Italian army was effectively prevented of taking Ljubljana, the Serbian evacuation of Fiume (replaced by an allied corpse where the Italians held the absolute majority) immediately strengthened the position of the CNI. Italian authors will usually minimize the importance of military occupation in Fiume. For Croatian or Yugoslav authors, on the other hand, the evacuation of Serbian military units was ultimately much more important than the D'Annunzian "Sacred Entrance".

Peteani (1940) (in what is still the best account on the juridical and constitutional problem of Fiume from the Armistice of Villa Giusti to the annexation to Italy) based his arguments on the successful case of state making that took place in Fiume after 1918.⁹⁹³ During the Hungarian rule, the Municipal Council and the Hungarian Governor administered the city. On the 28th of October, the Hungarian governor Zoltan Jekelfalussy called Mayor Antonio Vio to give the news that the Hungarian government decided to abandon the city "militarily and politically". The only political authority that survived in Fiume was the Municipal Council. But since the Hungarians who had to confirm its authority appointed it, several members felt that the legitimacy of the Council was at stake. The Municipal Council adapted to the doctrine of self-determination of peoples and proclaimed itself as the incarnation of "the general will of Fiume".⁹⁹⁴ A. Vio was reappointed as a mayor, the Council expanded - its members from 53 became 60 and, finally, on the 30th of October, changed its name into the Italian National Council of Fiume. The CNI acted effectively as the political representative body in Fiume from 1918 to 1924 the whole duration of the period under question. Therefore, the CNI was the source of sovereign power in Fiume.

The Italian National Council was not the only group organized in Fiume in the hours immediately following the dissolution of the Empire. Representatives of the newly created Yugoslav National Council arrived in the city and took command of the Governor's palace. As a reaction the Italian National Council announced that Fiume was henceforth united with its "mother country Italy", supporting the action with the right of self-determination of peoples. From its very first days the CNI was able to control the city and to run its administration. It had no armed forces at its disposal, which were controlled by the Croats, actually the remnants of the dissolving Austro Hungarian army stationed in Fiume, and gathering there from the surroundings. On those days a third organ was formed: the Workers Council, who claimed that the legitimacy of the National Council was questionable since only the wealthier strata of the society were represented. The called for a plebiscite to determine the future of Fiume, solve the ethnic problem by creating a multinational governing body and thus provide for a radical democratisation of the political life of Fiume. The Italian Council faced this difficult situation brilliantly: the members of the Workers Council were integrated as a "Red Guard" that had to provide to public safety.

Peteani seems to adopt the category of a *de facto* government for explaining what happened in Fiume: to be legitimate a Government has to be effective and widely accepted by the population. The Italian CNI satisfied both requisites, the Yugoslav National Council none.

⁹⁹³ Peteani, Luigi. 1940. *La posizione internazionale di Fiume dall'armistizio all'annessione e il suo assetto costituzionale durante questo periodo*, Firenze: Casa editrice del dott. Carlo Cya, Pubblicazioni della R. Università degli Studi di Firenze. Facoltà di giurisprudenza ; 17.

⁹⁹⁴ This was the plebiscite of the 30th October.

But the explanation provided by authors like Peteani, Depoli, and Ledeen is *ex post facto*.⁹⁹⁵ If the Croats managed to preserve their power in the city the outcome will have been different. Nevertheless, the argument of Peteani based on Kelsen's doctrine of law and legitimacy is powerful: What turned out was a internationally recognised Free State that originated from the acts and decisions of the 30th October 1918 (although formalised in Rapallo in November 1920 only, when Italy on its eastern borders recognised both Yugoslavia and the Free State of Fiume). Peteani considers the occupational forces as suppliers of military power for the National Councils. As the Serbian units were at the disposal of the National Council in Zagreb so the predominantly Italian armed forces in Fiume were at the disposal of the CNI – in practice an army at disposal giving a further dimension of sovereignty to this organisation that was rapidly building a state while waiting for annexation.

Since to be a sovereign state body the CNI missed its armed forces, Peteani claims that the CNI was a *de facto government* that relying for its defence depended upon foreign supply of military power provided by the allied occupying force. The problem was that the Allies did not recognise the legitimacy of the CNI, but on the other hand, the strongest contingent was the Italian who *de facto* recognised the CNI. By 1919 the City (with Sušak) harbours some 20,000 Italian soldiers. Street names were changed although the military command theoretically inter allied was in reality in Italian hands. The position of the English and French soldiers who could have stopped these actions was becoming “unenviable”, being outnumbered by twenty to one.⁹⁹⁶ The allied troops were also very busy since problems were everywhere: on the border with Ljubljana, a gang of robbers under the name of the *Green Depot Of The Black Hand* (Crna ruka zelenog kadra) was striking terror in Sušak, the British and their policeman were largely instrumental in breaking it up.⁹⁹⁷

Where was the source of political sovereignty in Fiume after the 30th of October 1918 and who could have granted its legitimacy? Sovereignty resided within the CNI, who was the body that lead from the first organisation of power in Fiume to its international recognition as a sovereign state, the ultimate and definitive source of legitimacy, automatically sanctioned by the international status of the state entity that emerged from Rapallo.

Peteani rightly notices that the state making process that resulted first with the proclamation of the State of Slovenes, Serbs and Croats that merged with Serbia to form the Kingdom of SCS in December 1918 is absolutely comparable to the formation of the Free State of Fiume.⁹⁹⁸

The Legislative Activity of the CNI

On the 7th December 1918 the CNI officially constituted Fiume as an independent state.⁹⁹⁹ The CNI by that moment numbered no less than 275 members and, apart from the municipal affairs, it overtook the administration and all the competencies that, up to the 29th October, pertained to the Hungarian governor, and its authority rose to become a legislative body. Composed exclusively by

⁹⁹⁵ Depoli, Attilio. 1958. “XXX Ottobre 1918”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma n 3-4, pp. 99-219., Ledeen, Michael A. 1977. *The First Duce. D'Annunzio at Fiume*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press., Peteani, Luigi. 1940. *La posizione internazionale di Fiume dall'armistizio all'annessione e il suo assetto costituzionale durante questo periodo*, Firenze : Casa editrice del dott. Carlo Cya, Pubblicazioni della R. Università degli Studi di Firenze. Facoltà di giurisprudenza ; 17.

⁹⁹⁶ Macdonald, J.N. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D'Annunzio*, London John Murray, 1921, p.38.

⁹⁹⁷ These were the remnants of the irregular and deserter units that infested Croatia in the last months of 1918.

⁹⁹⁸ This status of the State of Fiume was suspended with the Treaty of Rome in 1924, but it cannot be considered legal because one of the parts (the government of Fiume of Zanella, then still in Yugoslav exile) did not sign. Peteani did not write it in 1940, although he knew it. (Peteani pers. Comm.)

⁹⁹⁹ Il giorno 7 dicembre il Consiglio Nazionale, si costituiva in ente politico indipendente con pieni poteri statali entro il limite del suo territorio determinato dalle leggi civiche, ed assumeva, per volontà del popolo il governo della città, del porto, e del distretto di Fiume, fino alla sanzione del plebiscito che aveva proclamato la nostra unione all'Italia. Tale deliberazione fu comunicata ai governi dell'Intesa. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 176.

annexationists its powers were granted by the Italian general San Marzano, who overtook the offices of the Hungarian governor. Supporters of the CNI were introduced into almost all the municipal and communal offices many of them came from the *Giovine Fiume* association later renamed into *Giovine Italia*.

With the law 409 from the 22nd January 1919, the whole judiciary administration was reformed and Fiume now had its own Supreme Court replacing the Supreme Court in Budapest. The law was retroactive, therefore all the decisions of the Supreme Court of appeal in Budapest pronounced after the 30th of October 1918, were declared null and void. The sentences of the new court had to be proclaimed “In the name of the National Council of Fiume”.

On the same day, with the law 410, the CNI, appointed a new commission for the re-examination and selection of the judiciary personnel in Fiume – including lawyers and judges. With the new law the admission criteria were extraordinarily expanded: the candidates for judge or lawyer were all the graduated in law since at least one year (not specified where, therefore also in Italy), all those that have an legal office within an existing private lawyer officer a tribunal fore or the State court in Fiume. Nevertheless, the examination material was regulated to the Hungarian code (ordinances of the Hungarian Ministry of Justice form the 25th July 1878 n. 19025 and n. 5296/1875).¹⁰⁰⁰ The goal was to assure that the highest number of political suitable candidates (selected by a commission of 5 members whose selection criteria were not specified) had to be acquainted with the local legal practice that was still in most of the applications the Hungarian one.

On January the 22nd 1919, the CNI issued a decree (n. 407) that stated that the CNI was from that time assuming all the state powers in Fiume, by declaring that the City, the Port and the District of Fiume were an independent state by virtue of self determination granted “by special laws and conventions” today “solemnly proclaimed by universal democracy”.¹⁰⁰¹ The CNI constituted on October the 29th proclaimed the annexation of the City to Italy, so the proclamation of the Free State was a “purely instrumental move aimed to assure the regular functioning of the public administration”.

According to the art. 1 on the norms of the CNI, the CNI had deliberative powers in all the affairs that related to “supreme state affairs”, and in this art. 2 it inherited all the powers of the Hungarian government towards the municipal administration. The executive branch of the CNI (composed by 21 delegates) inherited all the attributions and the property of the previous companies and firms previously dependent upon the Hungarian government.¹⁰⁰²

The directive committee was composed by 10 “delegates” (ministries):

1. Finances
2. Commerce and industry
3. Navigation
4. Railroads
5. Post and telegraph service
6. Justice
7. Public education
8. Internal affairs
9. Beneficence, social policy
10. General supplies

¹⁰⁰⁰ D. Barone e G.P. Gaetano, *Legislazione di Fiume*, Libreria del Provveditorato Generale dello Stato, Roma, 1926, vol. 1 pp. 44-47.

¹⁰⁰¹ D. Barone e G.P. Gaetano, *Legislazione di Fiume*, Libreria del Provveditorato Generale dello Stato, Roma, 1926, vol. 1 p. 37.

¹⁰⁰² D. Barone e G.P. Gaetano, *Legislazione di Fiume*, Libreria del Provveditorato Generale dello Stato, Roma, 1926, vol. 1 p. 37.

With the law 2064 from the 27th of March 1919, the CNI, deliberated to substitute all the locutions “Hungarian State” with “City of Fiume”, “Hungarian government” with CNI, and “Hungarian Ministry of Justice” with “Delegate of the CNI for the administration of justice”. The locution “Monarchy” (meaning austro Hungarian monarchy) lost any signification.

The locutions of the King and the Royal Family were now automatically referred to the Italian king, and not the Hungarian. Moreover, the § 127 of the Hungarian criminal code was now changed and any change by violent means of the political constitution of Fiume, and the interruption of its link with Italy was now considered as “an act against the State”. Moreover, any attempt to incorporate its territory (or the territory of the Kingdom of Italy) to another state by means of violence. For parliament the CNI or the Italian parliament were intended.¹⁰⁰³

On the same day the 27th of March 1919, with the law n. 2066 the CNI, deliberated to substitute all the Hungarian state ensigns in Fiume, with Italian ones: *il vessillo nazionale italiano è il vessillo ufficiale dello Stato*”. Sanctions by breaking the law were fixed to up to 6 months of reclusion and a fine of 1000 crowns.¹⁰⁰⁴

On the same day the 27th of March 1919, with the law n. 2140 the CNI, “authorised the rectification” foreign family names of Italian origin and to change foreign family names in Italian.¹⁰⁰⁵

But this was not all: still on the 27th of March 1919, with the law n. 2164 the CNI, deliberated to restrict the access to the professions of notary and lawyer only to persons who had the Fiuman pertinence, or have graduated in an Italian university, and have passed the exams by the Fiuman Court of Appeal. The request had to be formulated within 8 days, other ways the candidate was refused. So for all those who had been expelled from the City, where basically prevented in exercising their profession.¹⁰⁰⁶ Moreover, with the law n. 2166 the CNI, deliberated to change the norms on citizenship. The criteria of citizenship in Fiume were now defined by the pertinence to the *corpus separatum* of Fiume, that replaced Hungarian citizenship.¹⁰⁰⁷ With the law n. 2167 the death penalty was abolished, and with the law n. 2168 the Hungarian criminal code and the code of criminal procedure were abolished and substituted by the Italian one: the Italian criminal code, the Italian code of criminal procedure, the Italian law of public safety, and all the other relevant laws relative to the previous three. The law become operative on July the 1st 1919.¹⁰⁰⁸

The laws and decrees enacted on the 27th of March 1919, radically reshaped the administration of the city and the accession to public functions and professions. The city effectively broke up all the connections with Hungary, prevented any external influence, and was *de facto* administratively annexed to Italy, as confirmed also by foreign observers.¹⁰⁰⁹ Fiume was the first of the *terre redente*

¹⁰⁰³ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 48-49. The act bears the signature of Icilio Bacich, as Delegate of Justice.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 51.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 52-53. The act has the signature of Antonio Vio jun., as Delegate of interior. It was explicitly forbidden to adopt patrician surnames, or names of “famous or illustrious persons”. Later the practice was widely used in the Venezia Giulia during the fascist regime.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 54-55. The act bears the signature of Icilio Bacich, as Delegate of Justice. Still to *pertinenti and cittadini italiani* was granted and recognised the graduation in an au university up to october the 30th, 1918.

¹⁰⁰⁷ According to the law n. 2166: “È statuita l’obbligatorietà della pertinenza al comune di Fiume in luogo e vece della cittadinanza ungarica. Al requisito della cittadinanza ungarica, di cui nel precedente articolo, s’intenderà sostituito in tutti i quei casi in cui le disposizioni e norme della legislazione ungarica attualmente vigenti la impongono o comunque la richiedono, il requisito della pertinenza al comune di Fiume. S’intenderà del pari sostituita alla locuzione “cittadino ungarico” o ad altro equipollente, la locuzione “pertinente al comune di Fiume” In Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 58. In fact the pertinenza had already a similar significance since it distinguished the Fiumani as Hungarians from the Croats and the Austrian citizens.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 59-60.

¹⁰⁰⁹ According to the report of Capt. Bard On the 10th and 12th inst. The Consiglio Nazionale published in the local paper their official bulletin promulgating various new laws passed by them, modifying the present penal code in Fiume, and stating that the Italian code would come into force on the 1st of July. The following arte extracts from these:

to introduce whole Italian codes, dispositions on citizenship, changes of family names etc. all the norms later used by its authorities in extending the Italian codes and norms only after 1922, were de facto introduced in Fiume on the 27th of March 1919. All the acts bear the signature of Icilio Baccich, who was presumably their author.

“Fiumanisation” of the economy

During First World War Fiume experienced again a rise in the traffic,¹⁰¹⁰ although only on short routes with smaller ships¹⁰¹¹. It was further away from the frontline¹⁰¹², and it became the main entrepot for Austrian supplies towards the Balkans¹⁰¹³. As an important logistic base, a great deal of supplies passed through the City, enabling speculations.¹⁰¹⁴ These supplies will prove a crucial resource after the end of the war and isolation period. Surely, by the end of the war, the main industrial activities of the town had completely ceased. The major industrial plants in Fiume entirely turned for the Austro-Hungarian war economy: the biggest one the Danubius-Ganz yards specialised in warships from small vessels to Dreadnought battleships, the Whitehead torpedo works transferred the main production plants in Wiener Neustadt in Inner Austria. The port was

No 2064. Art. 2. in all cases in which the Hungarian legislation mentions the King and the Royal Family, it will be understood to refer to the King of Italy, the Italian Royal Family, and the House of Savoy. Art. 2 in para. 127 of chapter 2 of the Hungarian penal code the following modifications will take place: “to change by violence the constitution of Fiume or the Kingdom of Italy or the political union existing between the town of Fiume and the Kingdom of Italy.” Art 7. this law will come into force from the day of publication. The directing committee of the Consiglio Nazionale of Fiume will be responsible for its execution.

No 2168. Art. 2. the following will be introduced within the jurisdictional territory of Fiume and will have full force. the Italian penal code

the code of penal procedure in force in Italy

the laws with regard to public safety in force in Italy

No 2168. Art. 6. this law will come into force on the 1st July 1919. Both these documents were signed on the 27th of March 1919 and indicate that the Consiglio Nazionale considers the town as good as annexed to Italy. (Public Records – FO 608 Peace Conference), Protocol 19 May 1919, Alternations of the penal code of Fiume by the Consiglio Nazionale.

¹⁰¹⁰ Die strategische Lage Triests war sehr ungünstig. Die Stadt lag vollkommen ungeschützt allen feindlichen Angriffen ausgesetzt. Auch die Triester Schifffahrt, die der offenen Westküste Istriens entlang ihren Weg nehmen mußte, war stark gefährdet. — Dagegen lagen Fiume und die von dort ausgehenden Schifffahrtsstraßen zur kroatischen und dalmatinischen Küste im Schutz der Inseln. In Berger, K. *Der Hafen von Fiume*. Köln. 1936. Also La posizione geografica di Fiume, meglio protetta in fondo del Carnaro, consentiva una sufficiente regolarità di contatti colla Dalmazia sotto la difesa dell'arcipelago. Così tutto il rifornimento sia civile che militare della Dalmazia si svolse attraverso Fiume mentre Trieste diveniva del tutto inattiva. In considered the cabotage, than after an initial drop the overall traffic from Fiume reaches a peak in 1916-1917 even compared with pre-war years. In Depoli Guido, La politica economica di Fiume durante l'indipendenza statale (1918-1924), *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno IV, I Semestre 1926, pp.46-47.

¹⁰¹¹ Die- Anzahl der Schiffe verringerte siofe weniger stark als die des eingelaufenen Schiffsraumes : die großräumigen Dampfer fielen aus, denn durch die Blockierung der Straße von Otranto war die Hochseeschifffahrt vollkommen unterbunden. Nur der mit kleinen Fahrzeugen betriebene Küstendienst nach Istrien und dem Küstenland von Kroatien und Dalmatien- konnte weiterhin betrieben werden. In Berger, K. *Der Hafen von Fiume*. Köln. 1936.

¹⁰¹² Es wurde nur einmal (Juni 1915) von einem feindlichen Luftschiff bombardiert. In Berger, K. *Der Hafen von Fiume*. Köln. 1936.

¹⁰¹³ Die Steigerung der Einfuhr in den Jahren 1915/17 erklärt sich aus der Umlagerung von Triest nach Fiume; besonders die Zufuhr von Kriegsmaterial wurde über den weniger gefährdeten Hafen von Fiume geleitet. In Berger, K. *Der Hafen von Fiume*. Köln. 1936.

¹⁰¹⁴ Karpowicz reports of a letter (now in her private possession) of Zanella to the Italian socialist Ezio Riboldi, former major of Monza, where Zanella after the stipulation of the Rapallo Treaty accuses Ossoinack. There is an interesting insight on how speculations proceeded: When war broke and during its whole duration all the city telephones and telegraphs were subject to the military occupation authorities. There was only one group in the city in charge with the supply of the inhabitants with food supply for the city that had access to the only telephone connected to the outside world. In this way they could connect aces to the international market, assuring huge profits. The same group was then the founding group of the CNI, and Ossoinack was among them.

still.¹⁰¹⁵ The biggest share of traffic came from military transports (Fiume was the supply base for the French army of the Orient).

After the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to avoid speculations, (or better: to exercise sovereignty and gain some control on finances by the new state entities in formation) in the territories of Austria, the Czechoslovakia and the nascent state of the SCS, proceeded with the stamping of the Austrian-Hungarian notes. It was planned that the “SCS Crowns” be introduced in Fiume also in November 1918, but this was not possible given the chaotic situation in the last months of 1918, or better by the expulsion of the Yugoslav National Council in November 1918.

On April the 8th reacting to the Hungarian revolution and the menaced confiscation of private property the CNI issued a retaliation act to protect the Fiuman property in Hungary. The day after the stamping of Austro-Hungarian banknotes with the seal Città di Fiume was initiated with which the City received its currency the so called “Corone Città di Fiume”, which with decree 15th April 1919 become the only legal tender in the City.¹⁰¹⁶ This was only a formal statement since in the City, from the first months of 1919 circulated Italian lire, old Austro-Hungarian crowns, and the “SCS Crowns”. The Italian lire were exchanged at different rates from the old crowns the “Città di Fiume Crowns”, while the “SCS Crowns” being most penalised.¹⁰¹⁷

As the national emission institute the Austrian-Hungarian National Bank was replaced by the Banca d'Italia, that in Fiume had its only branch sited outside the Italian national territory.¹⁰¹⁸ In this way it become possible to engineer a massive overtake of “foreign” enterprises in Fiume meaning these funded by Hungarian or Croatian capital assets. In this way the face of Fiuman economy changed almost overnight.¹⁰¹⁹

¹⁰¹⁵ Il crollo della monarchia austro-ungarica dopo Vittorio Veneto produce nel porto di fiume uno stato di collasso, da cui esso solo lentamente riesce a riaversi. In Depoli Guido, La politica economica di Fiume durante l'indipendenza statale (1918-1924), *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno IV, I Semestre 1926, p.48.

¹⁰¹⁶ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 62-63. the owners had time from the 10th to the 14th to stamp the notes in only four offices for the whole city!

¹⁰¹⁷ The best reports were produced by the German Consul in Fiume, Hoffman, and were later used by ... in his *die Hafen von Fiume*. After the expulsion of Zanella, Hoffman produced a comprehensive report on Fiume where he noted: “Als Wahrung is seit 1. 5. 20 durch Dekret vom 21. 4. 20. die italienische eingeführt. Es werden jetzt an der Börse notiert: „lire ital. Cheque „ (d.h. Buchforderungen in alten Kronen, die anders noch übertragen werden können ca. Lit. 16.50 für 100 Kronen. Città Fiume (d. h. Noten der österr.-ung. Bank mit dem Stempel von Fiume ca. Lit 26 für 100 Kronen. „Cheque Agram“ 7 . – für 100 jugoslawischen Kronen die Übrigen Notierungen bedürfen keiner Erläuterung. Es besteht noch ein Moratorium, vor dessen Abbau niemand einen klaren Überblick über seine Verhältnisse gewinnen kann; auch fehlt es an den ebenso wichtigen Bestimmungen über die Umrechnung der früheren Verbindlichkeiten in die neue Wahrung, deshalb erfolgen auch Bilanzveröffentlichungen noch in Kronen; hierfür Ordnung zu scharfen, war bisher jedem Gewalthaber als erste Aufgabe gestellt. Einen kleinen Fortschritt hatte die Regierung Zanella damit zu verzeichnen, dass die Anmeldung der Noten Città di Fiume abgeschlossen wurde und eine vorläufige Anzahlung von Lit 10 für 100 K erfolgte“. From the (PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE – LONDON - The National Archives, Kew, GFM 33/3769 - (Materials confiscated in Berlin 1945 ...microfilm), Political Department II: Fiume: Political situation- 1920 Mar-1924 Feb. Deutsches Konsulat Fiume. Kont. Nr. 14 Tgb.nr. 209. Fiume unter der Regierung von Riccardo Zanella, 21 März 1922).

¹⁰¹⁸ Hoffman: Die Funktionen der Filiale der Oesterr.-ungarischen Bank gingen an eine im Dezember 1921 eröffnete Filiale der *Banca d'Italia*, der einzigen Filiale dieses Noteninstitutes auf nicht italienischen Gebiet, über. Moreover also important private banks hurried in: Verschiedene italienische Großbanken haben Filialen errichtet, so der *Banco di Roma*, die *Banca Italiana di Sconto*, deren riesigen Gläubigern eine Vorzugsbehandlung eingeräumt werden soll; PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE – LONDON - The National Archives, Kew, GFM 33/3769 -

¹⁰¹⁹ Hoffman in the same report: „Von den 3822 Industriebetrieben des alten Ungarn, die 407302 Arbeiter beschäftigten, befanden sich 39 betriebe und 5288 Arbeiter in Fiume. Der größte betrieb waren die *Danubius* - werke, die auf prächtigen steinernen Hellingen die mächtigsten schiffe bauten. Jetzt ist davon nicht die Rede, und man behilft sich unter der Firma *Cantieri Navali del Quarnaro*, dem Konzern Orlando - Terni angegliedert, in der Hauptsache mit der Ausbesserung von Eisenbahnmaterial aus der italienischen Kriegsbeute. Immerhin werden einige Hundert Arbeiter beschäftigt. Die Besitzverhältnisse der Torpedofabrik Whitehead & co, deren Schwerpunkt sich während des Krieges in Sct. Pölten befand, sind nicht verändert. Die *Oleifici Fiumani* S.A. (Direktor Krausz), eine Fabrik vegetabilischer Öle, sind in den Besitz der *Oleifici Triestini* übernommen (die ihrerseits einer italienischen Gruppe angehören). Sie hatten nur selten Arbeitsmaterial und lagen seit langem still, ebenso wie die bedien chemischen Fabriken *Stabilimento Prodotti Chimici* und *Union Fabbrica Prodotti Chimici*, dagegen konnte die *Fabbrica Prodotti Tannici* (Von Essen, Ciotta) die

The social shift of these changes was probably nowhere so dramatic as in Fiume, since Fiume compared to Trieste, Vienna or Budapest had the greatest share of its enterprises in foreign hands. The result was a massive transfer of financial assets and control of enterprises called “Fiumanizzazione” of the economy associated with an industrial crisis that was nowhere so hard as in Fiume. The result was that the majority of enterprises simply disappeared or were greatly reduced while a few new ones become prominent. Even more dramatic was the shift from the social point of view. The vast majority of the 6000 or so Hungarians who *de facto* were the upper administrative layer on the city left Fiume from 1919 to early 1920s. the same happened with many thousand of Croats or Serbs. Moreover all the credit and financial assets booked in Fiume before the 19th October 1918 were blocked with the so called *Moratorium*, that was regularly extended up to the final annexation of Fiume to Italy. In this way all the “foreign assets” (That is Hungarian, Austrian or Croatian) could not have been liquidated by the State.

Through the whole existence of the Free State, the biggest economic problem was posed by currency conversion after the end of Empire. Although the official currency were the “Città di Fiume Crowns” and later the Italian lire, the industrial workers in Fiume were paid in “SCS Crowns”, whose real market value was 10% less then “Città di Fiume Crowns”. Progressively, as the “SCS Crowns” continued to fall, and the fact caused widespread amusement among the working classes that received the wage only in this currency. An additional problem was the easiness by which the “SCS Crowns” were falsified. Huge amounts of old not stamped notes of the Austrian-Hungarian National Bank could still be Fiume in Vienna and Budapest by brining theme to Fiume it was easy to falsify the oldest stamps such as the first CNI and the SCS.¹⁰²⁰ The CNI during the occupation of D’Annunzio promised repeatedly to start the conversion of the “SCS Crowns” over the “Città di Fiume Crowns” but that didn’t happen up to annexation to Italy in 1924.

Tellingly, only after Zanella’s expulsion from Fiume, the Italian government conceded the grant that enabled the conversion from all the circulating crowns to Italian lire. The situation will be finally stabilised when all the currency circulating in Fiume will be exchanged at 40 lire per 100 “Città di Fiume Crowns” after the Italian annexation, instead of the rate of 60 lire per 100 Crowns adopted for the Venezia Giulia after annexation in 1921.¹⁰²¹ The fact caused widespread discontent in Fiume but, seen the huge amount of falsified currency that circulated in the city, it looks rather as another subsidy granted by the Italian government to the ravaged Fiuman economy.¹⁰²² In 1924

ursprünglich Quebracho – Extract herstellen wollte, sich mit der Fabrikation von Kastanienholzextrakt sehr gut beschäftigen. Die grosse *Reismühle & Stärke Fabrik*, unverändert in ungarischen Besitz, feiert; auch die bedeutende *Raffineria di Oli minerali*, eine der ersten Petroleum – Raffinerien der alten Monarchie, fristet, nur einen unbedeutenden Teilbetrieb.“ PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE – LONDON - The National Archives, Kew, GFM 33/3769 -

¹⁰²⁰ Wie in allen Nachfolgestaaten, so wurden auch in Fiume die ehemaligen Österreichisch-Ungarischen Banknoten gestempelt. Das geschah, um den Umfang des Notenumlaufes in jedem einzelnen Staat festzustellen und um eine Einfuhr von Noten aus dem Ausland zu unterbinden. In Fiume begann die Stempelung im April 1919, nachdem der Termin hierfür in den meisten Nachfolgestaaten schon abgelaufen war. Natürlich strömten die anderswo nicht gezeichneten Noten nach Fiume. Die leichte Nachahmbarkeit der Fiumer Stempel tat ein übriges, um die Stadt mit Noten zu überschwemmen und die Unübersichtlichkeit im Geldwesen ins Maßlose zu steigern. Deswegen mußte man im Oktober 1919 eine zweite Stempelung vornehmen. Trotzdem war die Fiumer Krone derart entwertet worden, daß vom April 1920 ab die italienische Lira als Rechnungseinheit eingeführt wurde. Da auch Zahlungen mehr und mehr in Lire getätigt werden mußten, die meisten Einwohner aber nicht damit versehen waren, beschafften diese sich die nötigen Zahlungsmittel durch Darlehen bei den Zweigstellen italienischer Banken in Fiume. Dabei stieg der Zinsfuß in erschreckender Weise. In Berger, K. *Der Hafen von Fiume*. Köln. 1936.

¹⁰²¹ Initially for the Venezia Giulia, a rate of 40% was adopted (Gazzetta Ufficiale 31.03 1919), all the circulating crowns had to be exchanged from the 10th to the 19th April 1919. With the final decree from 21.11. 1919 the rate was fixed at 60% with the difference to be paid from the 25th 02. 1920. in APOLLONIO A., *Dagli Asburgo a Mussolini: Venezia Giulia 1918-1922, Gorizia*, LEG, 2001, Note 14, p. 149.

¹⁰²² Dieser Zustand dauerte bis zur endgültigen Konversion an, die erst Anfang 1924 vorgenommen wurde. Dabei wurde als Grundlage das Verhältnis von 1 Fiumer Krone = 0,40 Lira angenommen, während in der übrigen Venezia Giulia das Wertverhältnis von 1 Krone = 0,60 Lira unterstellt worden war. Fiume fühlte sich dadurch Ungerechtfertigterweise benachteiligt; doch dürfte der Grund wohl in der erwähnten Überschwemmung der Stadt mit Österreichisch-Ungarischen Kronen zu suchen sein. In Berger, K. *Der Hafen von Fiume*. Köln. 1936.

with the annexation the overall debt of the Free State (overtaken by Italy) will reach an amazing 1 billion lire.¹⁰²³

The toll problem was considered even more complex. Sušak, still occupied by Italian troops up to 1923, was sited outside the Yugoslav and the Italian toll regime. Fiume with Porto Baross, being a Free State, had a separate toll regime.

The Italian legation (consulate) in Fiume is full of reports on the economic situation of Fiume. Karpowicz observes that the complexity of affairs they treated is far greater than those normal for a consular representation resembling more one of the civil commissariats not dissimilar from those established in the recently annexed Venezia Giulia. Grazioli reports that the budget of the commune was 5 million crowns but since the CNI had "spent 15 million, the deficit had to be solved through the selling of goods present in the warehouses in the city that was now at disposal of the CNI".

After the break-up of the Monarchy and after the retirement of the Hungarian authorities from Fiume the CNI as a provisory government the CNI was not expecting to have problems of toll exaction, since they expected a smooth and fast annexation to Italy thereof the traffics would have lost an international character becoming Italian. Since the annexation did not happen, Grazioli was convinced by Ossoinack that a Freeport status would have benefited all the lands, exposes Ossoinack's article "Perché Fiume deve essere un porto franco". Nevertheless, Grazioli did not fail to mention that there was a group of anessionisti puri, whom he felt closer. The group obstructs the idea of Ossoinack and the Freeport since it would have made annexation difficult. Moreover, according to the "young Fiumani", (who happen to be the annexationists, the reference is clear to the Giovine Fiume) this would appear as merchandising with Italy thought Grazioli.

After the collapse on 1918 the CNI already by the 21st December 1918 instituted the porto-franco. Depoli claims that this act was more about sentiments and nostalgia for the old porto-franco suppressed in 1891.¹⁰²⁴ although motivated also by the situation after the collapse.¹⁰²⁵

¹⁰²³ Unter diesen Umständen konnte auch der öffentliche Haushalt nicht geordnet sein. Der Freistaat wies denn auch einen jährlichen Fehlbetrag von etwa 23 Milli. Lit. auf. — Aber die Gesamtverschuldung war unvergleichlich größer. Sie betrug im Januar 1924 über 1 Milliarde Lit., die Italien mit dem Freistaat übernehmen mußte. Diese Summe setzte sich aus folgenden Beträgen zusammen: 40 Mill. GKr. Vorkriegsschuld Ungarns, die auf dem Corpus separatum lastete; 140 Mill. GKr. verlangte Ungarn für die Abtretung der staatlichen Güter; auf über 100 Mill. Lit. belief sich der Gesamtfehlbetrag der Nachkriegsjahre und 150 Mill. Lit. hatte die Banca d'Italia schon vor der Einverleibung der Stadt für den Geldumtausch und für Kredite zur Verfügung gestellt. Der Freistaat hatte weder die Möglichkeit noch die Mittel, den bisherigen Lebensnerv der Stadt, den Warenstrom, neu zu wecken. Dafür hätten in erster Linie die Verkehrsmittel wieder instand gesetzt werden müssen. Aber Südslawien weigerte sich, die Bahn nach Fiume, die seit Dezember 1920 still lag, wieder in Gang zu bringen, solange Italien nicht dafür sorgte, daß die geheimen Abmachungen des Vertrages von Rapallo erfüllt wurden. So war Fiume also auf die Bahnlinie von St. Peter allein angewiesen. Doch zog der Warenverkehr, der die Wahl zwischen Fiume und Triest hatte, in jenen unruhigen Jahren selbstverständlich letzteres vor. Trotzdem hätten die italienischen Staatsbahnen die Verwaltung der Fiumer Bahn übernommen; sie trugen auch den sehr beträchtlichen Verlust, der sich z. B. für das Jahr 1932 auf Lit. 5080000 belief. Aber auch die Hafenverwaltung war schon in italienische Hände übergegangen und auch deren Fehlbetrag war beträchtlich: ebenfalls im Jahre 1922 Lit. 1216000. — Am meisten unterstützte Italien jedoch die Schifffahrt. Der Freistaat war ja gar nicht in der Lage, die kostspielige Einrichtung einer Linien-Schifffahrt zu subventionieren. Und so richtete Italien Linien ein, die zum Teil von Fiume selbst ausgingen oder wenigstens diesen Hafen anliefen. Alle diese Linien wurden vom italienischen Staat mit jährlich 43,3 Mill. Lit. subventioniert. Aus den angegebenen Unterstützungen, die sich allein für die Verkehrsmittel auf fast 50 Mill. Lit. jährlich beliefen, muß man schließen, daß die Forderung Fiumes, Italien müsse die Stadt als zum Reich gehörig betrachten, erfüllt worden ist. In Berger, K. *Der Hafen von Fiume*. Köln. 1936.

¹⁰²⁴ The reference is Ossoinack: il ricordo delle rosee e patriarcali condizioni di quel periodo vivo ancora nei cittadini più vecchi, assieme al desiderio di rivendicare, col diritto di sovranità e di autodeterminazione riacquistati, quello che si considerava un diritto conculcato dal dominatore straniero, furono le determinanti psicologiche, prevalse sulle oggettive considerazioni economiche. In Depoli Guido, La politica economica di Fiume durante l'indipendenza statale (1918-1924), *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno IV, I Semestre 1926, pp.41-42.

¹⁰²⁵ Infatti esso fu determinato da un rapporto che la dogana dirigeva al Consiglio Nazionale, esponendo di non esser più in grado di applicare le leggi fiscali per esserle venuto a mancare l'appoggio della guardia di finanza, andata dispersa in conseguenza degli avvenimenti. (...) "Il 19 dicembre il Comitato Direttivo del Consiglio Nazionale ha deciso fino a revoca, la riscossione dei dazii doganali tanto per le merci doganali quanto per quelle di qualsiasi altra provenienza." Depoli Guido, La politica economica di Fiume durante l'indipendenza statale (1918-1924), *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno IV, I Semestre 1926, pp. 41-42.

In Fiume the greatest proponent of the porto-franco as we have seen was Ossoinack. Indirectly Depoli admits his influence throughout the period. In his paper of the economy of the Free State,¹⁰²⁶ Depoli, claims that the tax free regime ruined the fiuman economy depriving it of its vital resources moreover, in contradiction with its age of revived protectionism.¹⁰²⁷

Grazioli admitted that he tried discreetly to put in favour of the annexation thesis against the proposed free trade zone. But on the other hand the difficulties of the city were certainly not working in factor of the political thesis in the town the desperate economic situation could have and indeed did produce frustration.¹⁰²⁸ In another dispatch sent by Grazioli on the 12th June 1919, he reports that he situation had worsened: Zanella went to Rome to seek support asking support to overthrow the CNI and to collect funds for the paper he wanted to publish. Grazioli remarks that with he was not able to stop him with “refined or delicate” measures but that he will have to resort to other means. Thereby he thinks that the support Zanella enjoys in the city is not for his program but reflects much more the intolerance of the population for the economic crisis.

Also D’Annunzio attempted to solve the desperate economic situation indicting on the 11th October 1919, also a “Conference of experts on the solution of the economy of Fiume”. The French journalist Achille Richard was entrusted to send it to the Paris Peace Conference, and therefore later the project was known as project Richard.¹⁰²⁹ From the project Fiume had to be annexed to Italy but a regime of Porto Franco was to be extended to its whole territory the port infrastructures. The same solution is in fact reported also in the Carta del Carnaro, and therefore we might is consider as the definitive economic solution of D’Annunzio for Fiume.¹⁰³⁰ So the project recognised the “plebiscite” by which Fiume was annexed to Italy, but on the other hand, the importance of the port for the hinterland that is Croatia, Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania, “la città porto, cantieri navali, stazioni e territori di Fiume vengono sottomessi al regime di porto-franco.”¹⁰³¹

The economic situation made life intolerable also because of widespread criminal activity that reputedly involved Italian troops later Dannunzian legionaries and the members of the CNI. After the collapse of the empire a rise in crime rate was noticed in the first days of November 1918, although the real change started with the arrival of the Italian occupation troops and especially during D’Annunzio’s Regency.¹⁰³²

The conflict was therefore between “pure annexationists” (like the Depoli brothers) and the “nostalgic adherers of the portofranco” (lead by Ossoinack). Ossoinack moves to the porto-franco solution for Fiume, in this way igniting a polemic with the triestine circles who immediately

¹⁰²⁶ Depoli Guido, “La politica economica di Fiume durante l’indipendenza statale (1918-1924)”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno IV, I Semestre 1926, pp.46-47.

¹⁰²⁷ Così mentre gli stati vincitori e vinti inasprivano le tariffe ed erigevano le barriere dei divieti incettanti gli scambi internazionali, colla tendenza a creare tante economie chiuse e bastanti a se stesse, Fiume credette di poter seguire una via diversa, inaugurando il liberismo colla soppressione dei dazi doganali, ma l’esperienza è stata tutt’altro che buona. Depoli Guido, La politica economica di Fiume durante l’indipendenza statale (1918-1924), *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno IV, I Semestre 1926, p.41

¹⁰²⁸ Archivio MAE, Affari Politici, Fiume 1919, busta 1045.

¹⁰²⁹ In Benedetti, *La Pace di Fiume*, Bologna 1924., p. 51. The document is published on pp. 262-5.

¹⁰³⁰ Carta del Carnaro, in its art. 10: “The harbour, station, railway lines comprised in the territory of Fiume are the inalienable and incontestable property of the State in perpetuity. By a statute of the Free Port, the full and free use of the harbour for commerce, industry, and navigation is guaranteed to foreigners as to natives, in perfect equality of good treatment and immunity from exorbitant harbour dues and from any injury to person or goods.”

¹⁰³¹ Moreover, also the expansion of the territory of Fiume was envisaged, well before the occupation of the islands and the promulgation of the Carta del Carnaro: point 4° - “tutti gli eventuali territori che dovessero venire più tardi incorporati al territorio, porto, stazione di Fiume godranno del pari degli stessi privilegi inerenti al regime di porto franco”.

¹⁰³² Therefore, the thesis of De Felice, later taken also by Ledeen that given the situation the City was calm and stable is untenable. The reports to the Questura in Fiume and the Tribunal show a staggering increase in crime reports and denunciations, the great majority of whom committed by men in army or even carabinieri uniform. Incriminating reports and documents even about Alceste de Ambris. Several report that mention “three wagons of merchandise documents” taken by troops of D’Annunzio allegedly very delicate material as well. A Hungarian newspaper reported that even the jewels of the Hungarian governor disappeared when the Dannunzian arditi had evacuated the city.

claimed porto-franco for Trieste as well. Ossoinack wanted to grant the porto-franco status to both cities, that admittedly Depoli immediately opposed.¹⁰³³ During the Foschini military government, the fiuman economy is colonised by Italy. Most of the enterprises fell into Italian hands, and most of the trade is with Italy. In 1922 in an article to the *Vedetta*, Depoli stated the necessity of a customs union of Fiume with Italy.¹⁰³⁴ The Fiumani who participated at the workings of the *Commissione Paritetica* as experts sent a *memorandum* to the commission claiming the extension of the Fiuman tariff system was proposed to the surroundings of Fiume.¹⁰³⁵

General Giardino proceeded with the nationalisation of the Fiuman industries so that they could export to Italy from Fiume the products by paying the tax only to the used raw materials, putting them perhaps in a better footing than the national ones. But the experiment was too short to be evaluated.¹⁰³⁶ The rails offered the lowering of the 50% of the tariff on the Postumia-Fiume with Giardino. But the desire of enlargement of the economic territory that alimented the “commercial guild”¹⁰³⁷, could not be accorded in the form that was proposed to the commission Paritetica since it implied a cession of sovereignty. At the end with annexation the Italian customs laws was extended on the 29th February 1924.

Independence was ephemeral and it restricted only on the tax matter since the free state was the owner of the rail station but not of the rail lines, and the *campagna portofranchista* (Ossoinack) was centred upon this thesis later proves inaccurate that with the Porto Franco regime the state could have counterbalanced the absence of infrastructures that characterised it.

¹⁰³³ Quando liberatomi dall'esilio a cui il governo ungherese mi aveva costretto durante la guerra, potei accorrere a Fiume e mettermi agli ordini del CN e fui assegnato alla direzione di finanza, uno dei primi incarichi che ebbi fu quello di “liquidare la dogana”. Confesso e non me ne pento, di aver eseguito quell'ordine solo a metà, iniziando e portando in breve a compimento lo stralcio di quanto rimaneva della gestione ungherese. Condividevo con la quasi totalità dei cittadini la fiducia di un'annessione imminente, non mi sentivo di distruggere un organismo che fra poco si sarebbe nuovamente creare, perché era da prevedersi che l'Italia non avrebbe conservato l'istituto del porto franco ignoto alle sue leggi...in Depoli Guido, *La politica economica di Fiume durante l'indipendenza statale (1918-1924)*, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno IV, I Semestre 1926, p. 43.

¹⁰³⁴ Il commercio di Fiume si vede stroncato perché le barriere doganali impediscono la rivendita nelle località vicine, che sempre hanno gravitato verso Fiume... la spiegazione è semplice: il negoziante fiumano ritira quasi tutte le merci, e specialmente i generi alimentari dall'Italia, e siccome non è in grado di acquistare partite grandi e non sempre ricorre al produttore, compera merce già gravata di tutte le gabelle, e quando importa la merce che ha comperato a buon prezzo in Austria, colla scusa dell'affitto della luce e così via vuole rivenderla ai prezzi che vede in uso a Trieste. In Depoli “Ritorno alla realtà”, *Vedetta* del 30 agosto 1922.

¹⁰³⁵ Per tal modo, mentre da una parte l'Italia incorpora la Liburnia le isole di Cherso e Lussino nella zona franca di Fiume, dall'altra parte la Jugoslavia vi incorpora Castua, Susak, Buccari e Veglia. Si viene così a ricostituire quell'unità economica indispensabile non solo per la vita di Fiume, ma anche per quale dei sopramenzionati territori, che vivevano con Fiume una vita comune e che nella loro esistenza erano sono e saranno uno all'altro asserviti.

Lo “Stato cuscinetto” si fondava come giustificazione, esclusivamente su questo principio economico; ma se esso, data la sua absurdità politica, per nostra fortuna non è stato attuato, oggi che in questi territori hanno trovato una sia pure non definitiva sistemazione politica dovrebbero essi essere riuniti in una zona doganale comune appunto per quei principi economici che volevano giustificare e sostenere la creazione dello “Stato cuscinetto” di Fiume; ricostruzione economica che oggi sarebbe possibile senza ledere affatto la sovranità politica dei territori in parola.

Soltanto attraverso una simile soluzione si rende possibile la rinascita della vita economica di questi territori, che ne risentirebbero benefici immediati. In Depoli Guido, “La politica economica di Fiume durante l'indipendenza statale (1918-1924)”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno IV, I Semestre 1926, p.59.

¹⁰³⁶ Depoli admits that the operating costs of the Italian douane were such to anuente the benefits especially for the small ones. In, Depoli Guido, “La politica economica di Fiume durante l'indipendenza statale (1918-1924)”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno IV, I Semestre 1926, p.60.

¹⁰³⁷ Il desiderio di allargamento economico che animava il ceto commerciale, in Depoli Guido, “La politica economica di Fiume durante l'indipendenza statale (1918-1924)”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno IV, I Semestre 1926, p. 60

FIUME AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

The Paris Peace Conference was solemnly inaugurated at Versailles on the 18th January 1919. Delegations from all the 27 victor states were entitled to participate (also Serbia, that *de facto* was now Yugoslavia¹⁰³⁸). Only the ministries of the 4 “Great Powers” that is France, Great Britain, Italy (sometimes excluded) and the “Associate power” the US, were entrusted to draft the final Peace Treaties.

As in the previous chapters, we will try to isolate the interplay between the City, the nations directly interested in its annexation (now Italy and Yugoslavia, before Hungary and Croatia), and the “great powers” who (instead of the Hapsburg sovereign) after the end of First World War, held the position of arbiters. As the first stage saw the competition between the Italian and Yugoslav irredentists, later, it was the autonomist project for the constitution of a Free State of Fiume that enjoyed the greatest support, it seems after the contacts the Allied military missions had in Fiume.

The negotiations for what was since the beginning called “The Adriatic Question” started on February the 1st. The Italian stance was presented with a “Memorandum” on February the 7th.¹⁰³⁹

The argumentation rested principally on the Fourteen points, but it admitted that Italy would have in this way included several citizens who were not of Italian nationality, but “the requests accepted by the Italian delegation represented a compromise centred on the criteria of necessity and equality”.¹⁰⁴⁰ Italy entered war both for the “liberation of its children”, who were “oppressed by the stranger”, and to secure its land and maritime borders. The justification of the alpine border included a significant German minority in the south Tyrol, that was done assuming that the proposed society of nations is going to promote peace only if its members will be guaranteed against aggression as a prelude for a comprehensive disarmament policy, the most beneficial result of the new world settlement.¹⁰⁴¹ Only in this way the “Habitual roads of the barbarians” could be closed for Italy.

The alpine watershed included also the inclusion of whole Istria up to the gulf of Quarnero, combining and mixing the concepts of geographic separation, natural defence, historical tradition, national redemption.¹⁰⁴² All the history of the Venezia Giulia was a continuous struggle for the preservation of the Italian costumes in what appears as a veritable daily plebiscite.¹⁰⁴³ This was confirmed also by the political preponderance of the Italians in the towns and villages: 70% of the municipalities had Italian administrations elected by the broadest suffrage, contrary to the 48% of ethnical Italians, as to recognise the civilisation superiority of the Italians. But apart from Istria and Quarnero up to Fiume, claimed precisely on the ground of national self-determination, that was not enough: Italy suffered from permanent strategic inferiority in the Adriatic: its coast was easily attackable from the Dalmatian side, easily defendable provided with a natural barriers of thousands of isles and islets. Moreover, Dalmatia was claimed for its original *italianità* that was undermined

¹⁰³⁸ Italy refused the recognition of Yugoslavia, (since it considered the South Slav lands of the Habsburg Empire as defeated therefore the delegation was forced to preserve the name of Serbian.

¹⁰³⁹ A short version (sunto agenzia Stefani) of the text, drafted by Barzilai, in Federzoni, Luigi. *Il Trattato di Rapallo*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1921, pp. 205-217.

¹⁰⁴⁰ “Così secondo le loro aspirazioni nazionali, la Polonia con la Galizia, Danzica, Posnanja e la Prussia Orientale andrebbe ad includere oltre il 40 per cento di popolazione straniera,; la Boemia con la Slovacchia e la Slesia austriaca circa il 30 per cento, la Rumania con la Transilvania, la Bessarabia, la Bucovina ed una parte de Banato oltre il 17, la Jugoslavia oltre l’11; la Francia oltre il 4; l’Italia con tutte le terre irredente appena il 3 per cento.” In Federzoni, pp. 205-206.

¹⁰⁴¹ “Tenuta presente la superiore necessità ed utilità di tale confine, perde ogni valore l’inclusione di circa 180.000 abitanti di nazionalità tedesca.” In Federzoni, p. 207.

¹⁰⁴² Si tratta di seguire lo stesso concetto di separazione geografica, di difesa naturale, di tradizione storica, di redenzione nazionale. In Federzoni, p. 208.

¹⁰⁴³ L’esistenza quotidiana del popolo che è veramente come vuole il Renan , “un plebiscito di tutti i giorni, offrono la dell’armonico, congenito consenso della Venezia giurai al moto secolare di idee e di eroismi per la liberazione e l’unità d’Italia, .. In Federzoni, pp. 208-209.

by a “ferocious Slavic denationalisation” during the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁴⁴ In short, Dalmatia was a threat for Italy if in the hands of another state, moreover, Fiume was also a part of the anti-German design of the Adriatic settlement that has to come out of the war.¹⁰⁴⁵ Fiume in Yugoslav hands on the contrary, would become an instrument in German hands, even without the will of the new state too weak to oppose an new concentric German effort at Adriatic penetration.¹⁰⁴⁶ The argument, as we have seen, had already been presented by Armando Hodnig, in his *Fiume italiana e la sua funzione antigermanica* in 1917.¹⁰⁴⁷

Moreover, since the Adriatic ports of Fiume and Trieste, served a politically and ethnically fragmented hinterland, Italy was the best solution to guarantee a fair treatment to all of them. Moreover, the argument that Fiume was necessary for the development of Croatian trade was false since Croatian traffic in Fiume accounted only to 7% of the total - the rest was principally Hungarian. All the Yugoslav lands included Serbia and Bosnia did not score more than 13% the rest went through the Dalmatian ports.¹⁰⁴⁸ Finally when Fiume was granted to the kingdom of Croats by the London Treaty in 1915 nobody forecasted the final fall of the monarchy, and it would have been absurd to deny the possession of an important port to an empire of 50 million citizens, now the situation was completely different. Moreover, even the status of Yugoslavia was deemed as perplexing since the Croats and Slovenes on the western borders fought against Italy (that is against the allies) “as lions”, before joining the Serbian state, that emerged victorious from the war. This was the heart of the Italian argumentation about the peace settlement on its northern and eastern borders. With this claims Italy entered the Paris Peace Conference. The “Question of Fiume” became the greatest issue at the Paris Peace Conference where all the opposing sides ultimately gave up and the Peace Conference almost risked its failure.¹⁰⁴⁹

Towards the middle of April 1919 the news arrived that the Adriatic question was to come up for discussion at the Paris Peace Conference. As the Conference proceeded it became obvious that Wilson strongly opposed Italian claims to Fiume.¹⁰⁵⁰ The Italian delegation had a hard time in Paris: they insisted to keep the Treaty of London (refused by the Americans) in life even claiming Fiume to be added. Moreover, some of the Trieste hinterland of Postumia (Postojna) and Circhina (Cerkno) were also claimed. In short the Italian claims synthesised the goals of the *Risorgimento*, that had to be reframed in the terms of the new principle of national self determination, with the traditional arguments of state security by which the alpine frontier (considered to be the natural

¹⁰⁴⁴ Le cifre delle statistiche austriache parlando, nei riguardi nazionali, della Dalmazia, di duecentocinquanta mila slavi e quindicimila italiani, cercano completare con frode l’opera della più feroce sopraffazione che la storia della politica europea ricordi nell’ultimo secolo. In Federzoni, pp. 211-212.

¹⁰⁴⁵ “Trieste e Fiume – avvertiva nel 1915 uno scrittore francese segnando i termini di una pace futura – sotto apparenze austriache ed ungheresi sono dei porti soprattutto tedeschi, organi meridionali di una linea di dominazione di cui Amburgo e Brema sono i corrispondenti sul mare del Nord”. In Federzoni, p. 213.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Bisogna impedire che (...) Fiume, continui questa sua funzione germanica sotto le apparenze jugoslave, magari contro la volontà e gli intendimenti del nuovo stato slavo impotente ed impreparato ad eliminare le vecchie influenze e a prevenire i nuovi sforzi tedeschi concentrati, specialmente dopo la deviazione da Trieste su l’unico punto di possibile infiltrazione.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Hodnig, Armando 1917. *Fiume italiana e la sua funzione antigermanica* / Armando Hodnig impressum: Roma: Athenaeum.

¹⁰⁴⁸ There was a fallacy in the argument: from the data it emerges that basically Fiume did not need Croatia, but not that Croatia did not need Fiume, as it is demonstrated by the rapid growth of its eastern suburb Sušak developed thanks to the rising Yugoslav traffics from the 1920s.

¹⁰⁴⁹ In presenting their argument at the Paris Peace Conference the confronting sides used arguments from different political traditions and disposed of different possibilities of resource and mass mobilisation. The distinction between the Italianate Fiuman or irredentist civic concept of the nation and the Croatian or Yugoslav ethnic one never before appeared so clearly. Moreover, the debate and the confronting arguments that were presented at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, were also used in a very similar fashion by Italy and Yugoslavia in 1947 at another Paris Peace Conference this time to settle the position of the city of Trieste and of the Venezia Giulia after ww2, only this time it was Trieste that took the place of Fiume.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Wilson made clear his position against the Italian Adriatic claims already with the Memorandum from the 7th of February 1919. see Walworth, Arthur, *Woodrow Wilson*, Norton, New York, 1978.

border of Italy) and Dalmatia fundamental in providing security for the State. Fiume, excluded from the Treaty of London, and ousted from the Armistice line of Villa Giusti, condensed all the three lines of argumentation – history, national self-determination and strategic security.

Asked about Italy's eastern borders, Wilson remarked that they had to coincide with the former Austro-Italian border, roughly on the river Isonzo. Asked about Trieste, that in this case should fall within Yugoslav borders, Wilson claimed that although it was a predominantly Italian city, it was on a compact Slovene territory that spreads westwards for 50 km. Wilson then argued that although New York with a population of 800,000 Italians was the biggest Italian city, he hoped that no serious Italian would ever claim its annexation to Italy.¹⁰⁵¹

In his Address from the 23rd April 1919, Wilson claimed that Italy entered war through a “defined but private” agreement. His opposition rested upon the fact that the constellation of circumstances that engendered the London Treaty had changed radically. Wilson, after the results of his *Enquiry*, intentionally omitted the economic principle for defining the Italian new borders focusing solely on the ethnic one. This posed a clear problem for the Italian annexationists: they had to rely only to the ethnic argument to prevent the city from being annexed to Croatia or a new Yugoslav state, as the Treaty of London attributed.

Also Wilson ended up with mixing the arguments: according to Wilson, Fiume had to serve its hinterland situated on the north and the north east, that is Hungary, Bohemia, Romania and the states of the “new Yugoslav group”. So according to Wilson, Fiume had to be annexed to Yugoslavia not according to the principle of national self-determination he purported but because of economic necessity of its neighbours where it belonged.

Wilson granted to Italy the possession of Western Istria, formerly part of the Venetian Republic, “all the beautiful regions that are facing the great peninsula where the historical life of the Latin people has developed since Rome settled on the seven hills”.¹⁰⁵² Italy had also a great chance to surround its borders with friendly countries, by using the “noblest feature of greatness: magnanimity”. Wilson therefore refused all the Italian claims in the eastern Adriatic except western Istria.

Orlando answered the day after, on 24th April. Since Wilson's address appeared on the French press first, Orlando decided to use this novelty to address peoples in international relations, hoping that this address was not done externally or even contrary to the governments that represented them. Orlando noticed that this style was used only for propaganda and addressed were not the allies but the enemies.¹⁰⁵³ Orlando was offended by the act by which the legitimacy of the Italian government was openly questioned by Wilson's address.

In analysing the presidential address, Orlando noticed that the Italian aspirations were deemed offensive of the principles that America was about to employ in settling the new world order. Orlando tacitly refused the abiding powers of at least as America was concerned.¹⁰⁵⁴ Orlando considered the problems as too complex to be free of errors, and the Paris Peace Conference frequently changed its orientations and views in her workings. While appreciating that the Alpine border was recognised, Orlando questioned the exclusion of the Nevošo chain, that closed the Italian eastern borders, already considered part of Italy in Roman times of the *limes italicus*. Moreover, in this way, the natural unity of the Istrian peninsula was violated.

Moreover, precisely the man who introduced the principle of national self-determination as mainstay of world peace settlement, was to be violated in the case of the ancient Italian commune of

¹⁰⁵¹ Franko Potočnjak, *Rapalski ugovor*, Zagreb 1921, p. 28.

¹⁰⁵² In Federzoni, Luigi. *Il Trattato di Rapallo*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1921, p. 219.

¹⁰⁵³ Bensi se questi appelli ai popoli debbono considerarsi come fatti al di fuori, se non contro i governi che li rappresentano, io avrei ragione di grande rammarico, ricordando che mentre questo procedimento era stato sinora applicato ai governi nemici, venga ora applicato per la prima volta ad un governo, che è stato e vuol essere lealmente amico della grande America, cioè al Governo Italiano. In Federzoni, p. 221.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Io non ho mai negato quei principii, e il signor presidente Wilson nella sua lealtà, ha già riconosciuto che nei lunghi colloqui da me avuto con lui, io non mi sono mai appellato all'autorità formale di un trattato, che ben sapevo non lo obbligasse. In Federzoni, Luigi. *Il Trattato di Rapallo*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1921, p. 221.

Fiume, that proclaimed its *italianità* well before the Italian men of war entered its port. As Dalmatia was concerned Orlando compared it to Poland where denationalisation could not “create rights”.¹⁰⁵⁵ The Yugoslav delegation (at the Conference officially still named Serbian) proposed Wilson’s arbitration for the settlement of the Adriatic question, which the Italians refused. The Yugoslav stance was presented with another “Memorandum” on February the 18th, by Trumbić then in a *Exposé* the arguments on Rijeka (Fiume) of the Kingdom of the SCS.¹⁰⁵⁶ The “Memorandum” rested on the “Fourteen points”, claiming self determination of the small nationalities, thereby refusing secret treaties (such as the London treaty). According to the “Memorandum” all the eastern Adriatic coast was compactly Yugoslav from Monfalcone to Punta Spizza on the extreme southern tip of Dalmatia. All the countryside was Yugoslav but 5 villages northwards from Pola. In the majority of the cities, with the exception of Gorizia, Trieste, the coastal Istrian cities, Fiume, Lussino, and Zara, the Slavs had the majority.

The Italian population formed enclaves, included into a compactly Slavic context, that were without any direct connection with the Italian mainland. In a historical reconstruction this Slavic majority had to fight against the Venetian dominion, and later against the Austrian administration that for its reasons of restricted suffrage continued to privilege the Italian city elites. With the introduction of the universal suffrage on 1907 showed clearly that the Yugoslav element was much stronger as previously thought. Therefore, all of Istria, including Trieste, had to enter the new Yugoslav state, Trieste was claimed on ethnic Italian discontinuity and the features of its economic hinterland. Also the so-called “Venetian Slavia” (annexed by Italy already in 1866) had to be annexed due to ethnical reasons.

The “Memorandum” was an unrealistic document, and as such is produced a backlash - after it was read at the Conference the Yugoslavs were by and large excluded from its workings, and the Supreme Council (Council of Four) decided that the debate had to remain under its competence.

The Yugoslavs produced reports, translated in several languages, in order to influence the working of the conference, as well as the public opinion. Trumbić announced that the Yugoslavs “renounced” at the cities of Trieste, Gorizia and Pola. Therefore according to the Yugoslav memorandum sent at the conference the border line had to be fixed on the river Arsia (Rasa), more or less similar to Wilson’s proposal.

Also the Fiumani were present in Paris. Rikard Lenac, former Veliki župan of Fiume was accredited the status of observer to the Paris Peace Conference.¹⁰⁵⁷ Later on, as the conference proceeded, on the 3rd March 1919 Andrea Ossoinack was appointed “Representative of Fiume” at the Paris Peace Conference, being presented as the “last deputy of Fiume at the Hungarian Parliament”.

Ossoinack was the ideal choice to represent Fiume. He was the foremost local entrepreneur with excellent business and political contacts with all the lands with which Fiume was connected and influence including England, Hungary, Germany and Italy. Thus he was the intermediary. Deeply rooted in local political life he financed all the political organisation of Fiume including the autonomists of Maylander and Zanella. Later he even won over Zanella and was favoured from the Hungarians as a bulwark for Zanella populism. Moreover, Ossoinack spoke several languages and, having studied economics in London, was fluent in English. Moreover, he had the knowledge and information of the economy of Fiume and a clear vision for the future.

Ossoinack came to the Conference with a Memorandum from the CNI, a six page document that he probably authored, with views similar to those presented in the parliament in Budapest. The memorandum had been written much earlier, this explains why it resembled the last speech delivered by Andrea Ossoinack at the Hungarian parliament in October the 18th 1918. The

¹⁰⁵⁵ The reference was on forced German settlements in territories that belonged to the Polish state before its annexation to Prussia.

¹⁰⁵⁶ A short version of the text in Duroselle J. B., *Le conflit de Trieste 1943-1954*, Bruxelles Inst. De sociologie, 1966, pp. 64-65.

¹⁰⁵⁷ The letter of accreditation for Lenac at the Conference, dated December the 10th 1918, is in state archive of Croatia, Zagreb, Fond Presidency of the Council SHS, b. 2.

document begins with the claim that a profoundly unjust political system (the Hapsburg Monarchy) founded on the principle of the *divide et impera*, was finally turned down. On the ruins of that system several new states were formed, and among them there was Fiume. “The State of Fiume is a living fact: none can deny it, as non can deny existence of a Hungary or of a Yugoslavia. Fiume exercises all the functions of State; this has been communicated to the governments of Europe and America; it freely develops all the functions of administration and caring”.¹⁰⁵⁸ On this ground as a sovereign political body, a functioning state, has the right to be annexed to Italy, since this is the will of the majority of the population.

The Serbians who exercised by far the greatest influence within the Yugoslav government, were now much more interested in defining their eastern borders with former Ottoman lands especially towards Scutari. This was the historical chance for the autonomists, since the Yugoslav delegation appeared willing to accept the solution of the Free State. This paved the way for a relatively unknown obscure figure such as Ruggiero Gotthardi to emerge and to present officially in Paris at the Peace Conference with Yugoslav support and Italian toleration the project for a viable state of Fiume. Gotthardi unexpectedly gave to autonomists a new chance.

THE REBIRTH OF AUTONOMISM

As they were before 1914, the citizens of Fiume were reported to be divided into three principal groups: Those that favoured annexation to Yugoslavia (previously Croatia, always a minority in Fiume), the supporters of the Free City, under some form of a neutral protectorate (previously the autonomists), and those that favoured annexation to Italy (previously the scarce Italian irredentists of the *Giovine Fiume*, but on the rise in the years preceding the war).

Ironically, both Italian irredentists and Fiuman autonomists held that Fiume within Hungary was an independent and sovereign entity. But they derived different conclusions: the right of self-determination legitimated its inclusion to Italy for irredentists, while for the autonomists of Zanella it gave then the historical right to form a new state.

Zanella in December 1918 was still actively cooperating with the CNI. Together with Ossoinack and Venutti he was entrusted in a delicate mission of settlement of the *Danubius* yard, and the second, by the French command in Fiume to meet the French general Tranié in order to obtain information of the planned French base in the port of Fiume.¹⁰⁵⁹

Zanella already in December 1918 reacted though an article in the paper *Il Popolo* to the principle of self-determination. According to him, the historical specificity of Fiume ensured its right to self-determination.¹⁰⁶⁰ Reputedly, the speech ignited enthusiasm in the *Teatro Fenice* where the meeting was held on December the 12th among great many people. Zanella stated that Fiume had its historical mission in providing a bridge for the countries that inherited the ceased monarchy and that its port had to be open to the trade of its neighbours with whom the best possible relations had to be maintained. The speech had 6 points, in the first Zanella accepted the irredentist interpretation that Fiume was omitted because of Russian pressures, against the Italian claims in the Eastern Adriatic. Zanella mentioned also the *Comitato parlamentare pro Fiume italiana*, where more than

¹⁰⁵⁸ Memorial of the President, the National Council, the Syndic and Deputy of Fiume, Archive MAE, Affari Politici, busta 1043/1919. cited in Karpowicz, 1988.

¹⁰⁵⁹ AMSFR, Verballi del Consiglio Nazionale – seduta del 6/12/1918, now in Ballarini, Amleto. “*L’antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella*” [The Antidannunzio at Fiume – Riccardo Zanella], Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995, p. 111. The French general Tranié refused to grant to the CNI in the name of whom they were speaking any authority and claimed that as he knew Fiume was not a free state but it belonged to Croatia, as reported by O, Zanella, on the other hand gave a completely different version stating that the authority of the CNI was recognised and it was to be respected. the diverging reports from the 6th December 1918 are the first sign of the break between Zanella and CNI, and it seems that Zanella starts to play an autonomous part with the allied officer.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Karpowicz, L.J. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, p. 267.

200 parliamentary deputies lobbied for the annexation.¹⁰⁶¹ The third point was the crucial one: the right of Fiume to self-determination was primarily an ethical issue. Fiume as a *corpus separatum* within the lands of the Holy Crown, and therefore it enjoyed the same status as Croatia, Transylvania etc. and it possessed the right of self-determination for its ethnic specificity. Faithful to the traditional Hapsburg interpretation, what was crucial was the historical specificity and not the ethnical features of the city. Moreover, the international setting was appropriate since, once that Yugoslavia was constituted, Fiume had the chance to represent its interests as it once did for Hungary.¹⁰⁶² After this speech, where there was no mention for the work of the other Fiumani, who were in Italy since years such as Icilio Baccich and Armando Odenigo, nor a mention of the work done by the CNI, the conflict between Zanella and the irredentist CNI became manifest and the two groups never approached again.¹⁰⁶³

Zanella was rapidly turning to the free state solution. why and when he changed his attitude from the foremost irredentist of the years of the First World War to the champion of the Free State has never been explained. In his *Appunti sull'attività in pubblico servizio di Riccardo Zanella*, Zanella, claimed that the whole project was aimed at preserving the *italianità* of Fiume, seen the impossibility of annexation to Italy.¹⁰⁶⁴ Giovanni Dalma, one of the rare biographers of Zanella, wrote that Zanella changed his opinion because of the position of Fiume out of the political borders of Italy, and the changed political climate emerging in Italy after First World War, rapidly turning to an authoritarian regime, and especially, the fact that some of the greatest exponents of the Hungarians were now members of the CNI.¹⁰⁶⁵ Ballarini claims that the personal refusal for any competition by Zanella explains his stance towards the Free State of Fiume.¹⁰⁶⁶ Nevertheless, in March 1919, Zanella in Paris spoke with Orlando as head of the “national party”, and renounced to his mandate of plenipotentiary, after having met the members of the CNI in Fiume, where contrasts must have emerged.¹⁰⁶⁷

Nevertheless, the idea of the Free State of Fiume matured in other circles, linked with the left and the pro Yugoslav stance in the city. Interestingly, in the first months of 1919 the party who gave strongest support to the project of a neutral Free State to the port of Fiume was the Socialist Party. The International Socialist Party of Fiume, constituted on October the 30th 1918, supported the renewed autonomist program from its first beginnings and well before did Zanella On November

¹⁰⁶¹ More about it in Monteleone, Renato. *La politica dei fuoriusciti irredenti nella guerra mondiale*, N.06 Civiltà del Risorgimento, Del Bianco Editore, Udine, 1972.

¹⁰⁶² Karpowitz, L.J. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, p. 268.

¹⁰⁶³ During all of November 1918, Zanella *de facto* acted as a plenipotentiary of the CNI by the allied governments and the US. from the Verballi del Comitato Direttivo del Consiglio Nazionale, now at the AMSFR in an informative letter to the CNI Zanella reported about his activities in promoting the “Fiuman cause” in November 1918. among others the visit of the Milan mayor Caldara and the formation that the inter parliamentary committee pro Fiume Italiana got 200 adhesions. in b. p. 105.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Continuai nei conati per l'annessione sino al febbraio del 1919, cioè sino a quando fu giocoforza persuadermi che, causa i non pochi errori politici e diplomatici commessi, l'annessione di Fiume all'Italia era diventata impossibile, assolutamente irrealizzabile. da allora pensai ed agii apertamente e senza falsi pudori per la soluzione della città libera, l'unica ancora possibile ed atta a salvare, sfuggendo all'annessione jugoslava, la secolare italianità del *Corpus Separatum*.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Dalma Giovanni, “Testimonianze su Fiume e Riccardo Zanella”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno I, N.2 (Prima Nuova Serie) ottobre 1981, pp.1-26.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Ballarini, Amleto. “*L'antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella*” Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995, pp. 107-108.

¹⁰⁶⁷ The letter, reported in Ballarini from the private Zanella archive, “A scanso di malintesi, prevengo l'E.V. ch'io non rappresento il Consiglio Nazionale di Fiume, perché dopo la mia visita colà, ho giudicato opportuno e doveroso di rinunciare al mandato di plenipotenziario, affidatomi con voto plebiscitario. io quindi ho soltanto la veste di capo del partito nazionale e il titolo della fiducia cittadina.” in Ballarini, Amleto. “*L'antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella*” Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995, p 109.

the 15th 1918 they issued a political program.¹⁰⁶⁸ For the socialists Wilson's points were a "bulwark against any military occupation or aggression".¹⁰⁶⁹

The formation of heterogeneous political forces weakened the position of the CNI. To this in December 1918 the irredentists through the now irredentist *Bilancia* replied in an article titled *Dite sul serio?* that it was impossible for the working class to express political views since they have never been trained to do that. According to the *Bilancia*, the enemy of the working classes was capitalism (identified with the Anglo-Saxon plutocracies) - not irredentism. Even then for workers annexation to Italy was desirable since there the socialists have made notable progress. Thus for the Fiuman socialists was a strategic interest to become part of the Italian socialist party, concluded the *Bilancia*. The issue of the 20 December 1918 attacked the leader of the party Samuel Maylender asking how could a person "without homeland" (he was a Jew) be trusted by the Italian Fiuman workers. His internationalism, covered his utterly "Hungarian soul". In this world where the priority now is in the national we will happily shift to the social issues when the national ones will be solved.

Nevertheless, the alliance of Autonomism with working class movements did not materialise. One reason was to be found in sheer repression that struck both movements soon after the Italian occupation. Another was in the fact that its leader Samuel Maylender, brother of the autonomist leader Michele, produced a strange alliance with a newly formed *Partito Autonomo democratico* of Ruggiero Gotthardi composed by "Italianised burghers united by economic interests". Gotthardi's party enjoyed support at the Paris Peace Conference, but it was marginalized in Fiume.

The Yugoslav party in the town claimed that it had substantial support in Fiume and even produced a kind of plebiscite producing more than 20,000 signatures of persons who voted for annexation for Yugoslavia. The problems are that we do not know where the people who voted come from.

According to some British sources, from roughly 50,000 inhabitants (Fiume plus Sušak) 18,000 were in favour of annexation to Yugoslavia (this with the 15,000 people from Sušak), 15,000 socialists, and 3,000 independents were desirous of setting up a free state, which would give a remnant of 17,000 who asked for annexation to Italy.¹⁰⁷⁰

Since the great powers governments were consistently on the autonomist side, we might say that the Fiumani, for once again, managed to persuade a foreign arbiter. The irredentist victory will be achieved thanks to the continuous support provided to them by the Italian armed forces first officially as the biggest contingent of the allied occupation forces, and then by breaking the rules with the open act of force with the D'Annunzio sacred entrance. Violence displayed by "hooligans" and some Italian troops was deliberately driven to influence the outcome of the diplomatic struggle in Paris.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Now at the private Zanella archive, then in Karpowitz's time the archive was privately stored by Zanella's wife, now in the AMSF in Rome, but is still not accessible for research, since the archive is in a phase of reordering. Later, in 1919 Arpad Simon, the future founder of the Communist Party in Fiume, wrote two letters, one addressed to the Paris Peace Conference, the other to Wilson personally, where he given the impossibility to participate at the Conference expressed the acceptance of the Free State solution for Fiume.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Here the reference was evidently to the massive presence of Italian troops in Fiume.

¹⁰⁷⁰ According to the report of Bard Capt. Political parties. There are three chief parties in FIUME.

Those wishing the annexation of the town to Italy. This is the party of the Italian Consiglio Nazionale, which came into power after the Italian occupation, and is the only one which can express its opinions. With the help of the Italian authorities it has organised all the propaganda in favour of annexation, and has entire control of the administration of the town. It is representative of about a half of the Italian population, including most of the younger men.

Those wanting a free town under some protectorate. There is an autonomous party lead by signor GOTTHARDI which represents a large number of merchants, who do not want any connection with Jugo-Slavia, but at the same time are of the opinion that the town will be ruined by annexation to Italy. The socialist party whose leader is a doctor MAYLENDER, which comprises about 6000 men is also in favour of this solution.

The Yugoslav party. Whose organisation is the Yugoslav national council with dr. BAKARCIC as president. (Public Records – FO 608 Peace Conference), Protocol 19 May 1919, Report on the situation in Fiume

By that time, in Fiume the CNI had secured absolute supremacy in the City where it controlled all the aspects of public life.¹⁰⁷¹ The CNI has no competition to face: the Narodno Vijeće is dissolved, its members are expelled. The headquarters of the Narodno Vijeće are transferred in Portorè since also Sušak is occupied by Italian troops.¹⁰⁷² At the Beginnings of 1919 – the Croatian head of provincial land government, (still named Ban) proclaimed Sušak a city, since then it was only a commune under the jurisdiction of Buccari.

Zanella, in the first days of April, initiated a frontal attack on the CNI and its President Grossich, denying him the right to represent the citizens and their will.¹⁰⁷³ The discussion that followed within the CNI animated and showed for once again the old fractures and cleavages that characterised the Fiuman politics from the decade preceding the Great War. Grossich offered his resignation, but the whole Directive County immediately confirmed him in charge, while Vio, the old antagonist of Zanella, repeated the old slogan about the “dangerous deal” that existed between the Hungarians, the Croats, and many Fiumani who sided with Zanella’s programme of the Free City. As the debate went on, they all declared ready to resign in favour of Zanella if this could have served the interests of the city. But this, as it seems, little more than a conciliatory rhetoric, since Grazioli, always in tune with the CNI, and, officially, for reasons of “public security” intimated the immediate expulsion of Zanella from Fiume on 18th April 1919.¹⁰⁷⁴

In the meanwhile, in Paris, At the meeting with Wilson and Orlando Andrea Ossoinack in Paris, 4th April 1919, a day after the meeting of the Council of Four where Wilson resolutely opposed Italian pretensions to Fiume. In the meanwhile, Wilson, added also new requirements: the outcome of self determination in the eastern Adriatic area had also to produce economically viable outcomes. Andrea Ossoinack produced an economically grounded argument for the annexation of Fiume to Italy¹⁰⁷⁵. His argumentation tried to show that annexation was the **best economic solution** for Fiume.¹⁰⁷⁶ Openly he proclaimed that the free port was economically unviable: it could have been made able to compete only if had lower operating costs. This was not the case - the port of Fiume prospered only because it was generously subsidised by the Hungarian government and this was not the case had it gained independence. Fiume in other words, needed a strong state ready to pour investments that its port heart of the city economy desperately needed. In terms of international law he accepted the old position of the autonomists that Fiume was a factor with a status comparable if not to Hungary then certainly to Croatia. In other words, Fiume was free to decide from the point of international law as he had proclaimed at the Hungarian parliament and *de facto* independent from Croatia to be able to choose its destiny. The merchandise did not arrive from Croatia but from Hungary. Unification with Hungary was untenable for all reasons – to begin with distance in geographical and cultural terms. Croatia and the nascent Yugoslavia was not crucial for its survival. Even then a special status could have been granted to them if they wanted to continue trading through Fiume, a fact that would have kept their slice of Fiuman traffic.

¹⁰⁷¹ “Italianophiles were introduced into all the municipal and communal offices, who, together with the organisers of an association formerly known as “La Giovine Fiume” and later transformed into “La Giovine Italia” became the most active supporters of the movement”. Macdonald J.N. 1921, p. 37.

¹⁰⁷² Later, also the government of Fiume in exile will fled to Portorè.

¹⁰⁷³ AMSFR, Verballi del Consiglio Nazionale – seduta del 7/4/1919, now in Ballarini, Amleto. “*L’antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella*” [The Antidannunzio at Fiume – Riccardo Zanella], Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995, pp. 114-115.

¹⁰⁷⁴ The Italian commander of the allied occupation forces in Fiume Grazioli convoked immediately both Zanella and Grossich to his office after the incident, and intimated an expulsion decree to Zanella that had to be executed on April the 18th but ultimately was not put in action.

¹⁰⁷⁵ The stenogram of the interview is at the Public Records – FO 608 Peace Conference.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Secretly, in despatches he sent to the Italian government he pointed that Fiume would have posed a formidable competition to Italy and that this was the reason why it had to be annexed.

The autonomist option appeared as the latest at the Paris Peace Conference, but it soon gained support from all the Allied governments and Wilson.¹⁰⁷⁷ In his reply to Andrea Ossoinack, Wilson proposed for the first time that Fiume had to be proclaimed a Free State, as a new solution.

When also the British delegate Balfour decidedly refused the project of annexing Fiume, the Italian delegation with Orlando and Sonnino on the 24th of April 1919, left the conference for protest, and wrote an address to Wilson that became a world sensation.

Manifestations followed in the city, with the apogee on the 26th when the whole CNI went to General Grazioli to offer him powers to govern the City, thereby proclaiming the annexation of the city to Italy.¹⁰⁷⁸ Grazioli refused since he was not representative of Italy but still formally of the allied powers but entrusted the Italian government to solve the issue.

After 10 days of absence from the Conference, Orlando humiliated, come back to the Conference, on the 6th of May 1919, and proposed to the President of the Rumanian-Yugoslav Border Commission Tardieu to formulate a new plan.¹⁰⁷⁹ The (second) "plan Tardieu", as it was known, envisaged the constitution of a "Buffer State" with the some territory beyond the *corpus separatum* and included the islands in front of the City. The districts of Volosca, Veglia, and Sussak were also united into the new State that to be put under the joint administration by the League of Nations for 15 years.¹⁰⁸⁰ The "Plan Tardieu", presented to the Italian delegation on the 28th of May 1919, was the first that envisaged a constitution of Fiume as a "Buffer State" between Yugoslavia and Italy. It was a strange blend of old municipal prerogatives and it tried to include most of the Italian demands on Fiume.¹⁰⁸¹

Once again for the irredentists in Fiume there was a hard time, mitigated only by the fact that at the Peace Conference another autonomist party was formed under the lead of the obscure Ruggiero Gotthardi. Gotthardi founded his party - the Partito Autonomo Democratico - that soon competed with Zanella for realising the autonomist project. On the other hand, Gotthardi by entering an alliance with the Fiuman Yugoslav party of Benjamin Grohovac, showed a clear will to compromise that gave him a relative freedom of manoeuvre.

To conclude, at the Paris Peace Conference it seems that it was the autonomist solution who enjoyed the greatest favours in the diplomatic circles, especially after the change in the Italian government.

What is striking, notices Karpowitz, is the vast amount of archival material and press reactions for such a marginal organisation led by a previously totally unknown man in Fiume. In an autobiography he mentioned his primacy for the project of establishing a Free State of Fiume that

¹⁰⁷⁷ This is surprising, since the war ended by proclamation of the principle of nationality by which multinational states were to be broken up and new ones formed by leading to national unification. The autonomist to this could only appear as a mediaeval relic that suited better within the context of an empire, rather than to a nation-state.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Oggi che l'Italia rivendica a sé il diritto di liberare tutti i suoi figli e di fissare i confini della più grande patria, il cn, legittimo depositario dei poteri, sciogliendo l'antico voto, con immutata fede e con fermo animo, li rimetta al rappresentante del governo italiano ed invita Vostra Eccellenza a volerli assumere in nome di Sua Maestà il Re. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 200.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Stephen Bethlen, "The Danube States and the Tardieu Plan", *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 3. (Sep., 1932), pp. 352-362.

¹⁰⁸⁰ It was a project for a comprehensive settlement of the Adriatic question including Albania. As for Fiume the text of the compromise envisaged: Creazione dello Stato indipendente di Fiume sotto l'egida della Società delle Nazioni, contenuto nelle seguenti frontiere: ad ovest da Volosca fino a nord ovest di san Pietro, confini suggeriti dagli americani; a nord da san Pietro al Monte Nevoso; ad est la linea domandata dagli italiani e l'isola di veglia. Lo Stato avrebbe dovuto obbedire ad un governo di cinque membri, di cui due italiani, uno fiumano, uno jugoslavo ed uno eletto dalla Società delle Nazioni. A Fiume avrebbe dovuto essere assicurata l'autonomia municipale secondo lo statuto di Maria Teresa. Il porto di Fiume libero, gli abitanti del nuovo Stato esenti da ogni obbligo militare. Fra quindici anni si sarebbe dovuto procedere a un plebiscito comune per comune. In Federzoni, Luigi. *Il Trattato di Rapallo*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1921, p. 225.

¹⁰⁸¹ The solution of the Free City was already envisioned by Italian diplomats, but for Trieste, by the Italian delegation who negotiated Italian neutrality. The Italian foreign ministry offered to the Austrian government to establish Trieste with the districts of Capodistria and Pirano. In Giorgio Valussi, *Il confine nordorientale d'Italia*, LINT, Trieste, 1972, pp. 124-125.

when proposed to Zanella was by him refused. From then on he became object to of persecution that he had to flee to Susak to save his life. What is strange is that even the local irredentists did not know him nor his actions. This raises the legitimate suspect that Gotthardi was hired by some foreign power (maybe the British) to weaken the irredentist front in Fiume. Indeed, in his projects for Fiume, Gotthardi always advocated the British administration for Fiume or the instalment of a British Governor in the future Free City.

Gotthardi produced a project for the “Buffer State” where, as Karpowitz rightly remarks, economic liberalism and the commercial conception of the state triumphed: the State was tailored also in its borders to form an ideal commercial outpost for international trade.¹⁰⁸² The state controls all the rail connections and junctures that lead to Fiume and all the relevant ports to the east and west of the city that during the Hungarian *corpus separatum* were *de facto* limiting the development of more ambitious infrastructures of the port of Fiume. moreover, as had of the state there was to be a (preferably) British or American governor, representative not of the national communities or the polity, but of the main investors and stake holders, interested in the development of the port.

The buffer state offered what the autonomists together with the Hungarians have only dreamt of: a much larger territory than the *corpus separatum*, and with direct connections to the world capital and expertise: if the *corpus separatum* was a way to alluring Hungarian capital, the “Buffer State” was a much more powerful instrument for attracting international capital and skills, than Fiume ever was.¹⁰⁸³

By the 30th April 1919 Gotthardi made his attack to the CNI, where he denounced its lack of legitimacy, and the fact that what made them Italians was only the way to protect their economic interests and hide their speculations.¹⁰⁸⁴ Basically, Zanella from Gotthardi will take both the *diagnosis* (corruption and violence fostered by the Italian occupying forces, economic damages of annexation) and the *therapy* (the Free State, open to world commerce) for a solution of the “Fiuman question”.

Since Wilson’s strategy ultimately rested within the principle of national self determination as a key for a lasting peace in Europe. Fiume was claimed precisely according to the principle of national self determination by the Italians and Wilson, in a departure from his theories, had to consider its inclusion in Yugoslavia for economic reasons, since Fiume was an “Italian island on a Slavic sea”. In Fiume the National Council promptly organised huge manifestations, but, nevertheless, according to Mac Donald, who witnessed the parade, intended to result in an “Italian plebiscite”, the result was a total fiasco. The municipal schools under the control of the National Council were closed for the day and the school children were ordered to attend the parade. Likewise, all factories,

¹⁰⁸² Al principio di novembre 1918, allorché le truppe jugoslave tenevano occupata Fiume, non come uomo politico, che mai non fui, bensì come commerciante, elevai la tesi che il Golfo di Fiume, da Fianona sino a Portorè, non era divisibile e doveva formare un’unità sola di utilità ai due stati confinanti e loro anello di congiunzione (questo detto usato poi tante volte è di mia origine). Asserii che anche dal lato strategico questa era la sola possibile soluzione. I confini di questo stato cuscinetto erano quelli visti dal Golfo, non quelli proposti dalla linea Wilson. in Karpowitz, L.J. 1984 “Biografia politica di un autonomista: Ruggiero Gotthardi” [Political Biography of an Autonomist: Ruggiero Gotthardi]. *Quaderni*, VII, pp. 39-64.

¹⁰⁸³ Karpowitz, L.J. 1984 “Biografia politica di un autonomista: Ruggiero Gotthardi” [Political Biography of an Autonomist: Ruggiero Gotthardi]. *Quaderni*, VII, pp. 39-64. Karpowitz goes so far to claim that the *corpus separatum*, the “Buffer State” and the D’Annunzian Regency are basically the same project, presented with different ideological coatings, produced in different contexts. The dominant feature is always the commercial state that has to be put under the weakest level of control from the political centres, where the Italianate city dominates over a Slavic hinterland, big enough to leave room for expansion and a supply of workforce without changing its ethnic composition of the polity in favour of the Slavs.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Gotthardi replied that the members of the CNI were all of Slavic origins, and when the Italian troops entered Fiume in the warehouses there were merchandise valued half a billion (crowns probably), now these goods have disappeared we even have a defect in our budget of 200 millions. – “Nell’annessione all’Italia questi messeri vedono la sola possibilità di sfuggire alla resa dei conti”. in Karpowitz, L.J. 1984 “Biografia politica di un autonomista: Ruggiero Gotthardi” [Political Biography of an Autonomist: Ruggiero Gotthardi]. *Quaderni*, VII, pp. 39-64.

offices, public institutions were ordered to close down and to send their employees to swell the crowd.

*Of the eventual procession three quarters were school children, and one quarter alone of adults. Amongst the latter the members of the National Council were conspicuous in the first file, duly followed by their satellites, the clerks in the various offices, and other employees subject to their commands. The members of the Labour and the Autonomous parties refused to attend and the absence of the middle classes was also noted.*¹⁰⁸⁵

To counter the Italian National Council procession of April 26th 1919 the Socialists organised their manifestation in the Public Gardens, since it was prohibited by the National Council to held them in the City. Despite this hostility, more than 5.000 people gathered. Speeches were delivered in Italian, Croat, and Hungarian. Samuel Maylender stated that National Council had usurped all the power and “reigned upon a regime of terror” by its abuse of power. He wanted a plebiscite stating the Socialist Party was against annexation but for the Free Port of Fiume.¹⁰⁸⁶

The Allied troops that were present made the position of the National Council uncomfortable. The situation in the City quickly become explosive. When the American brigade left this caused ill concealed joy and rumours that the British units had to leave to form a brigade in Egypt was hailed with even greater satisfaction. At the last moment the move was cancelled since general Gordon considered it the height of imprudence to leave given the situation. Though the battalion remained although the general Gordon and his staffs was transferred, apparently through Grazioli intervention because of Gordon’s “anti-Italian sentiments”.¹⁰⁸⁷

From this period dates the formation of first paramilitary troops and bands obviously supported and equipped by the Italian army. The first roots was the Giovane Italia society, but probably the Giovine Fiume.¹⁰⁸⁸ On May the 1st 1919, the section of a local patriotic society called “Sursum

¹⁰⁸⁵ Macdonald J.N. 1921, p.43. According to the report of Bard Capt. The demonstration which took place on the 26th of April to protest against president Wilson’s message, and for the union of FIUME to Italy was organised by the Consiglio Nazionale. In the morning the town was placarded with notices stating that the day had come for Fiume to proclaim its union with Italy and that the Consiglio Nazionale was holding a special sitting to had their powers over t the Italian commander. All shops, offices, etc, were to be closed and the people to assemble in the main square, the piazza Dante, to form upon a procession to the governor’s palace. This demonstration which has been stated to have shown the will of the population of Fiume was in no way representative, consisting of about 10,000 people, members of the Consiglio Nazionale, the Italian clubs, and a great number of women and children. All shops were closed by order of the Consiglio Nazionale, and notices posted up on the doors “chiuso per festa Nazionale”. Non –Italian shopkeepers had to comply with these orders to avoid punishment, or the risk of having their windows broken by youths working for the national council. All schools were ordered to take part in the procession. The beflagging of the streets was carried out in the same way, and flags were put up forcibly on all the main buildings including the Croatian club and banks. (Public Records – FO 608 Peace Conference), Protocol 19 May 1919, Demonstration of 26 April.

¹⁰⁸⁶ According to the report of Bard Capt. On the 1st of May a demonstration organised by the socialists took place, about 5000 men taking part. Speeches were made in Italian, Croatian, and Hungarian. Dr Maylender stated that the Consiglio Nazionale had no right to its authority, but was causing a reign of terror and abusing its powers and gave out an order of the day protesting against the present state of affairs, stating that the socialist party was against the annexation of Fiume to Italy, and was in favour of a free town, and that a plebiscite should be taken. The meeting was only allowed on condition that it was held in the public gardens and that no procession should take place. The socialists however left the gardens carrying red flags, which were removed by the police, and were prevented from marching thorough the town by the troops. During the whole day the bridge over the Recina was closed to prevent the population of Susak from taking part in the demonstrations. (Public Records – FO 608 Peace Conference), Protocol 19 May 1919, Labour demonstration on the 1st of May.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Macdonald, J.N. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D’Annunzio*, London John Murray, 1921, p.45.

¹⁰⁸⁸ According to the report of Bard Capt. The society, the “Giovane Italia” composed of young Fiumani and a few Italian officers have been very active lately. This has taken the form of putting up numerous posters in the town showing what Italy had done in the war, and how she has been deserted by the Allies, and against president Wilson and the Americans, I am enclosing a photograph of one of these. They have also been painting over with black all signs in the streets not in the Italian language, and writing various abusive remarks against the Croatians on the public buildings including the churches, shops which showed a picture of the president were told that they should remove them, or

Corda” was formed under the command of a captain from the Alpini Regiment Nino Host Venturi.¹⁰⁸⁹

The first unit with this name came to Fiume from Trieste (but probably from Milan) under the leadership of the Captain Leo Negrelli.¹⁰⁹⁰ In Fiume they took root rapidly. We hear about a patriotic society called “Sursum Corda” had a view of raising a battalion of Fiuman volunteers:

On May 1, a section of an Italian patriotic society called “Sursum Corda” was founded, with a view to raising later a Battalion of Fiuman volunteers. The battalion was eventually recruited from the members of the “Giovine Italia” society, before mentioned, to which most young men of ultra Italian sentiments belonged. It was placed under administration of the national council, and the command was entrusted to a Captain of the Alpine regiment, a Fiuman by birth called Host-Venturi. The other officers were also fiumans, who held commissions in the Italian army.

At first it called itself a gymnastic club, went for excursions and held propaganda meetings, but received no military training. It showed signs of activities in other directions. On the night of May 8, a number of its members went on a tour of destruction round the town. All signs over shops and offices, written in the Slav language, were either damaged or painted over with tar. Shopkeepers who had displayed a picture of President Wilson or King Peter of Serbia were ordered to remove them, under pain of having their windows broken. Over many doors was painted either a black cross or a skull with cross bones. Various offensive remarks against the Croats were written in large characters on the public buildings, including the churches. On the Church of the Capuchins, for instance was written K.u.K. lupanare Trumbic (Trumbic’s imperial and royal brothel)¹⁰⁹¹

In a meeting held on the same day, Nino Host-Venturi addressed the crowd saying that “Fiume ora fara’ da se” he would be ready to recruit any young man in the volunteer battalion. Also Benito Mussolini arrived, then still a journalist from the *Popolo d’Italia*. The French and British general’s protested to Grazioli that the formation of such a force was dangerous; the Italian general refused to suppress it, claiming that the formation was merely a gymnastic association without weapons and absence it brought the young under control and supervision of adult officers were under his observation an enable him to told their leaders responsible in case of disturbance.

On May the 18th 1919 the CNI sent a despatch to the Italian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. The tone was very threatening and the use of violence was not excluded. The city was after the 30th October plebiscite (labelled an “indestructible historical fact”) “virtually united” with Italy. Since “history did not stop in Paris”, the City was ready to await violence serenely from any side it came.¹⁰⁹² Tensions with Yugoslav troops were high, mostly for the aggressive stance displayed by the Italian troops in the region.¹⁰⁹³

would have their windows broken. In consequence of protests on the part of the Allied commanders, however the leaders of this society were interviewed by general Grazioli and told that these things must not be repeated. Notices have also been put up stating that all posters must be censored, and that those found putting them up without permission will be severely punished. (Public Records – FO 608 Peace Conference), Protocol 19 May 1919, “giovane Italia society.”

¹⁰⁸⁹ The “Sursum Corda” is still a still poorly investigated Italian student movement, seems to have its origins in the Italian youth organisations from the first years of the XX century such as the “battaglioni studenteschi” founded in 1906 or so in Milan. the model were the German Burschenschaften. Their Fiuman member was Nino Host Venturi of Croatian origin from the suburbs of Fiume was also the person who had kept the contacts with D’Annunzio. After D’Annunzio’s arrival in Fiume the power of Nino Host Venturi in Fiume raised shapely over the other members of the CNI.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Leo Negrelli will continue to play a part: in the Twenties he is the main liaison for Goering in Italy, after that failed Hitler’s putsch in 1923. After the Second World War, Negrelli emigrated to Spain where he remained a reference point for various right winged groups operating there.

¹⁰⁹¹ Macdonald, J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D’Annunzio*, London John Murray. pp.46-47

¹⁰⁹² Dispaccio del Consiglio Nazionale di Fiume alla Delegazione italiana alla Conferenza della pace (18 maggio 1919) “Il Consiglio Nazionale considera il plebiscito del 30 ottobre 1918 come un fatto storico e giuridico indistruttibile, per cui la città e suo territorio sono da allora virtualmente uniti all’Italia e dichiara di on ammettere che delle soriti di Fiume

The shopkeepers who did not support the National Council were refused permit licenses. Persons were constantly harassed and put to arrest by the carabineer and their secret agents. The British and French reportedly have prevented several of these actions. In the later half of May, a British military mission under Lt. Col. Peck was the head was established, to keep in touch with the situation. What can they do is only to witness and report: they were simply overwhelmed by the 20.000 or so Italian troops in Fiume and three more divisions in the district were the eloquent expression of the seriousness of the refusal to give up what was *de facto* conquered. Fortification works preceded steadily forward, sentries were sitting at their posts night stand. Against such force there was a single Serbian machine gun company and a battalion scattered over a wide area with the headquarters at Porto Re.

On the 6th of June, Andrea Ossoinack sent a cablegram to senator Lodge, which was read on the American Senate on June 6 last. The text was a condensed version on the Italian argumentation for Fiume. On the 7th of June, Wilson where presented the American stance to the allies by a new "Memorandum". The document was refuted by the Italian delegation. On the 9th Orlando refuted the proposal considering it to be worse that the Project Tardieu since it divided the Istrian peninsula in two and to Fiume a status of *corpus separatum* as under Hungary and not as under Maria Theresa was given.¹⁰⁹⁴ Since Orlando and Sonnino's government fell a couple of days later, the document remained as the bases of the negotiation table in Paris.¹⁰⁹⁵

The document envisaged the constitution of a Free State, a "Buffer State" between Italy and Yugoslavia, and within it Fiume was granted a degree of administrative autonomy as it enjoyed under the Hungarians as a *corpus separatum*. The state was to enjoy complete self government under the control by a commission of the League of Nations, composed by two representatives of Italy, one from the SCS, and one from another country chosen from the council of the League of Nations. To the states that gravitate behind the port of Fiume a complete access will be guaranteed, similarly as it is envisaged to Danzig in the case of Poland.

Already on June 13th, at an extraordinary meeting, the CNI enacted several laws that ensured a *de facto* annexation of Fiume within the administrative structures of Italy. On June the 13th with law n. 3818 the justice had to administered in the name of the King of Italy and with law n. 3819 from the same day an army "for the defence of Fiume" was established. Mayor Vio presented a bill that

si possa prendere risoluzione alcuna assenza il consenso dei fiumani e ma potrà consentire che l'inutile sanzione di questo voto avvenga per vi di vergogna e baratti a danno irreparabile dei vitali interessi della nazione, garantiti da anteriori trattati. Chi ciononostante, volesse mutare questo stato di fatto venga ad imporre il mutamento con la violenza. Il popolo di Fiume conscio che la storia, scritta col più generoso sangue italiano, non si ferma a Parigi, attende la violenza da qualunque parte essa venga con animo sereno e risoluto, per avere nell'atto che in tal modo si compia, conferma della espressione vera dei sentimenti degli alleati e costringere ognuno ad assumere le responsabilità che la storia gli assegna." In pp. 224-225.

¹⁰⁹³ According to the report of Bard Capt. The Yugoslav forces in this area are not existent except for the battalion of Serbs in Kraljevica (Porto Re) attached to the French forces of occupation. Some days ago general Savy went on a tour of inspection through the Italian defences and country beyond to see what Yugoslav forces were to be found. He visited Ogulin, the principle cross roads, and the villages to the south of Carlovac and down towards Buccari. A company of machine gunners are billeted at Ogulin, this being the only unit encountered opposite the Italian line of defence. He stated that the Italians have a first and second line of defence ready, and are working very busily on a third line. All work such as the digging of trenches, and gun emplacements, preparing dumps from munitions or supplies, laying telephone and telegraph wire, is done by night. The troops are all ready at any moment, and all sentries etc are at their posts; that the moral of the troops is very high, and that it is obvious that every man knows that he is not kept there for the purpose of manoeuvres. The number of Italian troops in Fiume and the neighbourhood is officially given at 18,000, and there are three divisions within the armistice line. (Public Records – FO 608 Peace Conference), Protocol 19 May 1919, Yugoslav forces and Italian defensive preparations. this is also admitted by Badoglio that he exaggerated the entity of the Yugoslav threat. See Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti , D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, pp. 35-37.

¹⁰⁹⁴ The degree of autonomy under the Hungarians was lower, since it was reduced to administrative and the statute was not a law of the state.

¹⁰⁹⁵ The document was published by Paolo Alatri and it was in the Nitti papers. See Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti , D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, pp. 35-37.

authorised the formation of an army for the defence of Fiume. Expense covered by issuing treasury bonds up to 100 million lire was planned, and the execution of the law pertained to the Directive County of the CNI.¹⁰⁹⁶ The *Sursum Corda* now formed a full fledged military unit the “Fiuman Legion” – Legione Fiumana. It needed not long time to see what would have been its effects. The organisation of the army was entrusted to the poet Sem Benelli already in Pola based camped with Italian soldiers.¹⁰⁹⁷ The Italian flag was declared the official one. Anyone attempting to change the “Constitution of Fiume” or of the Kingdom of Italy could be declared guilty of high treason. Five “Fiuman combatants” who volunteered in the ranks of the Italian army entered the directive county of the CNI.¹⁰⁹⁸

In Fiume, with laws enacted by the CNI on June the 20th 1919, all lawyers had to recognize the authority of the CNI and to adopt its laws if they failed to they would be struck off the rolls and forfeit the right of exercising their profession. On July the 1st, 1919 the Italian penal code was introduced, with a law dating back to 27th of March.

In the meanwhile, also Zanella produced his program for Fiume, exposed to Rubinich, a member of the CNI, where still the Free State was only a temporary solution with the annexation still the final goal, although its “modalities had to be studied”.¹⁰⁹⁹ What was the opinion on Zanella, who privately talk was already leaning towards the Free State of Fiume solution, so far advocated only by Gotthardi is given by Grazioli is the dispatch from the 12th of June 1919: he portrays him as an essentially element that causes “perturbation” due to his ambition and possibly also “other reasons”.¹¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, within the CNI Grossich and Vio tried to defend Zanella, offering even to him a position in the directive county, where John Stiglich already expressed the will to declare Zanella “nemico della patria”.¹¹⁰¹

To sum, in June 1919 the overall situation regards Fiume saw the Italian team extremely weakened, the Fiuman internal situation in disarray with the ongoing conflict between the inter allied corps

¹⁰⁹⁶ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 74-75.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Sem Benelli (1877—1949) with his vigorous verse play *La cena delle beffe* ('The Dinner of Tricks', 1909) reached worldwide fame. The idea was to entrust him to lead a group of mercenaries: “Sem Benelli, chiamato dall’unanime volontà dei cittadini a organizzare la legione, declinò per il sopravvenire di imprevedute circostanze il mandato”. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 210.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Riccardo Gigante, Nino Host-Venturi, Enrico Burich, Iti Baccich and one who “first of all was a friend of Zanella and than also a combatant”, Mario Blasich. with this people entrusted to lead the Fiuman executive the shift to a militant stance appeared definitive. in a very bland way of putting what was de facto a system of rule centered on massive use of political violence, Ballarini, puts it in that way: la folta rappresentanza degli ex combattenti votati all'azione più che al gioco della politica, rappresenterà per Zanella un ostacolo praticamente insuperabile. Ogni qualvolta decideranno d'agire faranno saltare gli schemi e le regole nel sistema democratico dei partiti in cui Zanella saprà muoversi con grande disinvoltura. In Ballarini, Amleto. “*L’antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella*” [The Antidannunzio at Fiume – Riccardo Zanella], Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995, p. 119.

¹⁰⁹⁹ “Nuove elezioni amministrative, delegazione dal senso della nuova rappresentanza delle persone incaricate provvisoriamente dal governo del paese. Il Consiglio Nazionale avrebbe dovuto scomparire. Il governo verrebbe assunto da un direttorio composto da sette membri, passibili di venir messi in stato di accusa. Nel direttivo avrebbero essere rappresentate anche le minoranze. Il proclama del 30 ottobre 1918 dovrebbe restare immutato. Il Direttorio costituirebbe poi la *Dieta*. Assestamento economico finanziario. Provvedimenti sociali. Studio delle modalità dell'annessione. Il Direttorio sarebbe assistito da commissioni tecniche”. In AMSFR, Verbali del Consiglio Nazionale – seduta del 18/6/1919, now in Ballarini, Amleto. “*L’antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella*” [The Antidannunzio at Fiume – Riccardo Zanella], Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995, p. 118.

¹¹⁰⁰ “Si prefigge di far cadere il Consiglio Nazionale, raccoglie mezzi per la pubblicazione di un giornale ed intanto eccita pubblica opinione contro attuale stato di cose. In vari colloqui avuti con lui ho tentato di fargli vedere danno grande che verrebbe alla causa italiana da questa lettura nel capo del partito nazionale, ma la sua smodata ambizione e forse particolari interessi lo spingono a sfruttare attuale momento in cui sensazione generale malessere et diffuso malcontento gli offre qualche probabilità impadronirsi direzione cosa pubblica”. In Longo Luigi Emilio – Francesco Saverio Grazioli Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito Ufficio Storico Roma, 1989. The aura of mystery that still surrounds Zanella, given the support that he always enjoyed, no matter what was the opposition that he had to face, is shared by historians that have dealt with him. See B, K, M.

¹¹⁰¹ Ballarini, Amleto. “*L’antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella*” [The Antidannunzio at Fiume – Riccardo Zanella], Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995, pp. 119-120.

between the Italian and the other occupation forces (especially the French) as well as inside the polity where the CNI primacy was openly contested by the autonomist option. Zanella was regaining force, and this only made the extremist shift within the CNI to take power and now argued openly for violent solutions.

FIUME ANNEXES ITALY



Flag of Fiume 1919 – 1920

THE GOVERNMENT OF NITTI

On the 19th of June the government of Orlando and Sonnino fell. Finally, there were chances for a compromise when Nitti came to power in Italy and Trumbic was appointed foreign affairs minister of the SCS Kingdom. On the 23rd June 1919, Orlando was replaced by Tittoni as Italian Foreign Minister. Orlando and Sonnino at the Conference pursued an ultimately incoherent strategy by refusing to make a choice between “the London Treaty minus Fiume” or “Fiume minus the London Treaty” options. Instead they rested on the position to claim both the Dalmatian lands promised to Italy by the London Treaty and Fiume. Moreover, along the whole armistice line, and beyond well up to Montenegro and Kosovo, rumours of Serbian and south Slav troops concentrating towards the Italian positions.¹¹⁰²

On June the 21st, 1919, the Yugoslav National Council of Fiume Susak addressed to the United States Senate an answer to the cablegram sent to senator Lodge by “Andrea Ossoinak, self-styled Fiume plenipotentiary to the Peace Conference, which was read in the Senate on the last 6th of June”. The text is a comprehensive refutation of the claims of the CNI on Fiume.¹¹⁰³ First of all the claim of self determination is declared void given the practice of government in Fiume under the CNI.¹¹⁰⁴ The repression was executed mostly by the Italian occupying forces to a degree that it was

¹¹⁰²Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti , D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 49.

¹¹⁰³ The document, signed by THE YUGOSLAV NATIONAL COUNCIL AT RIEKA on September 11th, 1919. by Dr Barkarcic, President, M Brelic, Deputy President and “M Lenac” The Yugoslav Governor of Rijeka is preserved at the state archive in Rijeka among charters of Rikard Lenac - DARi-RO27-RIKARD LENAC- kut. 6.

¹¹⁰⁴ “On the occasion of the debate upon the Peace Treaty in the American Senate, the Consiglio Nazionale of Fiume has addressed a fresh message to the people of the United States, again replete with the same inaccuracies and misstatements which characterised their former declarations. Already the introductory statement, that on October 30 1918 the population of Rijeka (Fiume) had by plebiscite voted for union with Italy, is pure invention, as neither on October 30, nor on any subsequent date, the population of Fiume was called upon to give its referendum according to any recognised franchise system for or against its union with any given state. From November 17, i.e. from the time when the Italian forces occupied the town, anything in the nature of a free referendum became impossible, because the occupation authorities forcibly and ruthlessly stifled every manifestation, even the smallest, that ran counter the aim, as frankly and repeatedly revealed by the Italian commander, viz.: the annexation of Fiume to Italy.”

not clear, who in effect, governed the other.¹¹⁰⁵ The Consiglio Nazionale of Fiume was a self appointed clique, while the real state authority was that of the Yugoslav National Council, as demonstrated by the passage of power done by the Hungarian governor.¹¹⁰⁶

Than the arguments of the CNI were denied one by one: first of all, history showed that Fiume was creation, it had been under Hungarian administration by the provisory, but what is certain is that it never belonged to Italy and there were no relevant political forces with such Italian irredentist program, in mind.¹¹⁰⁷ Nor the appeal to ethnography and nationality could help the Italian claims.¹¹⁰⁸ Moreover *italianità* was artificially fostered and created by the local Hungarian administration to prevent Croatian intrusions and dominance.¹¹⁰⁹ Against the plebiscite of the CNI

¹¹⁰⁵ “Our flags were hauled down and torn by Italian soldiers, the inscriptions over our shops, banks, etc. broken and soiled, badges and cockades most brutally torn from the breasts of our sons and daughters; we were exposed daily to insults, ill-usage and savage assaults; and that the aggressors, the gangs of fanaticised hooligans and their ring-leaders in Italian uniforms, invariably got off scot-free, is an eloquent testimony to a most peculiar conception of the noble doctrine of self determination and President Wilson’s 14 points, and to the arbitrary tyranny of the canting Consiglio Nazionale of Fiume under the protection of the Italian Command, whose creation it was in fact.”

¹¹⁰⁶ What was the Consiglio Nazionale of Fiume before the days of the Italian occupation? It was a clique of private individuals, not elected by anybody, which spent its time in issuing proclamations and in organising more or less successful demonstrations; but it neither had power nor authority.

When on October 30 we took over the state authority in Fiume, after the flight of the Magyar governor, the Consiglio Nazionale never dreamt of disputing it with us. Upon our government devolved the anxious task of maintaining peace and order under the most trying circumstances, when the none too distant Italian front was becoming disintegrated, and the town lay exposed to the risk of being raided and looted by solders who were flaying from their abandoned positions; when the numerous workers in the town were thrown out of employment owing to the closing down of war industries, and simultaneously a shortage of was making itself felt. Really, in times like these no one thought of bothering about chance declarations uttered by a handful of hot-heads, mainly non fiumans, and a few place hunters, who by the downfall of the Hapsburg monarchy had lost the jobs and salaries which they had enjoyed under the Magyar government.

And so this clique, without any mandate from anybody, supported solely by the command of the Italian Army of Occupation, which contrary to the armistice stipulation deprived us of our lawfully constituted administration authority, in order transfer it to the said clique, - this clique, I say, dares to speak in the name of the inhabitants of Fiume. By what right? Solely by the right formulated by an Istrian Italian in the words “osar tutto” (dare all!).

¹¹⁰⁷ The Italian appeal to history; but history gives them the lie. Italy has never been mistress of Fiume; never, until within the last few months, not even in the notorious secret pact of London, - has she laid claim to Fiume. From the end of the fifteenth century onward the city was a Hapsburg fief, until it was in 1776 incorporated directly with Croatia and though Croatia indirectly with the Hungarian crown. The divergent constructions put upon the rescripts of Queen Maria Theresa, whereby the incorporation was decreed (in 1776) and effected (in 1779), and the peculiar State constitutional relations subsisting between Croatia and Hungary gave rise to the dispute over the possession of Fiume which subsequently arose between these two Crown-lands. During the course of the nineteenth century Fiume several times changed its political allegiance, but Italy was never so much as thought of. In 1870 it passed provisionally (under the so called *provisorium*) under the administration of Hungary. This *provisorium* was finally solved in our favour last October, 1918. These are historic facts which cannot be denied.

¹¹⁰⁸ The Italians appeal to ethnography and nationality, but without good grounds. All place names in and around Fiume bear witness to the national claim of the Croats. All the various quarters of the town and its environs, the hills, valleys, springs and brooks, fields and woods have always borne Croatian names.

If you look over the land registers in use in the Court of Fiume right up to 1904, you will not find a hand’s breadth of ground mentioned there that does not bear a Croatian name; and the books of the Municipal Chancellery, which have been preserved since the middle of the fifteenth century, show that these names have been in use in older times, no less that at the present moment, practically all Croatian, since even Italian settlers, under the influence of Croatian surroundings soon adopted Croatian patronymics, when they married Croatian girls in Fiume and founded their homes there. The official language in all public matters was originally Latin, the same as in the rest of Croatia, Hungary or Germany, and subsequently Italian, the same as all along the Adriatic littoral right down to Corfu. But the populace of Fiume has nevertheless remained Croatian in its soul to this day. It insists on the Slav Divine Service, which is in use to this day even in the cathedral.

¹¹⁰⁹ In the fight for Fiume with Croatia, the Hungarian administration throughout the last fifty years did its best to promote the Italianisation of Fiume, solely in order to prevent the progress of the Croatian element. Those who style themselves “Italians” in Fiume to-day, were educated into Italian by the Magyar administration, either by attending the Fiuman schools, where they never heard so much as a word of Croatian, or because they were given scholarships so that they might study in Italy. Solely to such artificial means is the superficially Italian character of Fiume to be ascribed. But the kernel has remained Croatian, and this kernel is represented by those Slav common people, whom the Consiglio

and the censuses doubtful under the circumstances they were held, the Yugoslavs organised their population census and a plebiscite were reportedly “about 20.000 persons in Fiume itself” voted for Yugoslavia.¹¹¹⁰ Finally, there was the argument of economic necessity – “The Fiumans have been merchants from the beginning, and as merchants they can only prosper if their city remains closely united with its Yugoslav hinterland.”¹¹¹¹ Moreover, also Yugoslavia crucially needed Fiume.¹¹¹² In one point, however, both National Councils agreed: the “Buffer State” of Fiume was an unviable, and unnecessary solution.¹¹¹³ Finally, the people who now presented the Italian irredentist stance in Fiume were not legitimated at all: only a tiny minority fought of Italy in the Great War and most of them were appointed by the staunchly nationalist Count Tisza’s Government.¹¹¹⁴ On June the 28th 1919 the Paris Peace Treaty was signed with Germany at Versailles.¹¹¹⁵ Having reached the main purpose of its institution and before leaving the Conference, the American President Wilson presented his project for the Italian eastern border. Fiume was to become a Free City.¹¹¹⁶ To this Wilson opposed the proposal to grant to Italy the border on the Brenner (for strategic reasons) but refuted the Julian March, Fiume and Dalmatia to Italy, on the ground of their

Nazionale cannot explain away, and whom it therefore in its Nationalist snobbery describes as illiterate peasants, in contrast to the “superior culture” of the town people!

Solely by such means did the Magyar administration bring it about that the Yugoslavs (Croats and Slovenes) who were in overwhelming majority in Fiume in 1851 (11, 581) gradually became fewer in proportion until in 1910 they formed barely one-third of the population (30 per cent); and that the Italians, who in 1851 constituted an insignificant majority (sic?) (691) increased until they formed almost one half of the population (48,5 per cent).

¹¹¹⁰ If the accuracy of the official statistics, compiled under the Magyar government by the agents of a privileged pro-Italian Municipal Council, is open to discussion, no serious value at all can be attached to the census taken by the Consiglio Nazionale aided by the suasion of Italian bayonets and the menace of famine, at the time of the issue of ration tickets! The fact remains that the census taken in may in secret by ourselves brought to light within 3 days about 20.000 persons in Fiume itself, who desire the union with Yugoslavia, and that this number would have been vastly greater, but for the terror exercised by the police of occupation. And how many thousands are the autonomists and the socialists who are against the annexation to Italy? Consisting also of the inhabitants of the suburb of Susak which cannot be less separated from Fiume than Brooklyn from New York;

¹¹¹¹ Finally, the Consiglio Nazionale cannot pass by the economic side of the question; only in this case in completely distorts the truth, and involves itself in such contradictions, nebulosities and aspersions, that it is fairly pitiful. Two branches of commerce flourished in Fiume up to the war, - the timber trade and the wine trade. According to the 1913 reports of the Chamber of Commerce, Yugoslav timber – for the other products are not worth mentioning – accounted for about 30 per cent of Fiume’s total export by sea (over 343,000 tons out of a total of 1,110,000 tons); the wine comes from Dalmatia.

¹¹¹² And what of other products to be exported from Yugoslavia or imported into the country? Fiume is the only first class port of Yugoslavia, her window towards the Western world; and it has been generally admitted that it ought to belong to her. Unless indeed, Yugoslavia is in future to be dependent upon the good will of strangers, as in the past she was upon that of the Magyars? This is an argument that will not serve.

¹¹¹³ In one point, however, we are agreed with the Consiglio Nazionale, the artificial creation of a tiny state, which will not be able to maintain itself even financially, owing to its smallness, is an unfortunate solution. There is room on the Adriatic for both Italy and Yugoslavia, and an equitable solution of the question of Fiume can only be helpful in promoting tolerable and, in course of time, even friendly relations between the two neighbouring states. And it is not justifiable on ethical grounds that Yugoslavia should by her overseas trade enrich a city which is under a foreign government. The municipal autonomy of Fiume need not be infringed. Yugoslavia is a democratic state, in which the liberty of all citizens will be guaranteed; but we Yugoslavs (Slovenes and Croats) of Fiume must not be condemned to be looked upon as foreigners in our own house.

¹¹¹⁴ That many natives of Fiume fought and fell in the ranks of the it army, is an absolute myth. We only know, that a good many Fiumans who are now shouting “Italia o morte”! (Italy or death!) earned Austrian titles and decorations for services rendered on the it front supported Count Tisza’s Government. The gentleman of the Consiglio Nazionale boast in vain.

¹¹¹⁵ For the text see Treaty of Peace with Germany, *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 13, No. 3, Supplement: Official Documents. (Jul., 1919), pp. 151-156.

¹¹¹⁶ This was the celebre definition that Susmel gave of the proposed American plan: “Fiume doveva essere un misero e soffocato staterello neutro fra Italia e Jugoslavia *come un minuscolo fragile vaso di coccio fra due vasi di bronzo.* (italics mine) L’Italia doveva giungere fino all’Arsa, non oltre; e una striscia di territorio jugoslavo doveva essere posta, come una spada, tra Fiume e l’Italia. Questa conciliazione fatta col filo della spada, doveva essere secondo Wilson la soluzione ideale.” In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 193.

ethnic composition and or the viability of the Yugoslav state. To this the Fiumani opposed another “plebiscite” done by the sports and cultural associations, that were all firmly Italian.

Italy’s position at the Conference was heavily compromised, and when Tittoni arrived in Paris on June the 28th he was given the “Memorandum Balfour” that officially refuted the London treaty¹¹¹⁷. After the departure of Wilson the Yugoslav delegation in Paris now had in France its main ally.¹¹¹⁸ In Fiume, the French started the equipment of a military logistic base in Fiume for the supply of the French army of the Orient.¹¹¹⁹ The presence of the growing number of French soldiers made contrasts inevitable.¹¹²⁰ The tensions reached new heights as the workings of the Peace Conference went on.¹¹²¹

In the meanwhile, in Fiume on July the 2nd, the day after an incident between two Fiuman girls and two reportedly drunken French soldiers during celebrations of the peace agreement with Germany that ended the war for France, a massive outbreak exploded. Frenchmen throughout the city were violently attacked. Reportedly numbers of Italian soldiers joined the riot. No punitive action was taken against the aggressors. Indeed Grazioli ordered to the French units to stay in the barracks and forbid them to appear in the streets a measure that was contested by the French commander and thus not executed. Articles apparent inspired by the Italian command appeared in the national press accusing the French of provocation that hurt the dignity of Fiume. The style of the propaganda set up initially by the *Vedetta d’Italia* at Fiume was clearly reflecting its origins in the Italian propaganda front units, having the Italian forces brought a full scale propaganda film unit. In the next days a series of attacks against the French were conducted, with several dead, culminating on July the 7th when “something like a full scale attack against the French base depots at Porto Baross developed”.¹¹²² In the evening the mob attacked the barracks and some sentry posts. Then three companies from Italian ships were sent to protect the French, instead sided with the attackers in what appeared as a “fully organised military operation”.¹¹²³

At the end of the day there were nine men killed, nine officers and 58 men wounded on the streets. The Italians had only three slightly wounded what “bespoke heavily against them” in the words of MacDonald.¹¹²⁴ To the allied commanders Grazioli insisted that the problem was caused by the presence of the French, and that their base had to be relocated outside the town.¹¹²⁵

¹¹¹⁷ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D’Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 16. the memorandum was drafted by Balfour and Clemenceau.

¹¹¹⁸ Karpowicz, LJ. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, p. 241.

¹¹¹⁹ Già un mese dopo l’occupazione italiana, il Comando francese volle istituire nel porto di Fiume una base navale per il riformamento dell’esercito d’Oriente. Il sindaco Vio levò a nome del municipio e del Consiglio Nazionale solenne protesta contro l’intenzione del comando francese, secondo il quale, la costituzione di una base navale non coinvolgeva nessuna affermazione politica né presa di possesso della città, il cui diritto sovrano sarebbe stato rispettato, il Municipio e il Consiglio Nazionale aderirono alla costituzione di una base navale nel bacino Nazario Sauro, lasciando a disposizione delle autorità francesi i magazzini sorgenti lungo la banchina, e garantendo piena libertà di movimento sulla ferrovia che dalla galleria scende attraverso il Delta del porto. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 211.

¹¹²⁰ Ma la base navale era soltanto un pretesto per osteggiare l’elemento italiano e incoraggiare I croati. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 211.

¹¹²¹ Ma a nulla valsero i consigli del generale Grazioli, le parole del Consiglio Nazionale, le proteste della popolazione. I francesi non si diedero per intesi. (...) i francesi avevano cominciato a intromettersi nelle cose del Comando italiano; e vi fu un momento in cui parve che il comando francese d’accordo col generale Franchet d’Esperey, volesse sovrapporsi al comando italiano tenuto dal generale Grazioli. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, pp. 211-212.

¹¹²² Macdonald J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D’Annunzio*, London John Murray. Pp.76-78.

¹¹²³ Macdonald J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D’Annunzio*, London John Murray. Pp.76-78.

¹¹²⁴ According to Susmel: “I cittadini si sollevarono come un sol uomo contro i soldati, i marinai e gli ufficiali francesi, impegnando una vera lotta corpo a corpo. La gente si riversò nelle vie e nelle piazze, che assunsero l’aspetto di campi di battaglia, dove i cittadini, ma specialmente le donne, si battevano coraggiosamente coi francesi. La Citaonica (the Croatian club) che aveva voluto prender parte al combattimento, lanciando dall’alto della loggia sedie e bottiglie, fu dalla folla travolgente il cordone di carabinieri, assaltata e distrutta.” It appears as a rather unconvincing account of the event. In s, pp. 212-213. The fact that Italians accused little casualties were explained by Grazioli by “bad shooting”

A prominent Yugoslav is reputedly said to have offered to raise subscriptions for the purpose of placing a monumental stone over the graves of the French, with the order quashed by the Italian command.

These were the worst news for the newly appointed ministry Nitti, who got the majority at the Italian Parliament on the 13th July. When the reports of the massacre arrived in Paris the French government demanded a full and complete investigation. An enquiry of four generals was appointed by the inter allied commission. The British general was elected as head of the Enquiry Commission. The British military office in Fiume made a public invitation of witnesses. As more that 600 persons appeared to testify in what was regarded as the sole opportunity for voicing all grievances regarding the Italian commission. Notably, most of the grievances were not related to the specific incident but had to do with the general situation in the City.¹¹²⁶

By the end of August the news of the ex Capitan of the Arditi Host Venturi alarmed also Nitti, already great troubles in managing the demobilisation of the Italian army, continuously resisted by the army generals with adducing the Yugoslav threats.

In Fiume according to a despatch sent by Grazioli, on the 2nd August the population menaced with a mass strike against the CNI and CNI was ready to rising by thereby issuing publicly the responsibilities of the Italian government for the desperate economic situation in the city, principally caused by the failed conversion of the crowns into lire promised by the finance Minister Shanzer already on the 9th July with whom the conversion would have been enabled with a loan, from the Italian government, that never arrived.

After a series of preliminary proposals, drafted in August 1919, more or less concentrated on the "Buffer State" of Fiume and the neutralisation of the Quarnero, Tittoni presented three plans for the solution of the question of Fiume.¹¹²⁷ According to the first a territory similar to the buffer state drafted by Tardieu had to become a Free City, under the protection of the League of Nations. The second envisaged that only the *corpus separatum* become annexed to Italy. According to the third, to Fiume was granted a special status but with a guaranteed land connection to the west with Italy.¹¹²⁸

The Yugoslav government, contacted for the first time by an Italian foreign minister between the 18th and the 22nd August 1919, initially refused all the three proposals, adducing internal problems their impeded their acceptation and sticking to the Wilson line.¹¹²⁹

The Treaty of St. Germain was settled on the 10th of September 1919 with the satisfaction of the Italians since Austria accepted to be considered responsible of the actions taken before as Austria Hungary. On the eastern Julian border the situation for the Italians did not look nearly as promising since the final outcome of the war there was very different from that considered by the Treaty of London.

The new state - the Kingdom of SCS included regions from the former Austria Hungary and was now bordering Italy did not consider itself as a successor of the Hapsburg Empire. The London Treaty was the only peace of paper that Italy had and it had no binding power for the new state.

For Italy the strategic picture emerging from the war was perceived to be worse than before and this after having won the war: instead of Austria there was now a new Yugoslav State that resulted in

from the French side. Macdonald J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D'Annunzio*, London John Murray, pp.76-78.

¹¹²⁵ On the divergence between Nitti and Grazioli, see Alatri, pp. 70-73.

¹¹²⁶ As the news on the exceptional situation in Fiume began to leak the CNI and the press it controlled bitterly remarked that these were outside its sphere of competence of the Enquiry Commission. The materials of the Commission are still in the charts of the office of General Sir H E Watts, at the Public Records Office in London.

¹¹²⁷ Tittoni since the beginnings of his diplomatic activity at the Conference felt that the maximum Italy could obtain was to be approved by the Americans. Therefore his proposal reflects the Wilsonian solution of the Adriatic question. See Alatri, pp. 66-69 et *passim*.

¹¹²⁸ Karpowitz, L.J. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, p. 242.

¹¹²⁹ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti , D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, pp. 133-135.

unification for the first time of the south Slavs; to contrast it there was a greatly reduced Hungary. Austria was now a small land locked central European state that possibly could have been unified on the national principle with Germany united and stronger than ever in the heart of Europe. The opinion of Wilson was in synthesis the very opposite: the Treaty of London was stipulated by Italy against Austria. Now that the Austrian Empire ceased to exist, the defensive strategic reasons adduced by Italy were not justifiable any more, since the new Yugoslav state was infinitely weaker from the Empire that preceded it.¹¹³⁰ As for Fiume its position as serving the vital commercial interests of the countries behind meant that it had to be assigned to the new Yugoslav State. (Inter annex p. 56).

The Sacred Entrance

In the meanwhile, in Fiume, when the Inter Allied Commission of Enquiry by August the 9th 1919, came with a decision it had the impact of a bomb.¹¹³¹ It had decided the replacement of the CNI with by a government elected under the control of inter allied military commission. Second, the establishment an inter-allied military commission (probably from the ranks of the armies already present in Fiume), the suppression of the “civil administration of the *corpus separatum* of Fiume” (de facto the CNI) and Susak; the newly appointed civil administration had to have members from the US, France, the UK, and Italy (Yugoslavs were excluded since not considered as an ally); the president had to be American or British. As a third measure the Italian headquarters had to be replaced and Italian forces had to be reduced beyond the armistice line to one battalion. Finally, it was also decided to relieve the French forces to do away with the base. In the harbour of Fiume each nation could have no more than two warships. The “Fiume battalion” of Host Venturi had to be suppressed “at once”, and for the maintenance of public order the establishment of British or American military police force of one battalion, but up to the formation of a local police force. The judicial enquiry on the death of a French soldier and the behaviour of the carabinieri obliged Italy to provide “a moral and material compensation to France, according to the diplomatic usage”.¹¹³² Notably, and perhaps unexpectedly, the Italian government of Nitti achieved some substantial progress in the improvement of its relations with the Allied powers. What the decision sanctioned was the CNI and the extremists in Fiume. The situation for the Italian National Council was desperate, since the support it had from the government of Nitti and its foreign minister Tittoni was limited¹¹³³. In the meanwhile, speculation and rising prices were threatening to paralyse the city, forcing the CNI to issue an act principally aimed at reduction of the mark up put by shopkeepers and sellers on their merchandise. For its execution a commission for the control of prices was established.¹¹³⁴

The bargaining power of the Italian National Council against the Yugoslavs was much weaker without the support and the presence of the Italian army units. Again they found a solution: a simulated pro-Italian military coup although risky, could have turned the situation in their favour, since they estimated that the allies would prefer to avoid a direct military confrontation. The coup had to be organized from the city and what they needed was a highly popular and visible leader.

¹¹³⁰ Colonel Polk on the 22nd August 1919 presented the last world on the settlement of the Adriatic question: the American of Wilson line in Istria, plus the neutralisation of the rest and the Quarnero gulf, the free state of Fiume under the control of the League of Nations comprising the islands of Cherso and Veglia, a final plebiscite to determine the final destiny of the Free State as well as of other parts of the Eastern Italian border. In Alatri, p. 147.

¹¹³¹ Macdonald J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D'Annunzio*, London John Murray. Pp.84-87. Especially given the context of the relative successes obtained by Nittian diplomacy towards the Allies in August 1919. See Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, pp. 99-103.

¹¹³² Macdonald J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D'Annunzio*, London John Murray. Pp.86-87.

¹¹³³ Tittoni presented to Nitti, on September the 5th 1919 a draft for a speech to be held at the Italian chamber where if Fiume was to be handed down to an inter-allied occupation force was responsibility of the previous Italian government who signed the London Treaty and not his one. In Alatri, p. 155.

¹¹³⁴ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 77-82.

They contacted the poet Sem Benelli, the Duke of Aosta, the general Peppino Garibaldi (son of Giuseppe) and Gabriele D'Annunzio himself. Benelli was the Council's prime candidate as he offered to head an army of mercenaries which could serve the interest of the Council better than a highly motivated group of patriotic fanatics. D'Annunzio was contacted by Giovanni Host-Venturi a young Fiuman who served as a volunteer in the Italian army in the First World War, and who found the strongest opposition within the National Council. The struggle within the Council between the alternatives of Benelli and D'Annunzio was over the future of Fiume and who would control the post-coup regime. The Council estimated that Benelli would act as their "agent" with his salaried troops, and would be much easier to deal with than the unpredictable "poeta soldato".¹¹³⁵ Giovanni Host-Venturi was already the commandant of the "Fiume battalion" and made no mystery of its revolutionary intentions, generously funded by the Italian forces commanded by General Grazioli.¹¹³⁶

Nevertheless, the dispositions of the Allied Commission had to be enforced. On August 25-26 the two battalions of the Grenadier brigade (Granatieri di Sardegna) took their departure, with a "crowd composed mostly by women and children, who tried to prevent them leaving the town."¹¹³⁷

The first days there was an escalation, after some abortive provocation attempts in Susak, and the announced municipal elections indicted by the CNI the Allies protested, but General Grazioli only to declare that he "no longer exercised control over the CNI". On September the 1st General Grazioli was recalled to Rome to be replaced by General Pittaluga.¹¹³⁸ Two days later, on September the 3rd the results of the Enquiry were published in the local newspapers. In the days 3-5th of September, there was a growing escalation of violence against the British in the local papers and in the streets with the crowd crying "Abbasso gl'inglesi!", the members of the parties opposing the CNI were assaulted in the streets.¹¹³⁹ Rumours that the police was already on the way from Malta. On the 10th the English customs officers began to replace the Italians.

For September 1919 the CNI indicted the elections for the "Rappresentanza della libera città di Fiume e suo distretto" enacted on September the 6th.¹¹⁴⁰ The greatest change was in the extension of

¹¹³⁵ Soldier-poet, was the nickname of D'Annunzio during the war, where he participated in many spectacular military operations.

¹¹³⁶ "the volunteers were supplied with new uniforms from Italy and furnished with rifles, bayonets and ammunition. They received pay at the rate of five lire per day, a considerable sum for young boys, especially when compared with the pay of Italian soldiers and considering that they were still able to carry on their normal work. The training of the unit was in the hands of Italian officers, and was actively carried on in the spite of the continued protests of the Allies." in Macdonald J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D'Annunzio*, London John Murray. Pp.89.

¹¹³⁷ Macdonald J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D'Annunzio*, London John Murray. P. 90. On that occasion D'Annunzio admonished "his man" in Fiume Host-Venturi of the missed opportunity for an insurrection, with the letter "O ardito ardito, perchè non hai osato?".

¹¹³⁸ The Italian general Di Robilant, member of the Commission of Enquiry, already at the beginnings of August proposed the replacement of the general Grazioli before that measure was to be proposed by the Commission. More than 800 witnesses were interrogated by the commission, the Mayor of the city, the President of the CNI and the commander of the Italian carabinieri first among them. Also Grazioli was interrogated. General Di Robilant constated that the bias was negative towards Italy. In Alatri, pp. 122-123. Grazioli in his last period in Fiume acted in complete contrast with the Italian government, culminating with an interview appeared in the Chicago tribune Paris edition from the 31st August 1919 where he stated that the allied powers were in Fiume pursuing their egotistic interests, while only Italy was there for the noble mission of protecting its citizens from the invasion of the Slavs. In Alatri, pp. 157-158.

¹¹³⁹ This is how Susmel synthesised the evolution of the situation in Fiume: "Fiume uscita dalla fase francese, era entrata da poco in quella inglese. Fino all'ultimo momento gli inglesi si erano tenuti in disparte, in una specie di seconda linea, aspettando il loro momento che sembrava essere arrivato. L'assunzione della polizia era considerata come un primo passo verso la posizione privilegiata ed economica che gl'inglesi si andavano preparando per il futuro assetto della città. Mentre la loro politica a Parigi era stata ferrea contro l'annessione ora volevano impadronirsi della strada trasversale balcanica che va da Fiume a Costantinopoli, in modo che fosse il dominio inglese a regolare le comunicazione e gli scambi dell'Adriatico coi Balcani. Questo avevano capito i fiumani che opponevano a questo piano formidabile la loro disperata volontà." In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 226.

¹¹⁴⁰ "Legge 6 settembre 1919, n. 5710 concernente le elezioni della Rappresentanza della libera città di Fiume e suo distretto"

the suffrage to women, and lowering the electoral age from 21 to 20. Moreover, all the categories previously excluded (public officers, military officers, debtors to the commune, indicted of crimes) were now allowed to vote, and the suffrage was now restricted only to those affected by mental infirmity.¹¹⁴¹ The dissolution of the CNI opened up the political competition in Fiume.¹¹⁴² Zanella initiated a staunch propaganda against the CNI, labeled anti national by Pittaluga.¹¹⁴³ The elections, nevertheless, did not take place.

This is how MacDonald describes as one of the rare foreign witnesses the last hours before the invasion: “On September the 11th “a strange spirit of unrest seemed to pervade the town. At the time it was difficult to describe; it was so vague and indefinite, and yet it could certainly be felt. Also Susmel confirms that the action was prepared.¹¹⁴⁴ In the light of after events it was a bubbling over of a long pent-up excitement, and the expectation of signor D’Annunzio’s arrival with his troupe of play-acting soldiers – the comedy which was the surprise of the season.”¹¹⁴⁵ In effect, there were rumours about a *coup d’etat* in which the Fiuman battalion was to play an important part sufficient for the British to mount double guards with machine guns over their billets.¹¹⁴⁶ The evidence is overwhelmingly pointing to the Italian connectedness to the affair. At dawn of the morning of the 12th the bells of the city rang out as the last Italian warships were leaving the harbour.

General Pittaluga refused a visit by a British officer. Pressed for information, “twenty-five minutes later, information was sent by telephone that an armed crowd, about a thousand strong, was advancing from Castua, led by the poet D’Annunzio, and that General Pittaluga had himself gone out to meet the rebels, and endeavour to prevent them from entering the town.”¹¹⁴⁷ General Pittaluga met D’Annunzio, but refused to act. It was hardly probable that General Pittaluga could have done much: the troops of D’Annunzio were soon joined by the same Italian units who left the city, seemingly obeying the orders from Paris pc. To oppose their advance General Pittaluga commander of the Allied troops in Fiume had at his disposal one British battalion, one French battalion, one battalion of French *Annames*, (Vietnamese) all below strength and a brigade of Italian infantry.¹¹⁴⁸

¹¹⁴¹ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 82-83.

¹¹⁴² Pittaluga cabled to Nitti on 11th September: La parte italiana della popolazione è depressa e non nasconde il suo risentimento verso il governo italiano. Il Consiglio Nazionale è anch’esso in dissoluzione. Nella speranza di trovare una via d’uscita e di salvare per l’avvenire l’italianità dell’amministrazione cittadina, esso ha stabilito di indire le elezioni per la sua rinnovazione totale. A tale fine, perché la votazione fosse più solenne, ha deliberato di concedere il diritto elettorale a tutti i cittadini aventi compiuti i venti anni, ciò che porterà il numero degli elettori da 2 000 ad oltre 10 000. in Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D’Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 183.

¹¹⁴³ La data delle elezioni non è ancora fissata non essendo ancora pronte le liste elettorali, ma il movimento dei vari partititi è già iniziato. Gli elementi jugoslavi si agitano vivamente raccogliendo attorno a sé tutti i malcontenti ed i nemici dell’Italia. La missione inglese ne ha assunto completamente la protezione. L’ex deputato Zanella, non ostante le premure rivoltegli per costituire un blocco nazionale, per antichi rancori e forse per considerazioni personali ha preso una posizione ostilissima al Consiglio Nazionale raccogliendo in un manifesto che gli è stato censurato tutte le gravi accuse propalate dalla stampa jugoslava contro gli attuali amministratori. Secondo le direttive ricevute, mi mantengo estraneo alle questioni interne, tuttavia, cerco con opera indiretta di eliminare la grave scissione che condurrebbe con molta probabilità al trionfo dei partiti antinazionali. In Alatri, pp. 157-158.

¹¹⁴⁴ L’11 settembre la *Giovine Italia* chiamava a raccolta la sua gente per le 9 di sera. Un popolo vi accorse. Si parlò del giorno dopo come del giorno decisivo. Non si disse come e perché. Si dette a ciascun uomo e ciascuna donna il suo compito. Ciascuno sapeva ciò che doveva fare ma non quello che sarebbe accaduto. Si sapeva soltanto che il giorno dopo avrebbe segnata al fine o il trionfo. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 228.

¹¹⁴⁵ Macdonald J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D’Annunzio*, London John Murray. P. 93.

¹¹⁴⁶ The tensions must have been very high and reportedly at 10 p.m. on the evening of the 11th a message was received by the British to the effect that an attack on their quarters had been planned for midnight. A British officer sent to the Italian headquarters was replied by the Italian officer naively “damn I thought it was fixed for tomorrow” in Macdonald J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D’Annunzio*, London John Murray. P. 94.

¹¹⁴⁷ Macdonald J.N. 1921. *A Political Escapade. The Story of Fiume and D’Annunzio*, London John Murray. P. 95.

¹¹⁴⁸ Nevertheless, the General Pittaluga failed to inform the Allies of what was going on. The obstruction of the Italian military towards the Nitti government, see Alatri, pp. 86-88.

At midday of September the 12th, “the third objective” of the “15th Italian victory”, the conquering of Fiume, was attained, and like the first with San Marzano’s entry “without the shedding of a drop of blood”.¹¹⁴⁹

On the following morning the 13th a conference was held on the board of the American cruiser U.S.S. “Pittsburgh” at which were present the Allied military and naval commanders to which General Pittaluga was summoned to explain the situation. At first he proclaimed that nothing changed with the government of the town, upon he was still the military commander, but that he awaited orders from Rome for his future conduct. After the conference, “forty minutes later the allied commanders received a letter” (!) from General Pittaluga with the information that: “Yielding to force (*cedendo alla forza*) the inter-Allied Command had at midday ceased to exist, and the flags of the Allied nations had been lowered from the palace with due ceremony”.¹¹⁵⁰

Much less known are the changes that D’Annunzian occupation provided to the internal situation in Fiume. Initially, the state of exception produced by the occupation of a mutinied army, assured to the CNI the absence of any kind of control and opposition against its actions. On the first session the CNI, and its Directive County – the government of Fiume, by the president Grossich, deliberated to confer all its “state powers” to D’Annunzio. But D’Annunzio publicly refused, with a proclaim read by his Chief of Cabinet, Major Giuriati.

Interestingly, in the first days of the Impresa also Zanella gave total support to D’Annunzio.¹¹⁵¹ Probably Zanella estimated that the event would have engendered a revolution in Fiume putting an end to the archrivals of the CNI. On the 15th appeared a manifesto, issued by admission by Zanella, where he with all due courtesy stated that “with D’Annunzio the work of the Partito Autonomo was crowned”, and that the annexation was not in question. To this D’Annunzio answered politely expressing the will to remain and invited Zanella at his Commando. The meeting according to Zanella in his later memories he asked that the Impresa had to be ceased within a month or a month and a half. Such a strong stance seems exaggerated since still on the 22nd Zanella wrote to D’Annunzio asking orders by the commandant and how he could be of any use for the cause, carefully bypassing the CNI. Most probably, Zanella explored what the new situation could have provided to him. D’Annunzio, on the other hand, should have been informed by the CNI and Grazioli about Zanella. Perhaps also for his intolerance of any opposition Zanella was surrounded by many but powerless individuals.¹¹⁵² D’Annunzio firmly on power, dwarfed Zanella in Fiume.

¹¹⁴⁹ The reports of Pittaluga to Nitti are very careful in stressing the fundamental peacefulness of the D’Annunzian entrance and the absence of any clash between the regular and the mutinied troops and the pacification efforts Pittaluga undertook with the Allied commanders on the City. The reports on the activity of the arditi, however are different: the commander of the dreadnought Dante Alighieri reporting on the events of the evening of the 12th September reported that “ Il contegno degli arditi eccitati dal popolo è veramente aggressivo: tutti avevano addosso buon numero di bombe e fucili carichi, anzi una di tali bombe fu fatta esplodere nella serata sotto la poppa della Dante, talché è convinzione unanime che qualsiasi piccolo tentativo per mollare gli ormecci avrebbe senz’altro prodotto un forte spargimento di sangue.” In Alatri, 187. from the (FDD, n. 941 RR).

¹¹⁵⁰ “Ho raccomandato al generale Savy e al T. Colon. Peck grande prudenza e di consegnare la truppa. Ho (ot)tenuto la loro assicurazione a questo riguardo. Alle ore 13 una colonna di qualche migliaio di militari e borghesi si è presentata al Palazzo del governatore reclamando a grandi grida che venissero tolte le bandiere inglese, francese ed americana e minacciando di invadere il Palazzo per toglierle. Nella certezza che questo sarebbe stato invaso, ho ordinato che le bandiere delle Nazioni alleate venissero tolte cogli onori delle armi”. In FDD n. 16793 in Alatri p. 186.

¹¹⁵¹ Zanella wrote an encouraging letter to D’Annunzio already on 22nd August, and a day after the entrance on September the 13th Zanella wrote: “Maestro, coll’animo ricolmo di vivissima riconoscenza per l’atto altissimo che ella ha compiuto per la redenzione della mia città natale, le invio la fervida adesione e l’espressione della mia devozione sincera”. AFV Riccardo Zanella, in Ballarini, Amleto. “L’antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella” [The Antidannunzio at Fiume – Riccardo Zanella], Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995, p. 134.

¹¹⁵² Il suo seguito non contava un granché, pur avendo la forza del numero. Basta scorrere la lista dei suoi più fedeli sostenitori, per rendersi conto che si trattava per lo più di brava gente ma tutti anche se onesti, di non grande seguito e con poco potere in città. Una media borghesia di tanti piccoli professionisti, artigiani, impiegati comunali commercianti .. tutta gente di modeste pretese, di non grandi aspirazioni, pacifica e dabbene, facile a convincersi con il motto : “fiume ai fiumani!” indicava a meraviglia un apolitica casalinga del “vivi e lascia vivere” con la modesta illusione che l’autonomia cittadina fosse davvero la sinecura contro tutti gli appetiti nazionalisti che si manifestavano intorno. In

On a better look, it is clear that D'Annunzio took the control of the defence, the interior as well as the foreign relations - since all the acts and actions deliberated by the CNI that could have sorted a political effect or have an impact on the public safety had to be submitted for approval of the Dannunzian commando.¹¹⁵³ The city, its port, and the district, belonged to Italy, whose guarantee, was the (mutinied) army, but the CNI *had to be* its guarantee.¹¹⁵⁴

Giovanni Giuriati was nominated Chief of the Cabinet by D'Annunzio. His main task apart from organising the legionary forces in the city was to assure discipline and collaboration from the irregulars, volunteers and the fiuman population, in order avoid any kind of incidents to assure that in this way the evacuation of the remaining allied troops in the city could proceed without impediments.¹¹⁵⁵

In fact the conciliatory stance of Clemenceau and Lloyd George made thing easier, when they on the 13th declared their faith that the Italian government was going to settle the issue.¹¹⁵⁶ Tittoni used the argument of the sentimental importance of Fiume for Italy. Clemenceau and Lloyd George accepted the Italian sovereignty over Fiume with the condition that the rail and port infrastructures of importance for the Yugoslav hinterland put under the control of the League of Nations. What had to be decisive was the stance of Wilson.

On September the 13th the Italian general Badoglio was nominated by Nitti "Extraordinary military commissioner for the Venezia Giulia", in charge to deal with the Fiume question. In the afternoon of the same day Nitti, speaking at the Chamber used the term sedition (sedizione) in labelling the Impresa.¹¹⁵⁷ In replacing De Robillant as supreme Italian commander in the Armistice zone, because of his incapacity to prevent the Impresa, Nitti probably in the first moment opted for a violent termination of the "adventure", only later renouncing the use of force against the rebellion.¹¹⁵⁸

General Di Robilant the single Italian general who rightly estimated the risks of the D'Annunzian Impresa before and after it was ordained staunch adversary of D'Annunzio and the annexationists since the turmoil from July, was destitute. The measure was urged by Badoglio, officially because he was "hated by the Fiumani". On the 21st September 1919 Badoglio, one of the generals who was indicted of connivance that ultimately made the Impresa possible, assumed the charge of commander of the 8th Italian army, previously commanded by Di Robilant.

Ballarini, Amleto. *"L'antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella"* [The Antidannunzio at Fiume – Riccardo Zanella], Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995, p. 139.

¹¹⁵³ Gabriele D'Annunzio, comandante della città di Fiume, ordina:

1° il Consiglio Nazionale, eletto col plebiscito del 30 ottobre 1918, rimane in carica. Sono confermati in carica tutti i delegati del Consiglio Nazionale alle varie amministrazioni.

2° tutti gli atti e le deliberazioni del Consiglio Nazionale che comunque possono riguardare l'ordine pubblico e conseguire un effetto politico devono essere sottoposti all'approvazione del comando e non potranno essere eseguito se non nel giorno successivo a quello dell'approvazione. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, pp. 268-269.

¹¹⁵⁴ What transpires is an act of military occupation, rather than an act of government: "Fiume, il territorio, il porto – secondo l'atto del XXX ottobre 1918 riconfermato il XII settembre 1919 per acclamazione del popolo tutto – appartengono all'Italia. L'esercito ne è mallevadore. Il Consiglio Nazionale *dev'essere* mallevadore". In s, pp. 269-270.

¹¹⁵⁵ Giuriati in his memoirs reports that the instituted two groups of 25 officers each. Ho bisogno di voi subito e per un servizio molto delicato. Ci sono attualmente in fiume parecchi reparti di truppe straniere. Non so quando se ne andranno: spero prestissimo. Ma frattanto è assolutamente necessario evitare che ci siano incidenti fra gli stranieri e noi. Quando dico "noi" intendo la popolazione di Fiume e i legionari, un incidente anche se di modeste proporzioni, basterebbe a giustificare la presenza degli stranieri in casa nostra e forse provvedimenti di rigore da parte dei così detti nostri alleati e del governo così detto italiano. Giuriati, p. 27.

¹¹⁵⁶ On the meeting of the Supreme Allied Council on the 15th of September Polk and Lloyd George declared that from the "international point of view" the D'Annunzian Impresa was an event without importance. In al, p. 215

¹¹⁵⁷ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959,, p. 206.

¹¹⁵⁸ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959,, p. 210. the blockade of the city had to be the first maesrue, and only on the 17th Nitti authorised the Italian red corss to send first help to the civilians of the city.

On the 15th Badoglio met Ossoinack who gave his interpretation of the facts: the D'Annunzian Impresa was the last ditch since Yugoslav irregulars were ready to enter the city with the support of the British units, a claim considered to have originated, even by Badoglio, from "excited fantasies".¹¹⁵⁹

Ossoinack thereby declared that the acceptable solution for the CNI was a land lease agreement to the league of nations of the port and rail facilities for 99 years and the cession of the city to Italian sovereignty.¹¹⁶⁰

Badoglio produced its first report on the situation in Fiume on September the 15th where he declared the substantial impracticability of an result action against d given its popularity as Herald of Italy a position used by the Italian government during the war that now hampered its actions, s demonstrated by the massive defections of the Italian units in Fiume. The strategy was to await up the movement would have lost its momentum.¹¹⁶¹

On the 18th Badoglio met Grossich, who declared that the Fiumani considered the city as effectively annexed to Italy, and by "separating the national from the commercial" issue, they could have accepted that the port facilities would have been granted to the "responsible authorities" given that the city was annexed to Italy.

The crucial issue was the assurance of a steady flow of supplies to the city. Badoglio informed Grossich that the government Nitti was forced to refute any official sending of supplies to Fiume, since in this way it would have demonstrated its connivance with D'Annunzio, and this would have compromised the position of Italy in front of the allies. Therefore, the solution was to entrust the Italian Red Cross to organise the sending fixed at least one sending per month for the city, now officially encircled by the regular Italian army units.

At the meeting participated also the comm. Castelli, officially considered "Civil Commissary for the City of Fiume" and as such detached to the Badoglio's headquarters in Volosca. As we shall see, Castelli would prove to be the key liaison officer between the CNI and the Italian army and government. Displaying a great autonomy of action he will constantly filter the information flow from Rome to Fiume always supporting the annexationist stance, and as such would be one of the chief reason for the isolation of Zanella in the eyes of the Italian governments.¹¹⁶²

On the 2nd October the Fiuman major Vio presented to the general Gandolfo his views of the solution of the Fiume question. Since there was no solution in sight, Vio asked the cessation of the blockade that was so damaging to the commercial interests of the city. The conversion of currency with the Italian lira and a provisory solution of the position of the Fiuman government, still not officially recognised by the central Italian government were priority issues. Now given the "peculiar situation" (provided by the D'Annunzian occupation) Vio officially asked that Michele Castelli, already head of the civil cabinet by the Fiuman interallied occupation command (still in force), to be "informally" (ufficiosamente) recognised as Italian governmental envoy to Fiume.

¹¹⁵⁹ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959,, p. 218.

¹¹⁶⁰ Ossoinack, although formally an Italian annexationist, never wanted the port facilities of Fiume under Italian sovereignty, see later his project of the Freeport. In Alatri p. 218.

¹¹⁶¹ in Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 221. this was the strategy that eventually was adopted by the Italian government.

¹¹⁶² Badoglio, from his headquarters in Abbazia, held daily meetings with Fiumani in order to find a solution how to cease the Impresa. Zanella on his hand, will be for all that time residing in Abbazia. Once again Badoglio will be promoted to Chief of the general staff, although he achieved nothing. Instead, the general Caviglia was nominated to command the 8th Italian Army. The role of Badoglio within the Impresa therefore remains still a mystery, what is certain is his connivance with D'Annunzio, and that instead of punishment his career went upward. Castelli (Guaccero) Michele, (11/24/1877, Altamura (Bari) – died on 24/08/1973 in Rome) who by any account was acting very informally as civic commissary to the interallied government in Fiume, and whose position was not settled in Fiume until (27th February 1922), when he was nominated plenipotentiary Ministry to Fiume. Castelli proved to be the key person in linking the local annexationists with an array of individuals in Italy. He will play a crucial role in preventing that Zanella receives any support from Italy, by filtering information and providing extensive support in intelligence and subsidies for the annexationists. After the annexation (22nd May 1924) "Extraordinary Envoy and plenipotentiary Ministry" to manage the civil transition, and his influence in Fiume is hard to be overestimated.

When Nitti was informed by Vio's proposal, he agreed with the concession of a governmental loan to an Italian commercial bank to assure the currency conversion in Fiume, granted the arrival of supplies and agreed with the nomination of Castelli as a *de facto* Italian plenipotentiary to Fiume. Castelli, on the 20th September 1919, reported from manifestations in Fiume, with great participation of the masses, with the CNI was now "under the complete influence of D'Annunzio", but admitting that the working classes did not support D'Annunzio.¹¹⁶³ In effect already on the 18th Castelli sent a despatch to Rome, stating the "ultimate impotency" of any measures from the government aimed at containing D'Annunzio. Moreover, Castelli stated that Fiume would never have granted the internationalisation of the port, and any project had to be submitted to D'Annunzio for approval, without it a solution was impossible. In this way Castelli made the Italian government a hostage to D'Annunzio, as later it will make the government of Zanella hostage of the Italian governments.¹¹⁶⁴

On the 21st September 1919 Badoglio met Vio, who declared his consensus to an international solution for the port of Fiume granted the annexation of the city, but stated "the absolute opposition of Fiume to such solution". Vio proposed the Italian government proclaim the annexation of the city in order to put an end to its irregular position and to leave the final settlement of the port to the workings of the conference, confirming thereby (contrary to Castelli's reports) that the Fiuman leaders of the CNI, did not propose the international solution for the port. Moreover, Vio proposed the immediate dissolution of the CNI after annexation in order to cease the conflicts within the CNI, composed also by "incompetent people". The mayor thought that a nomination of an energy royal commissary would have been the right solution for the city.

On the 27th September 1919 Zanella departed for Rome, to meet Nitti where he was apparently entrusted with the formation of a government of the *fosf.* D'Annunzio when informed convoked him by the commando where they finally broke.¹¹⁶⁵

The possibility of isolating the CNI from D'Annunzio suggested to Nitti another possibility that the admiral Cagni meet D'Annunzio as a special envoy, the proposal was promptly refuted, moreover, it ignited a series of actions by the commando who even attempted expeditions in Dalmatia.¹¹⁶⁶ In Fiume according to Badoglio, the fear of "imminent Yugoslav attacks" was widespread, and admittedly, he was actively involved in fostering the psychosis.

After the Entrance, in Rome the Chamber of Deputies was convoked to discuss the events in Fiume, on the 28th, where the majority went to Nitti. Nitti dissolved the Chambers and indicted the elections for the 16th November 1919 to find a solution of the Fiume question.

On the 25th September the official answer of the American president Wilson arrived, and it referred to the latest proposal of Tittoni, who claimed Italian sovereignty to the city and granted the port facilities to an international solution. Wilson refused, any Italian sovereignty on Fiume, that had to belong to the Free State, granted with the status of a *corpus separatum* as it enjoyed under the Hungarians.

In the meanwhile, on September the 25th 1919 the Council of the Crown was gathered (Prime Minister Nitti, the Presidents of the two Chambers, the former prime ministers, the leaders of the principal political forces in Italy, and the military commanders). Nitti was surprised by the American answer that "modified profoundly any programmed solution" since his cabinet never renounced to Italian sovereignty on Fiume. He observed that the American intransigence caused a growing Italian intransigence where extremists now that openly claimed that the same procedure

¹¹⁶³ Un giudizio esatto e completo sullo stato d'animo della popolazione non è ancora possibile; è però evidente che le attuali manifestazioni, come del resto anche le precedenti, non trovano seguito nelle classi operaie. In a, p. 230.

¹¹⁶⁴ Even Badoglio refused this point and the governments Nitti decided not to correspond with D'Annunzio but only with the general. In Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 224.

¹¹⁶⁵ b, p. 147. The event is also confirmed by Host-Venturi in his memories.

¹¹⁶⁶ On September the 23rd 1919 a hundred legionnaires attacked Traù (Trogir) in Dalmatia, whereby killing 2 Serbian soldiers, the event provoked the immediate American reaction who landed in Traù, upon which retaliations of Slavs against the Italian soldiers and civilians in Dalmatia followed, giving rise to the perilous escalation in the region. In Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 234.

applied in Fiume should have been applied in Dalmatia as well, with resulting several armed incursions in Dalmatia. Moreover, the economic situation of Italy in terms of balance of payments, deficit and need for credit made impossible any resistance or isolation with the allies and especially with America.

Nevertheless, the solution of the Free State of Fiume was now openly advocated by Italy as well and there Zanella appeared as a qualified interlocutor, a fact that only made definitive the break with the D'Annunzians sited on the opposite stance of annexation.

Most of the Fiumani, however, stayed in between Zanella and the D'Annunzian stance. Badoglio contacted the Fiumani to see what was their opinion to the Free State, considered by Wilson as the only solution. The Fiumani wanted to assure the control of the infrastructures and a direct territorial connection with Italy on the western border of the Free State of Fiume. "Grossich and the staunchest annexationists supported by D'Annunzio, would have refused by the others were certainly to be honoured with a solution that presented the Yugoslav threat, thereby assuring economic viability and the preservation of the *italianità* of the city."¹¹⁶⁷

Nitti was satisfied with the report since it opened the possibility of creating a fracture within the CNI and the D'Annunzian entourage, such that was compatible with the solutions propagated by his cabinet. The government initiated a series of parallel actions in order to gain support within Fiume and isolate D'Annunzio.¹¹⁶⁸

On the 23rd of September Zanella wrote to Nitti proposing him a "quite complex but satisfactory solutions for the interests of Italy and Fiume". This moment marked the comeback of Zanella into active politics in Fiume from where he had been dwarfed by D'Annunzio. Zanella proposed a wide ranging action conducted with the press, and within the circles of the CNI where he still had support and charisma, driven by sentiment of duty and his consciousness.¹¹⁶⁹ The goal was in any case the expulsion of D'Annunzio with the legionaries from Fiume.

Awaiting next moves of D'Annunzio Badoglio in a report dated 29th September to persuade the public opinion in Fiume by public declarations that the Free State of Fiume if instituted would have preserved its *italianità* and its safety would have been granted by Italian armed forces. Nitti after consultations with Tittoni, authorised Badoglio to continue his persuasion work in Fiume centred on the following points as a basis for negotiations with the Fiumani.¹¹⁷⁰

The CNI and Gabriele D'Annunzio

The consensus Nitti got at the Chamber exacerbated the conflict between the moderated and the extremist fringes within the D'Annunzian entourage.¹¹⁷¹ Moreover, there was a growing concern for Yugoslav expeditions towards Fiume and Dalmatia, and, finally, the threat that Fiume could have been used as a subversion base for revolutionary attempts or military coups in Italy aimed at revision of the peace negotiations ...¹¹⁷² Fiume became a problem of international and internal stability for Italy.

¹¹⁶⁷ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 243.

¹¹⁶⁸ Francesco Salata and general Grazioli on 5th November contacted Vio, Ossoinack and Giurati to start negotiations. In the meanwhile, in Fiume arrived the generals Sante Ceccherini and Corrado Tamajo, officially to join the rebels, but really to control the activities of the Commando.

¹¹⁶⁹ "Sono in grado di svolgere un'azione abbastanza complessa: col giornale di imminente pubblicazione con riunioni e manifestazioni di partito ed occorrendo anche in seno al Consiglio Nazionale." Letter of Zanella to Nitti 23rd September 1919, "QA documenti originali Agosto – Dicembre 1919" now in Alatri, p. 244.

¹¹⁷⁰ The negotiation baseline had the following points: I the agreement with the allies excludes annexation of Fiume to Yugoslavia, II territorial contiguity with Italy, III the city has to be Italian or a free city with a special statute granting its autonomy greater than that under Maria Theresa, IV the military garrison will be exclusively Italian in the transition period with an interallied mandate under an Italian commander any solution is not definitive and it can be renegotiated.

¹¹⁷¹ After the result was made public D'Annunzio made a extremely vehement speech where he nicknamed Nitti for the first time *Cagoia*. Reportedly, the name derived from a drunkard in Trieste.

¹¹⁷² Related to this the all too frequent visits of the Duke and Duchess of Aosta to Fiume ... Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 252-254.

On the 2nd October the last allied unit, the French ship *Condorcet* left the port of Fiume, and with it the last Serbian troops left the city. From that moment on the only force was the D'Annunzian legionaries, and the commando initiated a series of actions aimed at strengthening its powers. In the judiciary D'Annunzio instituted a series of special (Military) tribunals: A War Tribunal instituted by decree n. 3 from the 25th September 1919.¹¹⁷³

The legislative action by the CNI proceeded. On October the 12th 1919 all the political parties had to merge and form the *Unione Nazionale* giving birth to a single-party system, headed by a powerless figure: the ing. Conighi, united with the motto "Italia e onestà".¹¹⁷⁴ the result of what was intended to be the plebiscite for the approval of the line of conduct of the CNI (the compromised were excluded) ended with a plebiscitary result. also the Associazione Autonoma Zanella's party invited the voters to cast their ballots. only Zanella fought alone, and diffused with capillarity a series of manifestos first against the elections and in the pamphlet *Questioni di politica Fiumana*, he argued the diffused lawlessness and openly questioned the residual legitimacy of the CNI. He had a point: the lodge "Sirius" formed the kernel of the Directive County of the CNI. By admission of Ballarini from their verbal and acts, emerges a "business county" where all the aspects of the Fiuman situation was evaluated to influence the actions of these individuals in the direction condered the most convenient.¹¹⁷⁵

The cession of the Danubius Ganz shipyard was conducted under the total control and supervision of Fiuman members of the lodge "Sirius" to the Gruppo Finanziario Terni – Comm.. Orlando. Orlando from Livorno was a well known freemasons from the lodge of Palazzo Giustiniani where the "Sirius" was affiliated after the Great Lodge of Hungary.

The pamphlet *Questioni di politica Fiumana*, presented the document that circulated secretly of the results of the commission of the Magazzini Generali.¹¹⁷⁶

¹¹⁷³ A Special Military tribunal instituted by decree n. 33 from the 28th November 1919, a Martial Court instituted by decree from the 27th November 1920.

¹¹⁷⁴ "Il 12 si costituiva l'Unione Nazionale, che, mirando come supremo fine all'annessione, si proponeva di raccogliere in un solo fascio tutti gli italiani per far trionfare nell'elezioni del Consiglio Nazionale e comunale l'unanime volontà dei cittadini". In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 278.

¹¹⁷⁵ La loggia "Sirius" operante a Fiume anche dopo l'annessione all'Italia e fin che le leggi fasciste non ne disposesero lo scioglimento, costitutiva, stando anche ai verbali delle sue sedute, un vero e proprio comitato d'affari, dove ogni aspetto politico, economico e finanziario veniva studiato e attentamente valutato al fine di orientare l'influenza dei propri associati nella direzione ritenuta più conveniente. in Ballarini, Amleto. *"L'antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella"* Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995, p. 192.

¹¹⁷⁶ In Fiume since the beginnings of the CNI the speculations have accompanied. Most notable and used from the beginnings of the propaganda of the autonomists first gotthardi and alter Zanella was the administration of the Magazzini Generali. The port warehouses by the end of October an estimated value of 60 million of good crowns (that is before the war inflation). A commission for its management and realization that is selling after the property was considered to belong to the CNI and Fiume (constituted as a state, nationalised all the goods fund in the warehouses) was entrusted to a Commissione Adriatica di Movimento. The commission headed by the members of the lodge Sirius cornered around Ossoinack (Luigi Nicolich, Giovanni Rubinich, Ugo Venutti, Adolfo Gottardi, Andrea Ossoinack) along with Vio and Bellasich of the freemasonry. The main suspect was Nicolich, for the selling of the goods for which 12 million (paper not gold) crowns were realised. Obviously, the result was as Zanella wrote: "persone che nell'ottobre 1918 non avevano il becco di un quattrino, a marzo 1919 erano già ricche e ostentavano lussi prima ignorati". Nevertheless, a commission was entrusted by the CNI who produced the following results of the inquiry: the main damage was that much more than the 12 million crowns could have been earned from the selling, on the other hand, the commission recognized the exceptional moment and that it had to act quickly since otherwise, as Nicolich in his defense said, all would have been confiscated by the allied occupying troops. This prevented the commission of compelling an inventory and regular bookkeeping and in this way the assessment of the damage that is speculation was ultimately impossible. Obviously, these were unconvincing conclusions what only raised the suspects. If the goods were sold for almost nothing related to their value, and this was done in the name of the state of Fiume, how come it was the state who suffered the greatest losses? On the other hand why there was no bookkeeping if the act was done precisely from preventing the wares of being looted? Empirically, the *nouvelle riches* coincided pretty well with the indicted team. The slogan "Italia e onestà" of the *Unione Nazionale*, offshoot of the CNI, refereed explicitly to honesty, to contrast the accusations of the speculations where the members of the CNI were involved. Zanella obviously used it by declaring the most exposed members such as Nicolich "nè italiano, nè onesto". To the tribunal John Stiglich one of Zanella's staunchest enemies was entrusted with the judicial inquiry. Finally, after the entrance of D'Annunzio Nicolich

On October the 14th 1919 the decree law n. 6450 envisaged the election of a Fiuman deputy to the Italian parliament. Voters were defined as “Italian citizens, pertinent to the commune of Fiume”.¹¹⁷⁷ With this act the city had to be considered as an integral part of Italy, whose symbolic importance can hardly be exaggerated. the electoral constituency had to be opened by the King, but since the conditions of armistice and the city is militarily occupied the constituency had to be activated by the Commander of the Italian occupation forces, in his name.¹¹⁷⁸

Finally, after a series of projects were presented at the Paris Peace Conference, Wilson on mid October 1919, accepted the demilitarised Free State of Fiume with the city as a *corpus separatum*,¹¹⁷⁹ Zara was to be made a free city while the rest of Dalmatia was granted to the Yugoslavs. Tittoni asked the territorial contiguity and a greater degree of autonomy to the city of Fiume, to which “an absolute independence was to be granted”. The project Tittoni was refuted by the Americans.

The contrasts with the allies augmented since also the British government made it clear that the D’Annunzian occupation was tolerated it did not mean that it was approved by the allied powers. On the 7th October in Fiume Mussolini arrived where he held a speech, as well as the nationalist leader Corradini, Alfredo Rocco went to Fiume to try to persuade D’Annunzio to try a March on Trieste since an occupation of Trieste would have provoked the fall of the Nitti cabinet in Rome.¹¹⁸⁰ On the 7th October the steamship Persia from the Lloyd Triestino arrived in Fiume. The ship charged with a great amount of weaponry and ammunition for the Middle East was intercepted off Messina and conducted to Fiume. Allegedly, the support came from a left leaning captain Giulietti, head of the trade union *Federazione della gente di mare*, to prevent the sending of weapons believed to be intended for the war against the Soviet Union. what is certain is that in this way, the D’Annunzian regime, by selling the cargo, realised some 20 million lira with whom the continuation of the adventure could be financed. It was a first in a series of piracy acts that marked the life and the economy of the D’Annunzian Fiume.

openly challenged Zanella through the pages of the *vd* from the 2nd November 1919. At that time Zanella was utterly prevented from action and the control of the CNI thanks to there D’Annunzian arditi was complete. in Ballarini, Amleto. “*L’antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella*” [The Antidannunzio at Fiume – Riccardo Zanella], Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995, p. 160.

¹¹⁷⁷ Both sexes could vote, excluded were voters declared mental infirmity, the bankrupted and professional prostitutes. Elected only men in possession of voting right in Fiume or in Italy older than 25.

¹¹⁷⁸ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 92-99. Comandante – was the official appellation of Gabriele D’Annunzio in Fiume.

¹¹⁷⁹ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D’Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, pp. 257-249, special status for Fiume, territorial contiguity of the fs of with Italy, cession of the island of Lagosta (Lastovo) to Italy.

¹¹⁸⁰ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D’Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 269.

On October the 15th 1919 D'Annunzio dissolved the Rappresentanza and convoked the new elections for the 26th. On October the 21st 1919 the state powers were transferred from the CNI to the Rappresentanza, until the recognition of the annexation of Fiume to Italy. The Rappresentanza will exercise it in separate sessions still under the name of CNI. The executive will still be in the hands of a body called Directive County, composed by the president of the CNI, and the heads (named “delegates”) of the following administrative branches:¹¹⁸¹

1. Interior (including supplies, and social policies)
2. Finances and treasury
3. Trade, industry and agriculture
4. Public education
5. Communications
6. Grace, justice and the cults

That act sanctioned the duality of powers between the CNI and Gabriele D'Annunzio. Gabriele D'Annunzio was given all the “sovereign powers” by the CNI at the moment of the Entrance, but then he transferred them back to the CNI. The CNI acted as if they were *de facto* now an integral part of Italy, therefore, the Rappresentanza acted as a municipal government that only for contingent reasons had to exercise executive state powers, by assuming the name of CNI. Gabriele D'Annunzio had *de facto* the control of the defence and later also of the foreign relations of the City state.

On the 22nd October, on the thirtieth day of the Impresa, D'Annunzio started his famous nationalistic liturgy that made “the D'Annunzian world” in Fiume worldwide known.¹¹⁸² On the evening of the 24th October 1919 “the entire city” was convoked at the communal theatre to hear the “Orazione al popolo di Fiume” where a series of very ambitious actions was introduced: Fiume is not only to oppose the iniquity of the Paris Peace Conference, but it has to become the model of a new world that has to emerge from the material and moral rubble of the war.¹¹⁸³

The institution of a “League of the Oppressed Peoples” (Lega dei Popoli Oppressi) aimed at contrasting the newborn League of Nations, with propaganda but also terrorist actions wherever there are peoples excluded by the new world order was introduced. Obviously the principal aim was Yugoslavia, whose peoples (the Croats, the Montenegrins etc) were oppressed by the Serbs. Later on with Gabriele D'Annunzio, there will be an attempt to foster the break-up of Yugoslavia by using Montenegrin¹¹⁸⁴ and Croatian separatists¹¹⁸⁵. Even an ambitious project for the liberation of the Arabs, the Egyptians from the Middle East as well as the Jews will be drafted, but it seems for little more than tactical reasons, since the only coordinated and continuous effort was directed against Yugoslavia. If Yugoslavia broke up, “the Adriatic question” would essentially have been solved for

¹¹⁸¹ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 99-101. also in Susmel: “Il 21 ottobre il Consiglio Nazionale votava un progetto di legge che trasferiva i poteri statali alla Rappresentanza municipale la quale aveva la facoltà d’esercitarli in separate sessioni col nome di Consiglio Nazionale. La legge semplificava l’ordinamento del Consiglio Nazionale, in quanto 27 membri del Comitato Direttivo venivano ridotti a sei delegati e precisamente agli interni, alle finanze, al commercio ed industria, alle comunicazioni, all’istruzione e alla giustizia. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921. p. 283.

¹¹⁸² See for example Mosse, Ledeen, Ballinger, all mostly interested in the national liturgy inaugurated in Fiume, and considered as the precursor of the plebiscitarian dictatorships of the XX c. for the creative, existential and artistic aspects of “the D'Annunzian world” see Salaris, Claudia. *Alla festa della rivoluzione. Artisti e libertari con D'Annunzio a Fiume*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2002.

¹¹⁸³ “fonde la questione di Fiume con le altre che sorgono nel vasto mondo dominato dagli insaziabili appetiti dei “divoratori di carne cruda”, ai quali si affacciano ora, paurosamente imperiosi e pressanti, altri ben più urgenti problemi da affrontare; e soffiano altri aneliti di oppressi che domandano giustizia e libertà e rinnovano minacce e rivolte. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, pp. 284-285.

¹¹⁸⁴ Jovan (John) Plamenac, who became professor of ethnology in Oxford among others.

¹¹⁸⁵ Allegedly there are also politicians and, Croatian separatist leaders who flock to Fiume. There is a certain dr. Sachs previous supporter of dr. Frank. He obtains an office in the governor’s palace given to him by Grazioli.

Italy. In effect this initiative was already initiated by the Italian High Command, already in spring 1919 entrusted the general Badoglio the Italian Vice Chief of Staff, to initiate a series of actions aimed at destabilisation of the newborn Yugoslav state.

On the 26th October the elections for the renewal of the Rappresentanza were held. Out of 10444 electors 7154 voted, and of those more than 7000 voted for the union list.¹¹⁸⁶ The election (intended as a plebiscite) was public, not secret, since the old Hungarian law was left unchanged assuring that the opposition had no chances to participate, given the situation in the city after the arrival of D'Annunzio.¹¹⁸⁷ The first gathering of the new Rappresentanza, granted to it the rights of representation that were always disputed. The first act was to confirmed the deliberation of the of the first CNI, that ones that proclaimed the annexation of Fiume to Italy.¹¹⁸⁸ The deliberation was sent to the American Senate, after what the Commander gave the speech “Cosa fatta capo ha”, that anticipated the annexation of Italy by Fiume, later stated in the constitution.¹¹⁸⁹ Fiume was the state of will, and as such borders, institutions, treaties or history were not impeding obstacles.

On the second half of October, Nitti centred his efforts towards the American diplomats. Contemporarily, Nitti sent a telegram to Lloyd George, where he urged actions from the British ministry in favour of the Italian cause of Fiume.¹¹⁹⁰ Lloyd George answered very positively, marking a turn in the Anglo-Italian relations.¹¹⁹¹ But again, the Americans answered negatively, with the “American note of the 27th October”, denying to Italy the possession of Zara and extending the neutralisation zone of the Free State.¹¹⁹² This equalled, according to Tittoni, in the plain impossibility of a solution of the Adriatic question within the framework of the ppc.

Obviously, the incapacity of the Nitti executive to act effectively against D'Annunzio, being *de facto* a hostage of the Italian army (and not only of the rebels in Fiume) hampered progressively its credibility in the international arena. As Tittoni admitted in a letter to Nitti 26th October that the solution required a united nation, Italy on the contrary, was a profoundly divided country and its executive could not count on its army to expel D'Annunzio from Fiume.¹¹⁹³

In November 1919, Tittoni, depressed and ill, presented his last project for the settlement of the Adriatic question, to the envoy Polk. The project envisaged the institution of the Free City of Fiume within the Free State of Fiume, within the borders of the Wilson line. Dalmatia to Yugoslavia, Zara a Free City.

On the 12th November 1919, the American Secretary of State, Lansing answered that America for the Adriatic settlement could not deny the principles that it otherwise applied. Lansing claimed in his reply that Italy actually got a safe border on the Brenner, a supremacy in the Adriatic granted by the the naval bases of Pola and Valona, and the control of at least one central Adriatic island. To Italy moreover, the realisation of the pre-war plans of the irredentism to annex the regions inhabited by Italians such as Gorizia Trieste and western Istria as well as the northern Adriatic islands of Lussin and the Free State of Fiume with special guaranties regarding its italianità. But this was still

¹¹⁸⁶ In the lists there were great many Arditi, while many of the local population were excluded on political or ethnic grounds.

¹¹⁸⁷ This is how Susmel described the event: “Fu giorno di processione alle urne, poiché si compiva il secondo plebiscito. Tutti andarono alle urne. Tutti votarono: uomini e donne. Votarono a occhi chiusi. Votarono una lista sola. Votarono la lista aperta. Votarono la lista incontaminata.” In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 287.

¹¹⁸⁸ “Rinnova unanime la deliberazione del primo Consiglio Nazionale, plebiscitariamente approvata da tutto il popolo, per cui Fiume, in forza del suo diritto all'autodecisione, proclamava l'annessione all'Italia.” In s. p. 293.

¹¹⁸⁹ “Cosa fatta capo ha/Viva Fiume d'Italia/Viva l'Italia di Fiume” In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 295 but also ...

¹¹⁹⁰ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, pp. 290-291.

¹¹⁹¹ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 292.

¹¹⁹² Nitti justifying the territorial contiguity of Fiume with Italy with political reasons. In a lengthy letter written to the Lansing he made of it principally an ethical question appealing to the ethical spirit of the Americans.

¹¹⁹³ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, pp. 298-299. Already, on the 20th October D'Annunzio and Badoglio met at Cantrida, western outskirts of Fiume, but with D'Annunzio irremovable on his requests, no compromise was achieved.

not enough and the Italian negotiators adducing different reasons wanted more. America could not approve a settlement retimed unjust and perilous for peace in Europe.¹¹⁹⁴

In the same day, arrived also the answer of Lansing to the letter sent to him by Nitti on the 28th October. There Lansing regarded what Nitti called “moral question” an essential problem of lack of political authority of the Italian government by the Italian top brass and the highest ranks of state bureaucracy, and the public press “out of any control”.

Also Clemenceau at the Conference on the 11th November 1919 claimed that he saw an insuperable difficulty in the Italian stance towards the Adriatic settlement. The conference had already deliberated to leave only an Italian battalion in the city instead there came D’Annunzio who did not obey to the government. The problems was that if the conference deliberated that the city had to be administered by an allied occupation force only the allied could have honoured it since the British, French and American armies obey to their governments while the Italian army does not.

The Adriatic, promised to Italy by the London Treaty, was lost on the diplomatic table giving birth to the “mutilated victory”. In D’Annunzio’s intentions Italy was now to be saved by Fiume. Fiume of D’Annunzio could start also its foreign policy and military operations. In the night of the 13th November 1919, D’Annunzio, with Luigi Rizzo and Castruccio Castracane who commanded a little flotilla went to “conquer” Zara, the Dalmatian city that was “betrayed by the Allies, abandoned by the government, and had to be rescued by Fiume”.¹¹⁹⁵ There they meet the Italian admiral Millo, (still the Commander of the Allied contingent in Dalmatia), and went to the municipal palace in midst of a public ludibrium since the regular troops fraternised with the D’Annunzian Arditi.¹¹⁹⁶ Clearly, what was achieved in Fiume with Grazioli, had to be repeated in Dalmatia with Millo, but apart from a significant moral but general support, Millo could not offer more, and the mission ended up in a failure.¹¹⁹⁷

Obviously, the expedition meant that the seditious attempts forged in Fiume, were aimed against whole Italy. According to the Civil Commissary of Trieste Berio, Fiume become the centre of conspirator activity aimed at the whole peninsula. In what appears as a veritable prelude to the March on Rome, Italy was already divided in territories assigned to the command of army cadres.

The national political elections fixed for the 16th November were obviously a good moment to start with. Groups of legionaries were sent by D’Annunzio across Italy in the major centres to work on sedition and organise insurgency.

On the 16th November, Luigi Rizzo was elected with 7409 ballots “first deputy of Fiume at the Italian parliament”.¹¹⁹⁸ On the 11th November 1919 the Rappresentanza elects the new major – Riccardo Gigante, who swore to the Statuto albertino, the Italian constitution, with D’Annunzio acclaiming to Zara – La Santa. On the 12th Grossich “by acclamation” was re-elected president of the Consiglio Nazionale.

¹¹⁹⁴ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D’Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 310

¹¹⁹⁵ Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 309. Mayor Giuriati, chief of the dannunzian cabinet was already there since the end of October. In a. p. 313.

¹¹⁹⁶ Susmel annotated: *Zara la santa, Zara la fedele, Zara la forte, è finalmente consacrata per sempre italiana*. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 315.

¹¹⁹⁷ A different outcome would have lead to full scale hostility between Italy and the Allies. On the other hand, Millo disobeyed by speaking publicly in Zara where he gave total support to D’Annunzio. He telegraphed to Nitti: Ho impegnato la mia parola che non sgombreremo la Dalmazia del patto di Londra. Truppe e regolari rimangono alla mia dipendenza. Con questo mio atto reputo di avere agito da italiano e da soldato. Millo a Nitti 14 novembre 1919, FDD, n. 11264, now in Alatri p. 314, note 220. As notices Alatri, Zara was already occupied by the Italian troops, if the purpose was to commit the permanent of the Italian corps it succeeded on the other hand, maybe there was only a perceived need for action in a period where all the diplomatic activates reached a stalemate.

¹¹⁹⁸ Luigi Rizzo “the hero of Premuda”, commander of the torpedo boat (MAS) who sank the Szent Istvan dreadnought battleship (built in Fiume), was even provided by the “official mandate”. Obviously, this was a farce since Fiume was not part of Italy but the plan was to had him elected at the Italian national elections for the parliament where he was given the imperative mandate to represent Fiume. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 305.

To sum up, on September the 12th 1919 Gabriele D'Annunzio occupied militarily the City, by assuming “sovereign powers”, on the other hand, the CNI continued to exercise the legislative powers and the retained executive with its Directive County.¹¹⁹⁹

The power and authority of the CNI is now stronger than ever: it has a total room of manoeuvre since the occupying military power is a mutinied army that is untied with international agreements, national institutions or public opinion. As such the CNI is intensifying the institutional transformation of Fiume, introducing Italian norms, laws entire codes anticipating measures to be taken in the Julian march only after its position within Italy was secured and defined by international treaties. In Fiume it all started well before.

Now, the CNI had at its disposal its armed forces, secured by a law on its defence army, called Legione Fiumana (Fiuman Legion), where also Italian volunteers were accepted, whose management was by CNI and the military organization and supreme command are by the commander of the City, now provided by D'Annunzio.¹²⁰⁰

Modus Vivendi

Although the King at the opening discourse of the Parliament gave a significant speech where the claims of Italy in the Adriatic with the explicit reference on Fiume and Zara¹²⁰¹, were stated, Fiume was isolated by military blockade and politically. After the elections of the 16th November in Italy, the left won and the support that D'Annunzio had in the parliament was dwindling.¹²⁰² The state of exception, the isolation and social breakdown produced widespread discontent in Fiume. In the same time, the Italian government headed by Nitti, tried to isolate D'Annunzio and offered a compromise in the form of a *modus vivendi* by which all the pendant issues between Yugoslavia, Italy and Fiume would have been settled.

During the whole duration of the government of Nitti (23rd June 1919 – 21st May 1920) , D'Annunzio as a baseline for any Adriatic compromise considered the London Treaty, the question of Fiume, left unsolved, was to be settled by the self determination of its inhabitants. But the “fearful government” of Nitti refused to do so putting in this way D'Annunzio against the allies, without support of the Italian government. Anyway, also for Nitti any compromise had to be taken with D'Annunzio.¹²⁰³

D'Annunzio sent his Chief of Cabinet Giuriati to Rome to try to find a compromise. The Italian general Badoglio, persuaded the government to act urgently and took charge of the negotiations. On November the 23rd Badoglio sent the proposal to D'Annunzio for evaluation. The text although it

¹¹⁹⁹ D'Annunzio occupied the palace of the Hungarian governor, replacing Grazioli. Since it was built, the palace effectively embodied state sovereignty in Fiume. After the departure of the Hungarian governor, it was occupied by the Croats, and from then on always by an Italian military, usually a general who was also military governor of the City. The only Fiuman that will take possession of the palace will be Zanella, in the short autonomist government of the Free State. The annexationist governments will never take place in the palace, leaving it to the Italian military occupation authorities.

¹²⁰⁰ Law from the 26th January 1920 n. 463 “con cui viene statuito il servizio militare obbligatorio per la difesa di Fiume”. In Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 111.

¹²⁰¹ Le aspirazioni dell'Italia nell'Adriatico non nascondono nessun disegno militare, né hanno, in gran parte, valore economico. Esse sono intanto più alte e nobili in quanto si limitano alla difesa di un'idealità nazionale, fondata su un diritto derivante insieme dalla natura e dalla storia, e però la difesa delle popolazioni di lingua e di razza italiana costituisce per noi un imprescindibile dovere oltre che un imprescindibile diritto. “ in Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 320.

¹²⁰² Not even Luigi Rizzo, “First deputy of Fiume at the Italian parliament” and who ran as a candidate at the constituency of Messina, was elected, therefore Fiume was without representative at the parliament.

¹²⁰³ Perché è indiscutibile che soltanto la venuta di Gabriele D'Annunzio ha salvato la città. Se noi tre mesi fa avessimo accettato le proposte che ci venivano fatte, ed alcuni cittadini che oggi fanno la voce grossa sarebbero stati ben disposti a farlo, se noi non avessimo resistito e se D'Annunzio non fosse venuto in nostro aiuto, noi avremmo oggi una città “libera” asservita allo straniero. Non di altro si sarebbero spaventati gl'inglesi e i francesi: non della parola e delle frasi grosse. In Salotti, Guglielmo. I rapporti fra il Consiglio Nazionale fiumano e Gabriele D'Annunzio, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fumani* Anno XVIII, gennaio-dicembre 1972, pp. 72, verbale del CNI del 4 dicembre 1919.

recognised the right of the “free Italian city of Fiume” to “decide its destinies”, could have been accepted if it did not hamper the recognition of the results of Italian victory and did not pose a danger for the country.¹²⁰⁴ On the other hand, the Italian government declared its will to help the City of Fiume to reconstruct the foundations of its existence and the prosperity of the peoples of the hinterland. The “sovereign rights of the City of Fiume (*corpus separatum*)” were recognised; the Italian government promised financial help for the solution of the monetary problem in Fiume. Moreover, it had the intention to oppose any solution that could have isolated and separated the City of Fiume from Italy, to occupy the City by the Italian regular army units and send an envoy from the Italian government to the City of Fiume.¹²⁰⁵

The text is of fundamental importance since it defined the baseline for all the Italian proposals for the solutions of Fiume and it that had to be presented at the Paris Peace Conference as the official Italian proposal. As we shall see, all the points will be realised in Fiume.

The text was to remain secret, but on the night of the 29th November 1919, Fiume was placarded with the complete text of the *modus vivendi*, with the name of Badoglio, and an appeal to the Fiumani to get rid of D'Annunzio, with the signature of Zanella. The day after another manifesto was issued, printed in Abbazia where Zanella openly challenged the D'Annunzian commando accused of concealing the truth to the Fiumani. On the 4th of December a placate analysis of the proposal ignored completely D'Annunzio and considered the acceptance of the *modus vivendi* as a necessary sacrifice for the Fiumani that would have granted the preservation of the *italianità* of the city. The initiatives were supported by the Italian forces, that is from Badoglio who, in tune with Nitti, used Zanella as the principal instrument to weaken the D'Annunzian front in Fiume.¹²⁰⁶

The operation was successful, since now the CNI could not ignore that Italy made concrete proposals for the settlement of the Fiume question, that were tailored to the needs of the Fiumani. On the 4th December the CNI had a very long session, where Bellasich presented to the Directive County the discussions he had with Badoglio. Bellasich considered the act as an acceptable solution, since it had marked differences with the diverse “transitional projects” (Tardieu, Gay, Tittoni etc.).

But other hand the proposal contained an ultimatum¹²⁰⁷, that made Grossich to exclaim the “fundamental lack of goodwill” on the other hand, the mention of the “sovereign rights of the city of Fiume (*corpus separatum*)” meant simply that the city was to be constituted as a Free City.

D'Annunzio who was present and asked claimed that his troops were better equipped than the regular army, so that resistance was possible.¹²⁰⁸ And as a condition for the acceptance of the

¹²⁰⁴ Allorché tale accoglimento non costituirà più insuperabile ostacolo al conseguimento dei frutti della vittoria e grave pericolo per l'esistenza della Patria. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 321.

¹²⁰⁵ The text of the *modus vivendi* proposal: Allo scopo assume impegno: di far aiutare immediatamente da un istituto di credito italiano il Comune di Fiume, allo scopo di regolare la sua situazione finanziaria e risolvere la questione della valuta;

di agevolare l'immediata ripresa di attività del porto di fiume in regime di porto franco.

Il governo italiano si impegna solennemente:

1° a non consentire mai che i diritti sovrani della città di Fiume (corpo separato) e la sua indipendenza vengano comunque diminuiti o violati;

2° di non aderire o accogliere in nessun caso soluzioni della questione che separassero Fiume e il suo territorio dalla madre Patria;

3° di occupare e garantire frattanto l'integrità di Fiume e del suo territorio con truppe regolari italiane e di rispettare quelle proprie milizie locali che la città di Fiume credesse costituirsi;

4° di riconoscere l'autorità sovrana cittadina di Fiume designando preso di essa un proprio delegato nell'intesa di facilitare i rapporti fra essa e l'autorità del Regno. In s, p. 323

¹²⁰⁶ Zanella coordinated the issues of the proclamations, and travelled with a barge from the 77th division from Abbazia to Susak where he met his indefatigable assistant Mario Blasich. ARCGP Scat. 14, Comando Legione Carabinieri Reali – notiziario interno – prot. 26/73 del 2/12/1919. now in b., p. 165.

¹²⁰⁷ Il r. Governo è vivamente addolorato dai danni che la Città di Fiume deve continuare a risentire per la mancata applicazione del detto *modus vivendi*.

modus vivendi D'Annunzio asked guarantees also for the other contested “unredeemed lands of Dalmatia”, and that the “Cushion State” was abandoned. D'Annunzio even was enough that Dalmatia had to be put under some form of a protectorate.

The Comando di Fiume “in accordance with the CNI” declared the acceptance and formulated the following counterproposals: in the first part it paraphrased in the second it the Italian government was to refuse the project Tittoni, that Italy was not to propose new, but that it had to evaluate was to be offered by the allied, that no solution that ensured the loss of military and political control on the occupied territories by force of the armistice clause plus the islands of Veglia and Arbe.¹²⁰⁹ Moreover, in order “to oppose possible aggressions from Yugoslavia”, an adequate military force was to be held in the mentioned territories, thereby preserving admiral Millo at the government of Dalmatia (whose annexationist stance and support to D'Annunzio were known), finally, “immediate provisions to solve also in Dalmatia the currency crisis” had to be undertaken, thereby introducing the Italian monetary control to Dalmatia.¹²¹⁰ The third part had the provisions concerning the legal and international status of the D'Annunzian troops in Fiume.

The Italian government refused since the concessions represented the maximum that was possible to assure in order to safeguard and guarantee the italianità of Fiume, by concluding that the Italian government was sorry for the damages that the city of Fiume will continue to suffer from the failed acceptance of the *modus vivendi*.¹²¹¹

Nevertheless, Count Sforza recalled Giuriati and Rizzo to Rome for consultations where new proposals were issued and they wired to D'Annunzio the information that these were acceptable. After having discussed with D'Annunzio, major Giuriati exposed them in a secret meeting to the CNI, where they were approved (by declaring “full faith” to D'Annunzio).

D'Annunzio went to Badoglio to ask guarantees if the Delta was to be assigned to Fiume, if the local militia was to remain under his command, if foreign troops were excluded by a military occupation of Fiume. After details started to leak the population rumours discussions etc.

On the 11th December 1919 the Directive County held another “sessione riservata”. Bellasich remarked that the political outlook in Italy were not favourable to the cause of Fiume. Especially the Socialists who “opposed any idea of motherland”. The bourgeois parties, on the other hand, lacked unity. Moreover, the capacity of the City to resist was not that since the voluntaries have another mentality from the soldiers, and discipline caused serious problems with the citizens.¹²¹² The city was in front of a dilemma and if it decided to resist asked Bellasich could the members of the directive county guarantee that that could have supported D'Annunzio in his resistance? On the other hand, the compromise saved Fiume by granting it to Italy. Susmel proposed an “ordine del giorno” that accepted the proposal Badoglio if integrated with some guarantees, (he confined it to Fiume). Its acceptance meant that if accepted the Italian regular army would have entered Fiume, planned for the 15th of December. In the meanwhile D'Annunzio bought time adding continuous *addenda* to the conditions of the text.

On the 15th December the CNI had a very long session where “the leaders of the factions” (despite the declarative unity reached with the National League) presented and accepted without reserve

¹²⁰⁸ Salotti, Guglielmo. I rapporti fra il Consiglio Nazionale fiumano e Gabriele D'Annunzio, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XVIII, gennaio-dicembre 1972, pp. 75, verbale del CNI del 4 dicembre 1919.

¹²⁰⁹ Che non sarà accettata alcuna soluzione della questione adriatica, la quale non contemplasse il nostro diretto controllo militare e politico sui territori occupati in forza della convenzione di armistizio, *oltre alle isole di Veglia e Arbe*. In s, p. 323

¹²¹⁰ Che saranno adottati immediati provvedimenti atti a risolvere anche in Dalmazia la crisi della valuta. In s. p. 324.

¹²¹¹ Il r. governo è vivamente addolorato dei danni che la città di Fiume deve continuare a risentire per la mancata applicazione di detto *modus vivendi*. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 324.

¹²¹² “Alcuni fatti deplorabili hanno provocato del panico e talvolta anche un ingiusto risentimento da parte di chi troppo facilmente dimentica quale minaccia incombeva il 12 settembre sulla città e trascura di riflettere quale sarebbe stata la sorte di Fiume senza il gesto magnanimo di Gabriele D'Annunzio e dei suoi baravi legionari”. Salotti, Guglielmo. I rapporti fra il Consiglio Nazionale fiumano e Gabriele D'Annunzio, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XVIII, gennaio-dicembre 1972, pp. 83, verbale del CNI del 4 dicembre 1919.

(with 51 ballots against 3), the Italian proposal and left to D'Annunzio the definitive decision.¹²¹³ D'Annunzio, when informed, spoke from the palace in front of a “dimostrazione di donne, di popolani e di soldati” and gave a speech, where he declared that the CNI had accepted the proposal sollevando girda di protesta e invettive contro l'assemblea. Here are the connotations of the D'Annunzian regime in Fiume: he could always mobilise the mob in this case against the CNI, since the CNI was the legitimate representative body of the fiuman people, but the same people was ... it had to be evaluated by popular response. In a “Letter to the Fiumani”, D'Annunzio seemingly offered his resignations.¹²¹⁴ Privately, D'Annunzio stated to Grossich and two councillors that maybe the solution was acceptable for Fiume but since it did not solve the whole problem of the Adriatic in an acceptable fashion this caused to him feelings of the staunches turbation and angoscia.¹²¹⁵ The *modus vivendi* accepted by the CNI had to be posed for elections at the fiumani, since the people of Fiume are in agitation, agitation that spreads to the legionaries.

A county of citizens on the 16th at the Teatro Fenice manifested the approval of the *modus vivendi*, but then D'Annunzio demanded another meeting to be held by this one also with the presence of his legionnaires for the day after. Thereby, nine councillors (Grossich and Gigante among them) expressed the refusal of the *modus vivendi*. By that time, Fiume became a centre of political subversion, and apart from the “bolshevist elements” that constantly captured the attention of the Italian military commanders, such as Badoglio it was the right wing subversion that dominated the mutinied army rank and file.¹²¹⁶ the citizens were harassed, and some 60% abstained from voting. Even the *Vedetta* headquarters, staunchly nationalist paper but who now supported the acceptation were entered by the Arditi and it did not came out.

On 18th December 1919, the CNI indicted the elections for the acceptation of the *modus vivendi* the Italian proposals for the solution of the “fiuman question”. When the results were unfavourable for D'Annunzio who refuted the Italian proposal, the ballot boxes were broken by the D'Annunzian Arditi with the blatantly false argument that the Italian government in the last minute offered a much better deal and let him stay in Fiume with his legionaries. the outcome of the elections was declared void (since the plebiscite took place in a moment when the “souls were too exited” was the argument offered by D'Annunzio to Badoglio).¹²¹⁷ On the 19th December 1919, the CNI reiterated the will to accept the *modus vivendi*, to which D'Annunzio replied with the notification, where he denied his approval and in this way blocked the decision of the CNI. Afterwards, the CNI resigned.¹²¹⁸

This action signed an upturn in Fiume. From that moment D'Annunzio's powers were absolute and the CNI was ousted from power, being now reduced to mere local government. From this time D'Annunzio departed from the original aims, since annexation was not in sight and *de facto* Fiume was functioning as a state, although a state not internationally recognized and instituted only with the purpose of annexation to another state. D'Annunzio soon started its own colourful “Office of Foreign Relations” (Ufficio Relazioni Estere), where several foreign envoys, admirers, journalists arrived in Fiume, and with their help the Commando was able to distribute and circulate its despatches.¹²¹⁹

¹²¹³ Host-Venturi, Grossich and Vio voted against. In Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 343.

¹²¹⁴ Io e i legionari siamo legati alla città olocausta da un giuramento di dedizione intera, che voi conoscete e che più volte abbiamo rinnovato. Bisogna che dal giuramento voi sciogliate me e i miei compagni.

¹²¹⁵ Giuriati wrote that ad onta delle pressioni e delle violenze, non vi ha dubbio che il plebiscito risultò favorevole alla accettazione. l'ufficio centrale mi comunicò che i voti favorevoli stavano ai contrari come quattro a uno. in Giuriati p. 116.

¹²¹⁶ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 336.

¹²¹⁷ Mi sono state riferite le irregolarità commesse da una parte e dall'altra durante la votazione plebiscitaria; le giudico di tale natura da togliere alla votazione ogni efcacia di decisione. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 333.

¹²¹⁸ Massagrande, note, 91, p. 26.

¹²¹⁹ Whitney Warren an American was an active lobbyist in the US, Achille Richard a Belgian, sent the project for the sistemation of the Freeport (see more on the so called project Richard on p.) to Clemeneau etc.

The first decree issued by D'Annunzio as “Comandante della città di Fiume” was an amnesty decree n. 25 from the 17th of November 1919.¹²²⁰ The CNI with law 30th December 1919 n. 7606 on State Insignia, confirmed the mandatory use of Italian Coat of Arms in all the public offices and corporations (i.e. these dependent on the CNI), from its enacting on January the 1st 1920.

In Fiume the *Vedetta* from the 1st January 1920 reported an article from D'Annunzio where he openly ignored the Fiumani in his project of the “Città di vita”, the new city of life was intended for being construed by the Arditi, not the Fiumani that through the CNI voted with 46 versus 6 contrary ballots accepted the *modus vivendi* of Nitti.

The economic situation of Fiume was becoming dramatic: the main activities of the port and the local industry was all blocked. The city was turning to a raiding economy, based on smuggling, counterfeiting notes and perhaps the most important activity made up by the CNI for financing its activities was looting. It started with the military depots of the au who harboured supplies for a 30.000 troop army for six months and whose material disappeared in a matter of weeks. The second move was fiuman industry – a whole floating dock disappeared and the machinery of the torpedo factory and the yards as well. The person who is usually related with this activities is Salvatore Bellasich, but other members of the CNI will also take their part. D'Annunzian occupation obviously made all this easier and soon after the blockade looting and raiding will become the only economic activity of the isolated city.

The institution building of the CNI had only this purpose to prepare for future annexation of the City or better, to make it irreversible. Fiume had its Court of Appeal¹²²¹, while the Supreme Court was definitely established with law from the 16th of March 1920,¹²²² as well as the Supreme Marine authority.

Fiume had its own currency (whose parity with the lira was fixed at 2,5 crowns Città di Fiume for a lira)¹²²³. The banks could use the Yugoslav notes for the extinction of debts, but only for sums higher than 20,000 crowns. A discount in order to cover the provision of 20% taken by the Yugoslavs had to be invoiced. In this way, the State managed the extinction of debts with the Yugoslavs, and this, by controlling substantial assets, gave a leverage towards Yugoslavia.¹²²⁴ A law decree n. 1200 from the 28 February 1920 explicitly prohibited the introduction of au notes without any stamp, to prevent counterfeiting actions.¹²²⁵ Counterfeits were common, and the decree n. 421 30 January 1920 fixed the procedure of confiscation of all notes with counterfeited stamps.¹²²⁶ The augmentation of the monetary mass in Fiume meant inflation. In the same day the law 520, was enacted, one in a series of similar acts labelled “provvedimenti contro il caro viveri”, showing that inflation was hindering the Fiuman economy.

There were also dispositions for the expulsion of people not pertain to Fiume (meaning strangers both Italian of Yugoslav), that could be executed by the questore (the chief of the police). With the law 31st January 1920 law 499 also the book 2 of the Commercial Code of Italy (del commercio

¹²²⁰ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 103-104. the amnesty comprised essentially the cases of mutiny, since the troops that followed D'Annunzio were mutinied troops of the Italian army.

¹²²¹ Law from the 30th dicembre 1919 n. 7607 “concernente l'istituzione della Corte d'assise nel distretto della Regia Corte d'appello in Fiume”. In Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 107.

¹²²² “È istituita a Fiume provvisoriamente, fino alla definitiva regolazione del suo assetto politico, la Suprema Corte Penale”. (art. 1). “La Suprema Corte Penale giudica, uniformandosi alle disposizioni del vigenti leggi penali, in tutte le materie per le quali, secondo il codice di procedura penale italiano, è competente a giudicare la Corte di Cassazione”. (art. 4). In Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 130.

¹²²³ Law from the 30th dicembre 1919 n. 7677 “statuente il ragguglio tra la corona e la lira nei riguardi delle pene pecuniarie”. In Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 108. As currency, “moneta avente corso legale” were the “Corone Città di Fiume” and the bigger bills with the stamp “Istituto di Credito del Consiglio Nazionale”. As “moneta estera avente corso commerciale” were all the other au stamped by the different new states, whose parity fluctuated and was fixed at the Fiuman bourse.

¹²²⁴ In Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 105.

¹²²⁵ In Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 128.

¹²²⁶ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 115.

marittimo e della navigazione) was introduced to Fiume¹²²⁷. In May the Italian postal and telecommunications tariffs was introduced.¹²²⁸

The international situation had deeply changed by 1920. The American delegation left the conference, and D'Annunzio was definitively abandoned as interlocutor by the Italian government, who now with its delegation could discuss the pendant issues of the Adriatic question in concert with France and the UK. Wilson was never to return to Europe already seriously ill and without support at the Senate. The position of Italy, at least in the eyes of France and the UK, substantially improved with the Nitti government considered a constructive partner in the discussions. On the 25th November 1919 also Tittoni resigned and was replaced by Scialoja as foreign affairs minister of Italy. On the 21st December 1919 Badoglio was replaced with Caviglia as "Extraordinary Military Commissary for the Venezia Giulia" and Commander of the 8th Italian Army.

At the beginnings of 1920, the "Question of Fiume" was transferred to the London meeting, intended to be decisive for the solution of the Adriatic question. Italy, France and the UK accepted the Italian position and drafted a project that recognised the Italian sovereignty on Fiume, and the territorial continuity of Fiume with Italy. But the Yugoslav delegation refused after having contacted the government in Belgrade for first time.

At the "Council of the Three", where Trumbić and Pašić were convoked, Nitti, for the first time, proposed officially the institution of the Free State of Fiume, and the same regime was planned for Zara, therefore, with the right of the Fiumani to elect the power to whom to entrust their diplomatic representation. The other points were accepted by Nitti, but not by the Yugoslav delegation.¹²²⁹ The Yugoslav delegation came to the meeting in Paris with a lengthy *exposé* where the Yugoslav stance was presented. The main argument was aimed at fact that the allied solutions of the Adriatic question privileged the Italian security considerations ignoring the fact that Yugoslavia was a newly formed state with a quarter of the population of Italy, without a powerful army and no fleet. What was criticised was the neutralisation of the islands, the proposed border of Istria, the institution of the Free State of Fiume. Moreover, the Yugoslav delegation proposed the organisation of plebiscites in all the contested regions beyond the old italo Austrian border and that were subject of dispute. In case of a failed acceptance of that principle of self-determination the Yugoslav delegation asked the application of the Wilson line in Istria and the cession to Yugoslavia of all the Dalmatian territory with the grant of a special status to the cities of Fiume and Zara.

On the 24th January 1920, the CNI was convoked, Grossich gave the chronology of the "Fiuman Calvary".¹²³⁰ Afterwards D'Annunzio after a triumphal entrance gave one of his speeches and the CNI approved the law on military obligation. Nitti met Trumbić on the 9th January 1920. In addressing the Yugoslav colleague, Nitti declared the urgency of a solution of the Adriatic question as a threat to European peace.

The pact of London was still recognised by the allies, but since it excluded Fiume and it damaged the Yugoslav interests, Italy was ready to renounce to it and to make the "necessary sacrifices" to reach an acceptable compromise with the newly formed neighbouring state. Two were the possible

¹²²⁷ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 124.

¹²²⁸ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 147. decreto 28 aprile 1920 n. 2153. the decreto 28 aprile 1920 n. 2163, concernente l'adozione della lira italiana in tutte le tariffe per le marche da bollo.

¹²²⁹ In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, pp. 336-337.

¹²³⁰ Ormai l'Italia esige risolutamente l'applicazione del trattato di Londra, nel quale è contemplata la cessione di Fiume al regno di Croazia. Ma con la Croazia Fiume non ha nulla in comune. La sua storia lo dimostra! Fiume non ha mai appartenuto alla Croazia, e nessun sovrano d'Austria è mai riuscito a ottenere tale inimmaginabile unione. Ci voleva proprio un ministro italiano perché Fiume fosse così sacrificata? Fiume non riconosce né a Wilson, né a Lloyd George, né a Clemenceau il diritto di decidere sulla sua libera volontà. Unicamente al popolo d'Italia spetta di accogliere o respingere questa indomabile volontà di Fiume ma il buon diritto finirà col trionfare; Fiume ha una stella che vigila sulla sua sorte, e questa stella è la fede di Gabriele D'Annunzio. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 338.

solutions: the institution of a Free State of Fiume or the cession of the greatest part of the Free State of Fiume to Yugoslavia but with the retention of the city into Italy.¹²³¹

As for Dalmatia, Italy was ready to renounce its claims but only if the Italian communities especially in Zara were granted a status of legal protection. Trumbić opposed it with the stance that the western coast of the Adriatic had to be Italian while the eastern completely Yugoslav. This was the condition for a durable peace between the two countries.

Trumbić proposed only the Alpine border including Istria with granted protection for the Slav population in the peninsula, administrative autonomy granted to Fiume and Zara, control of the rail infrastructures. The neutralisation of ports requested by Nitti was refuted since it would have left the country undefended.¹²³²

On the 10th January on the Supreme Council session the Italian government issued a note where the appreciation that F UK still considered the London treaty was expressed. The coast had to be neutralised, and the guarantees for the inhabitants of Fiume had to be greater than those granted by the Austro government in matters of language schools and the municipal police?¹²³³

On the 11th January Lloyd George, after having heard the Yugoslav delegation handed down his memorandum to Nitti that envisaged the status of the *corpus separatum* of Fiume under Italian sovereignty, the port and the rail infrastructures under the League of Nations, the Free State of Fiume was abandoned, the islands neutralised.

After minor changes the Yugoslav delegation refused sticking to the Wilson line. But Wilson was no more and now at the conference there was a compact Italo-Anglo-French front. The log and presented them with the ultimatum of the compromise or application of the London treaty. On the 20th January Trumbić and Pašić refused by a *memorandum*. Nitti at this point declared that with the refusal the London treaty of 1915 had to be executed.¹²³⁴ Nitti left and Trumbić and Pašić entered they were presented with an ultimatum on Fiume that had to be answered within 4 days. It was delayed to 8 days between the proposed compromise and the execution of the London Treaty. The Yugoslav delegation answered with a vague document on the 28th, they were buying time since already on 19th a new American intervention by the new representative Wallace took the stance of the Yugoslavs, declaring that the solution had to comply with America's will as well. The Italian, French and British representatives declared that it wasn't their intention in arriving at a compromise without the American participation, but Nitti noticed that the changes to the Allied memorandum from the 9th December 1919 were now all done favouring the Yugoslavs. Nevertheless, the position of Nitti improved since the "Cushion State" was now abandoned and with it also the danger of having a state that would have had a Slav majority, distant from the border of Trieste only 18 km. Now the *corpus separatum* of Fiume was to become a Free State of Fiume, with the granted Italianità and with the rest of its territory granted to Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, the Yugoslavs refused for the American support but also because the position of Italy in midst of turmoil was in their eyes perceived to be weaker.¹²³⁵

In February Wilson intervened to stir the compromises on the Adriatic elaborated by the allies. In the meanwhile, Nitti started negotiations with the Yugoslavs in Paris that continued in London and ended in Paris with no compromise.¹²³⁶ The Yugoslavs insisted on the Wilson line, but this time accepted the institution of the Free State of Fiume.

¹²³¹ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 376.

¹²³² Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 379.

¹²³³ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 380.

¹²³⁴ This caused a misunderstanding that he was going to repeat the move of Orlando of leaving the Conference, what he urged to disclaim.

¹²³⁵ Alatri, Paolo. *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica (1919-1920)*, Feltrinelli, 1959, p. 401.

¹²³⁶ The international climate became increasingly hostile to Italy, especially after the D'Annunzian expeditions in Dalmatia, when the Yugoslav delegation already on the 3rd December 1919 addressed the Conference by rewriting the sending of a powerful allied (preeminently British) fleet in the Adriatic to contrast the imperialistic aspirations of D'Annunzio.

On the 18th March, to celebrate the name-day of D'Annunzio, the *Fiuman Legion* resulted from the mobilization and recruitment law were presented in a parade. On the 21st the militia was officially constituted.¹²³⁷

The D'Annunzio command to prevent the proclamation of the Free State of Fiume first envisaged by the allies in Paris when it was also accepted by the Nitti cabinet proposed the proclamation of a "revolutionary republic" in Fiume.¹²³⁸ In Fiume the new head of cabinet Alceste de Ambris arrived.¹²³⁹ But his inaugural speech did not convince the majority of the CNI. The arrival of de Ambris to Fiume alarmed both the CNI and the Italian government. Alceste de Ambris attempted to link the Fiuman impresa with the Italian leftist revolutionaries, but with scarce results. Fiume was wholly dependent from the supplies who arrived from Italy through the Italian Red Cross or the Italian armed forces. The whole 1920 there was a row of contacts attempted by Italian army and civil authorities to contact the more moderate members of the CNI. D'Annunzio protested and the tensions culminated with a conflict in Cantrida between legionnaires and carabinieri.

On the 5th March 1920 a project for a constitution drafted by the Comando was presented to the Comitato Direttivo, that protested for the unilateral actions taken by the Comando.¹²⁴⁰

Idone Rudan declared that although he had absolute faith in the Commander, he did not trust at all his "entourage".

Nitti went to San Remo for the conference his project of the Free State was presented, the so-called "Cushion State".¹²⁴¹ The Pallanza conference failed also because the government of Nitti had fallen.

An undated document at the Public Records Office, presents a detailed translation of the "Buffer State" project:

Undated (note: translation of the Italian proposal for the solution of the Adriatic question – compiled at San Remo, feb-mar-apr 1920, see Alatri Paolo, *Nitti, D'Annunzio e la questione adriatica*, Feltrinelli, 1959, pp. 524-531)

THE FREE STATE OF FIUME IS constituted. – it is composed:

- (1) of the Free City of Fiume and its district following the boundaries of the present municipal statute;
- (2) of the judicial districts of Adelsberg and Bisitriža (Carniola), part of Castelnuovo, Volosca (Istria), of the commune and sub-communes crossed by the Laybach – St. Peter – Fiume railway outlined in the plan annexed hereto;

¹²³⁷ Fiume ha un esercito suo... fiume ha potuto costituirsi la sua milizia. Milizia ormai salda e disciplinata e pronta al massimo sacrificio: milizia ch'è l'espressione vivente della volontà armata della città olocausta. S, pp. 349-350.

¹²³⁸ Il comando, per prevenire la possibilità della proclamazione dello stato indipendente di Fiume, evitando con ciò la rinuncia della Dalmazia, e mettere la conferenza della pace davanti ad un fatto giuridico compiuto, prospettava al consiglio nazionale l'opportunità di proclamare lo stato sovrano che d'altronde poteva anche essere una repubblica. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 351.

¹²³⁹ La precarietà della situazione aveva consigliato il comando di suggerire una via d'uscita che fu additata dal nuovo capo di gabinetto Alceste de Ambris nel suo ampio discorso tenuto al Consiglio Nazionale, nel quale veniva ventilato in forma concreta il progetto della costituzione di Fiume in Stato libero, concepito come unico provvedimento per salvare la Dalmazia, garantire l'italianità del comune e conservare alla parte più cospicua del suo patrimonio concernente nel porto e nella ferrovia. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, p. 351.

¹²⁴⁰ Salotti, Guglielmo. I rapporti fra il Consiglio Nazionale fiumano e Gabriele D'Annunzio, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XVIII, gennaio-dicembre 1972, pp. 75, verbale del cni del 4 dicembre 1919, pp. 96-97.

¹²⁴¹ Il Presidente del Consiglio dichiarò di accettare lo "stato cuscinetto" proposto dalla Francia e dall'Inghilterra nel dicente e autorizzato con lievi modificazione dal presidente americano. La variante proposta dal on. Nitti riguarda soltanto il Consiglio di amministrazione del nuovo stato. Secondo il progetto nittiano il Consiglio di amministrazione doveva essere formato da un membro nominato dal governo italiano, uno eletto dalla città, uno dalla popolazione del contado, uno nominato dal governo ungherese ed uno nominato dal governo jugoslavo. Il nuovo Stato che andava da San Pietro del Carso lungo la linea del Monte Maggiore al mare da una parte e oltre Susak dall'altra, comprendeva che le isole di Cherso e Veglia; ma era implicita la rinuncia alla Dalmazia e alle isole adriatiche. In Susmel, Edoardo. *La Città di passione. Fiume negli anni 1914-1920*, Milano, Treves, 1921, pp. 352-3. Zanella will be privately assisting at the conference of San Remo, after an invitation by Nitti, as the only representative of the Fiumani. in Ballarini, p. The project had to be accepted in its original form by the Yugoslavs after the opposition of the French delegate Millerand.

- (3) of the district of Sussack (Croatia) minus the communes of Bucarizza, Hregline, Portorè and Crassizza
- (4) of the island of Veglia.

A Commission appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers will define on the spot the limits of the administrative districts which are not included in the new state in their entirety.

II.

The territories indicated in article I are perpetually neutralized. It is prohibited to maintain or construct therein any fortifications or other military works, to maintain therein military forces either permanent or temporary, or to execute therein any works or other preparations of a military character.

All signatory powers are bound to respect this neutrality.

III.

The status of a Free City is recognized and confirmed to the City of Fiume as well as the surrounding district, (corpus separatum), with all the rights and privileges as a state and as a municipality conferred on the city by its statutes.

The principle that the boundaries of the city and its district cannot be changed and that none of its existing laws and by-laws can be modified by new laws without the previous consent of the representatives of the city and district of Fiume, stands in full force.

The right of the city of Fiume to the official use of the Italian language in the commune and all its dependencies is assured even in its intercourse with the different state bodies, and this same right to the use of the Italian language is assured to all the political, administrative and juridical authorities in the territory of the commune of Fiume.

The consent of the representatives of the above mentioned commune will be required for the institution of schools in the territory of the commune of Fiume.

The degrees and academic distinctions granted by Italian universities will be fully recognized in the free state of Fiume.

The provisions contained in the municipal statute of Fiume and in the laws of the Kingdom of Hungary concerning the rights of the governor (Hungarian) on the commune of Fiume, as well as the laws on the rights and privileges of the state officials in so far as they concern the laws pertaining the municipality, are annulled.

IV.

For the administration of the territories in question, the following districts will be formed around the free city of Fiume and its district. (i)

The district of St Peter for the territories hitherto belonging to the provinces of Carniola and of Istria;

The district of Sussack for the territory hitherto belonging to Croatia;

The district of Veglia for the island of the same name.

-
- (i) should any territories of the Istrian peninsula or the island of Cherso be aggregated to the Free State, they should form part of the district of Fiume.

For each of the three above mentioned districts a representative body of the district, entrusted to co-operate with the Government in the administration of the respective territories and particularly in all matters relating to acts and "de facto" conditions of each of these territories, will be composed of the delegate representing the commune which form part thereof.

V.

The Government of the free State of Fiume will be entrusted to a Commission of five members appointed by the Council of the League of Nations, two members of which will be designed by the government of the Kingdom of Italy, one by the Government of the state of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, one by the representatives of the free city of Fiume and one by the other districts of this free state.

The same procedure will be followed in case of absence or inability to attend, for the appointment of substitutes of each of these five members of the commission.

VI:

The president of the government, elected among these members of the commission by a majority vote, will exercise the executive power.

VII:

The members of the government will remain in office for a period of three years.

When this period of three years expires, the members and their substitutes can be reconfirmed in their appointment by those who have the right to appoint them and who can at any time substitute them with other members, even during the above stated period of three years.

The members of the government will be entitled to a salary to be determined by the council of the league of nations.

VIII.

The government of the state of Fiume will provide for the representation and protection abroad of the interests of the territories it administers and of the inhabitants of same.

IX:

The laws and by laws which existed before the war in the different territories in question will remain in force. The government, however, will have the power to modify them, provided the provisions contained in articles three and four are observed.

X.

The inhabitants of the above mentioned territories are exempted from all military obligations. The pre-existing fiscal regime will be maintained and adapted to meet the requirements of the administration.

XI

a police force will be established by the government for the maintenance of public order. The police of the district of Fiume will depend from the commune of Fiume.

XII.

Fiume is declared a Free Port

The boundaries of the port will also include railways and harbour accommodations situated in the commune of Sussack, inasmuch as they form part of the port of Fiume.

XIII

A special convention between the Government of the State of Fiume and the Kingdom of Italy will assure the service of the Laybach – St. Peter railway, the liberty and absolute equality of traffic to and from Trieste and in particular at the station of St. Peter, guaranteeing in every respect equality of treatment for the ports of Trieste and Fiume. the above guarantees, however, will not prevent the possible adoption of general and more favourable arrangements in the railway service on the ex Austro-Hungarian territories, should an opportunity for doing so arise.

XIV.

The government of the state of Fiume shall, upon request of the Italian government, give its assent to the construction of a junction between the St Peter – Fiume and the Herpelje – Pola railway lines, equality of conditions being assured to traffic to and from Fiume.

XV.

The relations resulting from the separation of the respective territories from Hungary, Croatia, Istria, and Carniola will be regulated by special conventions.

The provisions formerly contained in the present treaty in favour of the territories formerly belonging to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and assigned to Italy or to the star of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, will be applied, as far as possible, to the above mentioned territories, to their public institutions and to their citizens (persons real and corporate).

As the D'Annunzio occupation proceeded it was clear that the annexation of the city to Italy was becoming less and less probable. While D'Annunzio was busy with keeping the Italian and international public opinion the CNI was finishing the transformation of the *corpus separatum* into a state.

In March, there is was strike and on 16th March the CNI had to press D'Annunzio for the solution of the economic situation: in March 1920 the estate property of the Hungarian State in Fiume, was transferred to the Erario di Fiume.¹²⁴² Fiume received also a Contabilità Centrale dello Stato. Controlled all the state finances, the administration of the treasury and of the public debt, the state properties and the revision of the state balances. The office was directly subordinated to the CNI and it controlled all the financial and patrimonial operations of the State of Fiume.¹²⁴³

Already on the 20th February 1920 the Danubius yard was overtaken by Italian group Orlando and renamed in Cantieri Navali del Quarnaro.

¹²⁴² Law 16th March 1920 n. 1400: tutti i beni immobili siti entro il territorio giurisdizionale della Città di Fiume, attualmente iscritti nei libri fondiari a nome del R. Erario ungarico e delle Ferrovie dello Stato Ungarico, verranno trascritti d'ufficio a nome dell'Erario di Fiume. In Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 134.

¹²⁴³ Law 28th March 1920 n. 1704. In Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 135.

In April 1920 the Italian lira became the official currency of the State, although other currencies had official course.¹²⁴⁴ The fact permitted widespread speculation, for example the workers were paid in Yugoslav crowns whose real exchange rate was much lower than the official one. Most of the white collars working for the public sector or the nationalized enterprises were paid in Corone Fiumane, while only the high ranking public officers and the D'Annunzio militaries disposed of Italian lire. In the Dannunzian Fiume, a three-tiered currency system, reminiscent of the feudal age, deepened the pre-existing class cleavage, between the privileged and the excluded. In this way the capacity to control the working population in a city whose majority of the workforce was unemployed or underemployed was enormous.

The decree law 8th June 1920 n. 2500, provided a comprehensive reorganization of the civil sector employees. The personnel comprehended the civil servants, employees of the state owned enterprises, the second the magistrates, the third the postal and telegraph personnel, the railway workers, the last the teaching staff.

The state lacked control of the armed forces, as they were assigned to the commander of the Italian forces in the city.¹²⁴⁵ Salaries went from 12,600 lire per year (the class V), to the 3840 of the class XI.

The law 31st July 1920 concerned the authentic interpretation of some locutions of the Italian legislation that was adopted in Fiume. The locution "State", "Italian State" or "Kingdom" from the Italian laws when applied in Fiume meant: the "City of Fiume". The locution or "Territory of the Kingdom" or "Piazza of the Kingdom" in Fiume meant: the "Jurisdictional Territory of the City of Fiume". The locution "Senate" or "Chamber of Deputies" in Fiume meant: "The National Council of Fiume". The locution "Government" or "Italian Government" in Fiume meant: "The Directive County of the National Council of Fiume". The locution "Minister" in Fiume meant: "Delegate" of the National Council of Fiume.¹²⁴⁶

Obviously, the pressures towards the CNI and the options of the Free State was gaining ground. The CNI had to accept the fact that the City it ruled was becoming a *de facto* distinct political entity.

¹²⁴⁴ Decreto legge 7 aprile 1920 n. 1876: sta in facoltà del datore di lavoro di pagare i salari in lire effettive oppure in valuta fiumana o in altra valuta circolante nel territorio di Fiume, ragguagliata alla lira secondi il corso medio segnato dalla borsa mercantile nella settimana in cui avviene il pagamento. In Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 140. from the 1st of May 1920 it became the official currency: d.l. 21 aprile 1920, n. 2060: a partire dal 1° maggio 1920 viene adottata quale base di computo nell'economia statale e comunale la lira italiana; da questo giorno le imposte dirette e indirette, le tasse, i diritti di dogana, i dazi di consumo, le tasse di monopolio, portuali, postali, scolastiche, i noli ferroviari e tutte le analoghe contribuzioni verranno computate e liquidate in lire italiane." In Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 144.

¹²⁴⁵ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 160-201.

¹²⁴⁶ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 217.

THE ADRIATIC REVOLUTIONARY REPUBLIC



The Flag of the Reggenza Italiana del Carnaro (8th September- 29th December 1920)

The new vertical flag was created by the Italian poet: in the middle there is a snake eating his tail, a symbol of eternity. In the snake's ring there are the Great Bear's stars; on both sides there is a scroll with the motto "QUIS CONTRA NOS?". In the lower part there are the two flags of Italy and Fiume.

Alceste de Ambris and “The Constitution of the Republic of Carnaro”

The task for de Ambris was difficult: he had to construct a constitutional system out of an ideology that essentially repudiated it. The commandant who appointed him to the job wasn't a liberal democrat or an admirer of constitutional democracy and as we have seen, his conception and practice of politics was far from parliamentary deliberation. As we shall see they also differed on the ultimate strategic goals of the constitution and of its tactical goals as well. De Ambris succeeded indeed and the final product (although literally embellished by D'Annunzio and thus harder to understand) is still a remarkably coherent and original constitution - the only one to be ever produced by syndicalism.¹²⁴⁷

In 1920, when de Ambris was writing the constitution of Fiume he accepted the main theses of the most important syndicalist political thinkers, Olivetti and Pannunzio¹²⁴⁸ that could be summarized as follows: The purpose of the state is to provide wealth and security to the largest amount of people - while leaving room for improvement; the wealth of a society is caused by productive work: therefore it is the producers who should be the prime objects of concern of the state; the producers therefore should enjoy the highest political status into a political community; those that do not

¹²⁴⁷ Fascism will not enact any constitution, while other syndicalist movements will never come to power, therefore this is the only one.

¹²⁴⁸ See for example Olivetti, A. O. 1924. *Il Sindicalismo come filosofia e come politica*, [Syndicalism as a Philosophy and Policy], Milano., and Pannunzio, Sergio. 1923. “Stato e sindacato” [State and Syndicate], *Rivista internazionale di filosofia del diritto*, 3/1.

produce should have their political rights and powers restricted; the state and society is not composed only by individuals but also from associations that have specific needs and problems apart from individuals that should be regulated by the constitution; every realistic concept of law and state should recognize it and not deny it by insisting on extreme individualism; the self organized groups like syndicates, corporations, communes or the family have and should have their norms; the constitution has to recognize what already exists – order and rules at the associative level; the state that satisfies the request for a spontaneous development for below is the decentralized state and self-government is the goal; the political representation should reflect it by recognizing a political role to economic organizations – corporations; even if they are not already formed their creation and constitutional framework will bring them into being by principles of self-organization; in order to better regulate the relations between the various associations in the state to each it should be conferred the status of a juridical person; political representation has to reflect it: there should be one parliament for the corporations that will legislate for all the technical commercial etc matters; the real political parliament the senate should express the nation and deliberate on the general issues.

The draft was completed in March 1920, De Ambris wrote to D'Annunzio the 18th of March 1920 in presenting the draft to the Commandant that "The initial goal of the Impresa was only annexation of the city to Italy; and this goal was impossible because of the foreign prepotency. An independent political order for the city was the extreme defense of the Right of Fiume. This was the *only reason* that legitimates the radical constitution that ordains that Fiume should be constituted as a Republic. Of course our supreme goal is still the annexation of the city to Italy, if Italy wants to annex Fiume. But now this seems impossible. Foreign Prepotency and domestic weakness is forcing us to give to them a constitution as a model and as an example of a true Latin constitution."¹²⁴⁹

What emerges from the first draft is already a full-fledged constitution: Fiume was imagined as a republic with a new system of political representation. There were two legislative chambers: one economical - grounded on economic interests and the other a representative legislative political institution of all the citizens: the senate. In reviewing this constitutional draft in greater detail we notice that the articles of the general part simply codify the new and old achievements of democracy: juridical equality of the citizens, individual liberties, efficient protection against abuses of power. With respect to other syndicalist thinkers de Ambris was extraordinarily faithful to the classical values of constitutional democracy. Bicameralism, free election of all legislative bodies, federalism, and especially independence of the courts and judicial review all found a place in the constitution of Fiume.

The executive was composed of 7 “commissars” and it was free of parliamentary interference since the parliament was supposed to meet only once in a year to elect it. Its duration was limited to one year by de Ambris who thought to solve what he perceived as the main problem of parliamentary democracy. A strong government was to be freed from conflicts and clashes within the parliament while tyranny could be avoided by reducing its duration to one year.

The territorial division in communes assured a federal or cantonal state structure for the purpose of decentralization and self-government. In case of problems between the fundamental units of the state: citizens, corporations, communes, it was the Supreme Court that had the right to deliberate and solve the problems. The institution of judicial review was also introduced as well as the periodic revision of the constitution every 7 years by the National Assembly.

The Republic had no strong executive, no head of state nor a permanent army. A total parity of the sexes was introduced: men and women had the same voting rights, the same rights to join the corporations and become economic actors and in case of war the duty to defend the country. Social rights were introduced extensively as well as cultural rights for the Croatian minority. The concept of constitutional emergency was introduced: for the first time in a constitution there was a place for a dictator but strictly limited to 6 months.

¹²⁴⁹ De Felice, R. 1967. *Sindacalismo rivoluzionario e fumanesimo nel carteggio de Ambris – D'Annunzio*. Padova: Morcelliana, p.308.

It is possible to identify the ideological harbinger of the constitution of Fiume, according to de Ambris, in the *Manifesto dei sindacalisti*” written by A. Olivetti. De Ambris agreed with A. Olivetti that the revolution was not to be intended as a moment of revolutionary violence but as a process through which the destruction of the political and economical structures that stand against the aftermath of syndicalism was to be achieved.

Syndicalism according to Olivetti proclaimed: 1. the absolute autonomy of the working class from all the parties or political ideologies. 2. Direct action of the workers against the other classes without intermediaries; 3. Representation of the economic categories in the elective bodies 4. Communal autonomy, since the commune was considered the organism of popular freedom 5. Political administrative autonomy of regions 6. Gradual elimination of the functions of the state and its bureaucracy

Whoever has read” wrote de Ambris¹²⁵⁰ “ the Constitution of Fiume sees that it realizes all the postulates of this “*Syndicalist Manifesto*”. Moreover, the “*Manifesto*” recognized that the consequences of the introduction of the universal suffrage had to be tempered with the representation of classes and professional categories. In truth, de Ambris argued, the chapters of the legislative and executive powers delineate “a republican kind of government a federative state lead by the organic groups that compose it”¹²⁵¹

De Ambris stressed the absolute autonomy of each corporation, their problems being regulated as those of the communes. Of course de Ambris noticed the number of the corporations was limited to 10 for Fiume a small state for Italy it should have been bigger. The “producers” make laws for all the economic issues of the state since the commercial laws and arbitration were the exclusive domain of the *Consiglio dei Provvisori*. Moreover, the producers were the arbiters of the state since “they possess a double right to vote as citizens for the *Consiglio degli Ottimi* and as producers at the *Consiglio dei Provvisori*; “those that do not produce have a halved political capacity that is waiting to be completely suppressed”¹²⁵²

Also the executive power is under the control of the producers: the corporations elect 2 of the 7 rectors that make the government - the rector of the public economy and the rector of the labor; the *Consiglio dei Provvisori* participates at the election of another 3 rectors - foreign affairs, public education, finance e treasury. Then, the producers as citizens elect the rector for internal affairs and justice and the rector for national defense.

De Ambris admitted that the Swiss model played a part for the Fiuman constitution drafter. De Ambris stressed “the exclusion for a head of state is contemplated by the Fiuman constitution; while it is present in every other constitution - the Swiss one included, that from a certain point of view is the closest to our political model”¹²⁵³ What is very interesting is that in this article de Ambris completely omits to mention that the *Carta* had a position to be occupied in exceptional times for the “*Commandant*” that was in fact a true dictator, with unlimited executive and legislative powers. Moreover, for this figure D’Annunzio deliberately extended and loosened the already weak constitutional ties.

The first draft of the constitution the “*Carta del Carnaro*” was submitted by de Ambris to D’Annunzio that, surprisingly, added only some new provisions and minor stylistic correction but did not change the main ideas and the social egalitarian spirit of the document. In its final form, the *Carta del Carnaro* combined de Ambris’s revolutionary vision with D’Annunzio’s poetic insights to the nature of mass politics. D’Annunzio’s Fiuman adventure ended only two months after the formal enactment of the *Carta*; he was expelled after an armed intervention of the Italian army and navy. His constitution simply had no chance to enter in force in these turbulent times. Apart from its

¹²⁵⁰ De Felice, R., *Sindacalismo rivoluzionario e fiumanesimo nel carteggio de Ambris – D’Annunzio*. Padova: Morcelliana, p.313-314.

¹²⁵¹ Ibid, p. 314.

¹²⁵² Ibid. p.320

¹²⁵³ ibid, p 322.

novelty its influence proved to be durable: it served as a model for the corporate rearrangements of the state later attempted by Italian fascism.

The Italian Regency of Carnaro

A question of utmost importance is to compare the draft of de Ambris to the modifications that D'Annunzio introduced.¹²⁵⁴ They tell us a lot about the intentions of the dictator and could forecast the future developments of the little state if it was to survive with him. D'Annunzio added two important articles: the edility and music and a corporation - the tenth whose purpose was to lead spiritually and elevate culturally the people. Several authors have tried to solve what could it be their function but with no successful results. The most important interpretations were that they reflected the aesthetic conception of politics that D'Annunzio had and the task of modernization should be delegated to a specific group and a specific institution the music and arts.¹²⁵⁵ Their origin and authorship is not clear, probably D'Annunzio played a prominent role but maybe also someone from the suite of artists that surrounded him at Fiume.¹²⁵⁶

D'Annunzio added the following articles:

Art. XIV about the “religious” beliefs: three are the religious beliefs paramount in the communes: life is beautiful and has to be lived with severity and magnificence by the new man with regained liberty; the complete man is that that knows how to reinvent every day his virtue and can offer it every day to his brothers; even the most modest work if done well tends to beauty and ornate the world.

LXIV edility “more than the roman edility this institution reminds those city officials that in the our Quattrocento planned the buildings or the squares with the same musical harmony they achieved in organizing all the civic and social life etc”

XIX music “Within the Regency music is a religious and social institution”, "once in a thousand year a new anthem of freedom is born spontaneously in a nation etc. (to be done).

XXXIV D'Annunzio introduced the hypothesis that the nature and scope of human liberties are not fixed but that they could be enhanced in the future and that the constitution should leave room for such future changes.

In his overview de Ambris provides some explanation for the function of the “tenth corporation” that was added by D'Annunzio but left unexplained in the constitutional text. Under the title “Liberated Prometheus” the “Manifesto Sindacalista” (clearly, Olivetti was a mainstay) de Ambris says that “the technical progress frees the worker from the physical pain and the routine of the manual work. The free time and creative energy will lead to the *Uebermensch* the first men capable to overcome the biblical damnation to produce painfully” -The duty of the tenth corporation is to lead and prepare mankind to this new stage of evolution.- This corporation “calls the people to a deep concentration towards a movement that started in the distant eons of the past”¹²⁵⁷ Thus, the Fiuman constitution – makers were explicitly acting as a revolutionary avant-garde. This is clear

¹²⁵⁴ The Italian historian Renzo de Felice discovered the original draft that de Ambris submitted to D'Annunzio. Therefore it is possible to identify clearly the differences between the two texts. The Dannnuzian version is much longer being filled with literary and stylistic adding, but in the essence he didn't change a lot. What is important is that all the social egalitarian and corporatist of de Ambris were left unchanged or they were even extended or articulated into greater detail.

¹²⁵⁵ M. Matulovic (pers. communication) thinks that the probable intended function was to educate and to prepare the future citizens for future challenges. If so, than they should provide future citizens with some very broad and general rules of conduct. This part needs further investigation since it ahas generally been ruled out of the previous analysis of the document as being without political or constitutional significance. I think that his idea has some ground.

¹²⁵⁶ The pianist Luisa Baccarà, is thought to be the inspirer of the Article “On music”.

¹²⁵⁷ *ibid.* p. 329.

from the function of the tenth corporation whose main purpose was to shape the new ideology for the masses – a sort of secular religion - and make this aesthetic utopia happen.

One corporation was added by D'Annunzio "Gente del Mare" – "people of the sea", probably for tactical reasons since the federation della Gente del mare a trade association (later connected with Mussolini) that gave support to D'Annunzio in Italy. However the insertion of such tactical moves in a constitutional document casts some doubts of the Dannnuzian idea of the constitution - considered more like a tactical than a strategic instrument.

There are two more apparently slight changes that D'Annunzio made. For the Ambris the commandant (dictator) could be in charge for not more than 6 months, with extensions deliberated only by the Arrengo. In the definitive text D'Annunzio makes this conditions much less imperative: there is only a reminder that "for Romans, dictatorship was limited to 6 months".¹²⁵⁸

At the end the final part of article 46 D'Annunzio eliminated the part that specified who had to decide if and whether or not public officials were responsible for damages to the state, to the communes, corporations or to private individuals, caused by misuse or abuse of power. It is clear that the level of protection of citizens was eroded with these changes.¹²⁵⁹

In its structure and the *division of power* of the Fiuman constitution resembles that of the Swiss Constitution of 1874, with the communes taking the places of cantons. Cultural diversity was to be preserved within the communes, there was a Supreme Court for regulating all issues among communes or between them and the state, the concept of the armed nation resulted in an absence of a permanent army but with a basic military training compulsory for all citizens. In terms of its original features, the Fiuman constitution introduced the functional representation of the corporations that is the group representation on a professional basis, as well as a provision for the suspension of the Constitution itself and its bill of rights, that is: dictatorship. Although the charter combined neo religious, spiritual and mystical ideas stemming from D'Annunzio poetic vision of life, it also corresponded to a rationalist tradition based on a belief in progress and betterment of the human condition.

Its content was revolutionary as the second paragraph indicated: "The Republic of the Carnaro is a direct democracy that has productive labour at its base and the largest possible functional and local autonomy at its governing principle. It confirms, therefore, the collective sovereignty of all citizens, without regard to sex, race, language, class or religion; but it recognizes major rights to the producers and decentralizes the power of the state as much as possible, in order to assure the harmonious blending of the elements that form it."

The Foundations of the State

There is general scepticism about the imposition of non-indigenous democratic structures from the top. Yet this is what happened in Fiume. D'Annunzio's Constitution introduced many new institutional arrangements, that hardly were present in Fiuman society, in the political tradition of the city, or in its laws. The Carta del Carnaro is a constitution in which human rights and the separation of powers are fully included, but the plebiscitary moment is still present. Gabriele D'Annunzio, Alceste de Ambris and a small group of his collaborators imposed a constitution for the "Free State of Fiume". No popular consultation was attempted. The attrition between the Commando and the National Council were growing it was no secret that most of its members as well as military officers present with D'Annunzio were against de Ambris knowing well his ideological convictions and political past as a syndicalist leader who organized one of the most spectacular strikes in Italy. The document was first presented and read in public by D'Annunzio in

¹²⁵⁸ De.Felice. 1973. *La Carta del Carnaro nei testi di Alceste de Ambris e Gabriele d'Annunzio*, il Mulino , Bologna, pp. 13-16.

¹²⁵⁹ In fact, there were several cases of violence towards political opponents (very much in fascist style) during D'Annunzio s occupation of Fiume.

one of the most popular theaters of Fiume - Teatro Fenice the 20th of August 1920, at the height of a very troubled period for the city in an evidently plebiscitarian fashion. The crowd accepted it enthusiastically but it is questionable if they understood what was all about. The constitution makers were themselves holders of the executive power at the time of constitution making and they retained it after the enactment: D'Annunzio as the Commandant and de Ambris as the chief of the D'Annunzian Cabinet. Arguably, the temptation to modify the constitution is higher when personal power is at stake.¹²⁶⁰

The Constituent Power

The constituent power was formally put in the hands of the people of Fiume.– “The people of the free city of Fiume...has decided to introduce new laws in the spirit of the new life, non limiting it to the territory of the *corpus separatum* but it offers them to the whole Adriatic community ... in the name of the new Italy. “(preamble)

The Concept of State

The State was “the common will of the people towards an even greater grade of material and spiritual vigor” in defining the state elements that traditionally appear in constitutional preambles were left. Instead of defining the state in terms of its territory or its sovereignty there is only a reference to the people and a teleological assumption it was a right and a duty of the people to achieve greeter levels of material and spiritual vigor. The state then was suitable to betterment. and so was its constitution. Next corollary is that the state was identified with its juridical order or a social group settled in a territory but as a convergence of human activities towards a relative perfection. If this vital principle was to disappear the state will disappear as well the institutions will be useless destined to fall and disappear within a short time.¹²⁶¹ This explains another obvious feature of the constitution: that of unity of power. There was no system of checks and balances in the constitution only a mechanical division of competencies between the political bodies. What united them and prevented conflict to arise was a common ideology, that in time of crisis could only be interpreted and represented by the commandant.

A problematic issue was the denomination of the new state; de Ambris baptized it as “The Republic of Carnaro”, but D'Annunzio changed it to “The Italian Regency of Carnaro”. There has been a lot of discussion about the denomination of the state that D'Annunzio introduced. Its new name clearly indicates a provisory, temporally solution. The avoidance of the term “Republic” was probably motivated to reduce the revolutionary appeal of the constitution, probably for tactical reasons since the official support they had in Italy was rapidly declining.

D'Annunzio seemed to agree then that the existence the formation and the coherence of the social group rest on an individual decision. But then this constituent power can be limited by the goal of society as in Locke or an unlimited sovereign that follows from a delegation by each and every individual that participates in the social contract, as for Rousseau.¹²⁶² Probably, D'Annunzio was accepting that a coherence of a polity needed more than a contract among free and equal individuals. According to Ulrich Preuss eventually the most important condition would be ethnic homogeneity.¹²⁶³ For Rousseau the type of people ready to receive a constitution was “already bound together by some original association, interest or agreement.” What was the main interest that should bound individuals in the Regency?

The Regency was a “genuine popular government founded on the potency of productive work”. Labor is the paramount factor of production and this permits to found the whole constitution of the state that has the goal to ensure a progress towards a greater spiritual and material vigor.

¹²⁶⁰ Elster (1994), pp. 57-66.

¹²⁶¹ Alberto Gelpi, 1957, *Gabriele D'Annunzio legislatore costituente (Il disegno di un nuovo ordinamento dello Stato di Fiume)*, Ugo Pinto, Roma, pp.16-17

¹²⁶²Preuss, U., 1994, “Constitutional Powermaking”, p. 162

¹²⁶³ Preuss, U., 1994, “Constitutional Powermaking”, p. 163

As in the Weimar Constitution, and unlike in the Soviet ones from 1918 and 1936, labor wasn't limited to manual work but also to artistic creation as well as to intellectual effort and to management of productive resources. The right to work is a duty in the same time since involuntary unemployment can lead to a loss of citizenship.

Who constituted the nation: the demos or the ethnos? To use a form from U. Preuss¹²⁶⁴ there is an ambiguity there: on one side if the nation is defined as a body of associates living under common laws and represented by the same legislative assembly is invoked in the first article of the constitution which says that “the rural and maritime communes could join the new state being attracted with the benefits of the free port and the openness and liberality of his *new laws*”.¹²⁶⁵ On the other hand in the Preamble the new state is “not limited to the territory of the old “*Corpus separatum*” but to all the *fraternal Adriatic communities*¹²⁶⁶ that want to uphold in the name of the new Italy, which has an ethnicist flavor.

The Legitimization for Revolution

“Fiume, a free Italian commune for centuries, by unanimous vote from the legitimate voice of the National Council declared freely its total and full dedication to the Motherland (Italy) on October the 30th 1918” (preamble – “of the perpetual popular will”) since her historical, geographical and human rights are infringed (by the apparent unwillingness of the Italian government to annex it) and again, “The right of Fiume is contrasted by the foreign egoism to which Italy has no force to oppose but it seems to forget and waste his victory. Therefore, the people of the free city of Fiume, with always his Latin fate in mind and always ready to accomplish the request of its legitimated vote deliberates to innovate his ordainments according to the spirit of the new life...” (preamble)

The Territory

Clearly, the possibility to change the borders of the new state by international treaties or by other means was left open. In fact this will be attempted by armed interventions on some islands by D'Annunzio in the last phase of the adventure. Moreover, in the Preamble it is stated that “in the name of new Italy all the Adriatic communities (probably Dalmatian) will have the support of Fiume in case of their insurrection” (in case of their eventual secession from the new Yugoslav state).

“the sovereign people of Fiume, with his full sovereignty, makes at the center of his state the “*corpus separatum*”¹²⁶⁷, with its port and the railroads. Although it firmly wants to maintain his land contiguous with the motherland of the west (Italy), it does not renounce for a just and secure border at the east that could be determined by new treaties or with accords signed with other rural and maritime neighboring communes eventually attracted by its tax free policy or by with the wideness of its new rules.” (art I)

Moreover, D'Annunzio changed the territorial definition of the state since he also added the “islands of Venetian tradition” as parts of the territory of the Regency.(art. I) These islands (Veglia and Arbe, today Krk and Rab) were occupied by the Fiuman legionaries two weeks before the enactment of the constitution, causing tensions in the whole international community, since they were already assigned to Yugoslavia.

Citizenship

¹²⁶⁴Preuss, U., 1994, “Constitutional Powermaking”, p. 148

¹²⁶⁵A reference to the constitution

¹²⁶⁶ Refers to Italian cities in Dalmatia.

¹²⁶⁷ The *Corpus Separatum* was the juridical definition of the territory Fiume after the compromise achieved between Croatia and Hungary in 1867. It meant that the city and its surroundings were considered as a separate territory directly annexed to the Hungarian crown without any direct control of the Croatian authorities. The city had the “right” to send its representatives to Zagreb, but actually it never happened. Fiuman rulers didn't wanted to send their representatives to the diet of Zagreb.

How was citizenship defined and conceptualized? Every polity decides whether to grant citizenship to those that request it, and to take it away from those who do not. Citizenship in the first draft of de Ambris was defined by *ius solii*: citizens were those who were born in the city of Fiume and its surroundings. Again, if other regions wanted to join the state and be accepted their inhabitants would also become citizens so with the same principle. Citizenship could also be given for merits and upon request. It is remarkable that there were no cultural or national biases in the questions of citizenship although the document abounded of references to it.

It must be recalled here, that when D'Annunzio put his ideas on the nature of the state on the first part of the Carta there was little in geography, much more of it was in human will. He conceived the state as a voluntary communion of spirits that share the same goals, and accordingly he changed criteria of de Ambris that define citizenship. The right to citizenship was to be granted to all the citizens actually registered in the city of Fiume.

We have seen that along with this voluntaristic moment defining the state and citizenship there was a strong accent on the ethnic and cultural origins of a nation. How could these mutually exclusive principles go together? Probably what linked the two concepts in practice was cultural assimilation. This was to be performed by the public education: “moral domination is a necessity of the new State (...) Rome has to be present in his culture. Italy has to be present in his culture. (...) in a land of an Italian kind, in a land ploughed by the Latin plough, the other breed (“stirpe”) will be transformed by the Latin creative spirit. (...) this is the reason why the Regency puts the national culture on the top of its laws.” (from art. L. Public Education)

During his occupation over Fiume the local authorities were uneasy to concede Fiuman citizenship to all those who requested it. For the National Council who legally was a continuation of the Communal Council basically the old rules were applied. In the Hungarian kingdom Fiume was a free city and it had its procedures for obtaining citizenship. This "communal citizenship" was called "pertinenza" (pertinence) and allowed the possessor to participate in the political life of the city and to work in the communal offices. Usually it was acquired by birth within the territory of the city or with naturalization after marriage with a Fiuman citizen. The questions of pertinence were still administered by the national council, and caused attrition with D'Annunzio and his troops and collaborators, since to many of them the pertinence was denied.¹²⁶⁸ The relatively liberal provisions for citizenship (that were a novelty for Fiume) could be seen as a tactical instrument of D'Annunzio in order to secure a legal status for him his troops and his staff in the city without the interference of the local authorities.

The Separation of Powers

Intended to prevent tyranny, the doctrine is inexorably shaped by a general philosophical conception of society. In the carta it is not only individuals who frame the society but two collective levels are recognized: one functional (professional) – the corporations, and the other spatial (territorial) - the communes. Corporations represent the divisions among working people, communes represent the territorial division of the state. Both of them could enact laws and regulations.

“Three species of destiny and forces contribute to the ordering, movement, and increase of the university: citizens, corporations and the communes.” (art. XIII)

The corporations were considered to be juridical persons, probably an influence of the writings of Pannunzio who thought this was the only way to accommodated juridically the new corporative

¹²⁶⁸ D'Annunzio introduced a law of divorce and many Italian citizens who were already separated but not divorced came to Fiume to acquire its citizenship and divorce since it was forbidden in Italy. One of them was the sociologist Vilfredo Pareto. His case is well documented and eventually became citizen of the state of Fiume after the fall of D'Annunzio. There is no reason to suppose that the procedures were different in D'Annunzio's times, since the National Council still was *the* authority who deliberated in these matters. The institution of pertinence was still preserved at the time when Pareto requested the citizenship (in 1922) and caused some delays to him.

institutions. They had a high degree of autonomy in enacting regulations, finding rules etc. the relations between the corporations themselves or between them and the Regency were similar to those between them and the communes. “members of each corporation consist of a free electoral body to elect representatives to the low chamber” (art. XXI)

The **executive** branch consisted of seven "**rectors**" chosen by three **legislative** bodies; the latter included two elected institutions **Consiglio dei Provvisori** (council of provisionals, economic council in the draft of de Ambris) was to consist of 60 members elected from the 9 corporations and **Consiglio degli Ottimi** (council of the best). The Consiglio degli Ottimi was composed of one representative for every thousand citizens, who was elected directly from universal suffrage. The **Arengo del Carnaro** (assembly of Carnaro), was composed of the two elected bodies meeting jointly once a year. All citizens over the age of twenty could vote, with representation structured on nine syndical corporations; local governments (communes) had wide autonomy; a series of five courts formed the judiciary; and basic freedoms and social services were guaranteed. At the top of the entire structure stood the office of the Commandant (which D'Annunzio occupied), to be filled only in emergencies. In normal circumstances, there was to be no strong chief executive, and the execution of laws was entrusted to seven rectors.

The concept of *constituent emergency* was well developed - the figure of a "Commandant" - resembling the roman *dictator* was provided in cases of emergency or when the survival of the state was at stake. In terms of parity of sexes it was well ahead of its time, universal suffrage was introduced in Italy for the first time. The revocation of all functions was possible. Another interesting feature was the presence of *Judicial review*.

The separation of powers between the two houses was implicit in the composition of the relative bodies. The Ottimi were responsible for the civil and penal codes, the police, defense, the secondary schools, the fine arts, and the relations between the central government and the communes. The Provvisori, on the other hand, dealt with business matters: commercial and maritime law, all questions dealing with labor, transportation, public works, tariffs, customs duties and trade, technical and professional instruction, industry and banking, and the exercise of the free professions. The Arengo, which gathered all the Ottimi and Provvisori into a single body, was entrusted with the legislation of foreign policy, finance, higher education, and any eventual reforms of the constitution.

The rector of foreign affairs was also the first rector that represented the state and was the “Primus inter pares”. The mandate of the rectors lasted for 1 year, the office of the rectors was stable and in case of parity the vote of the first rector was decisive.

The judiciary organs were structured in a complex hierarchy: Buoni Uomini, Giudici del Lavoro, Giudici Togati, Giudici del Maleficio. The Supreme Court was labeled “La Corte della Ragione”. It had to be elected by the National Council with 5 permanent members plus two provisionals. The court deliberated on the conformity to the constitution of the acts of the legislative and the executive, and had the final word in the case of all sorts of conflicts among the different bodies politic. The Court has the power to review the sentences and nominates the giudici togati. (art. XXXXII)

The exceptional power – the commandant (dictator as in the roman republic) in the case of perceived danger elected “by acclamation” of the National Council. (XXXIII)

The Territorial Division of Power – The Communes

Before the Dannuzian Impresa Fiume and its district (“Statuto della Libera Città di Fiume e del suo Distretto”) were divided in the “city and the sub-communes of Plasse, Cosala and Drenova”¹²⁶⁹. In the new political formation this territorial division wasn’t preserved. The proper institution to reveal and advance community interests was the commune. The territorial division of powers is

¹²⁶⁹ art. 2 of the Statute of the Free City of Fiume and its District (“Statuto della Libera Città di Fiume e del suo Distretto”), Fiume 1876.

assured by the division of the state in communes which appear as federal units with capacity of making laws, signing treaties among them etc.

But was it really a federation? Two issues must be faced in drawing a federal system: how the initial boundaries are drawn, and how they are changed over time.¹²⁷⁰ Both issues are totally unspecified in the Carta.

“it is reestablished for all the communes the ancient normative power, that is a full right to autonomy: the particular right to ordain their laws. They have all the powers that are not specified by the constitution”. The autonomy of the units the communes is not in their local sovereignty but for the Carta, the sovereignty is indivisible unique and original only for the state. The normative power of the communes is therefore not “recognized” but “reestablished” that is a ordainment is reestablished since it is thought that it is compatible and good for functional of the state. In this sense the state preserves the supreme power of control and intervention.¹²⁷¹

Therefore, the Fiuman state wasn't a federation but a unitary decentralized state with a high degree of self-government and autonomy at the local level. Communes were expected to negotiate treaties among themselves and make mutual arrangements for reciprocal legislation and administration. However, the central government had the power to intervene in the communes affairs; it could challenge communal laws if it felt that they were unconstitutional (bringing them to the supreme court, the so-called Corte della Ragione), and it could intervene to re-establish order when asked to do so by either the communal authorities or by one third of the electorate of the commune. In this manner, not only would the internal order of the communes be guaranteed but the regency could safeguard the communes from one another. This last option was of utmost importance given the ethnically mixed population structure of some of the communes. D'Annunzio and de Ambris expected Croatian communes within the Regency, and they were careful to ensure that the central government could guarantee peaceful relations between the Italian and the Slavic elements. Given the ethnically mixed structure of the city and the suburbs especially the issue of the boundaries was of supreme importance. At least declaratory concern for the “Slavic” communities by “race and culture” will have been easily overridden with gerrymandering. Probably, knowing the delicacy of the issues de Ambris left the definition of the communes out of the constitution. This indeterminacy at the constitutional level raised the dangers for the minority that is the Croatian population, these risks were further confirmed by the open programmatic assimilatory educational policy to be realized by the State.

The Functional Division of Power – The Corporations

Probably, the most striking innovation of the Carta was the introduction of the functional (professional) form of political representation as opposed to the territorial - typical of the liberal state. One of the most cited reasons for corporatism is reduction of the class cleavages. This arrangement is said to foster *cooperation* among classes or groups of interest instead of the *conflict* management typical of liberalism.¹²⁷²

De Ambris had a different opinion about corporations: since democracy was intended to be extended to the workplace, he meant that the introduction of type of representation focused on productive work would give more political power to the working class. The premises were quite different in the later fascist corporate state where the state was intended as an authoritarian enforcer of cooperation among classes and the reduction of conflict was imposed.

“Every corporation has a status of a complete juridical person that is recognized by the state. It has the right to elect the leaders, to claim its needs in public gatherings, to make its laws, fix its norms of conduct and to fight to improve its position. It defends its class interests, tries to improve his technical and material achievements etc.” (art. XX)

¹²⁷⁰ D. Mueller, p.78

¹²⁷¹ Alberto Gelpi (1957) pp.34-35.

¹²⁷² Matteucci, N. 1999. *Lo stato moderno. Lessico e percorsi*, [The Modern State. Lexicon and Paths], Bologna: il Mulino, p. 189.

“The issues between the different social bodies - the Regency, the communes, and the corporations are solved in the same way (the corporations have the same juridical status as the communes). The members of each corporation constitute a free electoral body that can elect the representatives to the Consiglio dei Provvisori.” (art. XXI)

Two important characteristics of corporatism need to be noticed. First, it is focused on the representation of functional (typically economic) interests, interests closely related to a persons source of income. Second, membership in a ”representational monopoly” is involuntary.¹²⁷³

The involuntary nature of its membership and the undemocratic nature of its representational procedures is a troublesome feature of corporatism. Some degree of involuntariness is almost certain to be inherent in the institution. There is no reason however why these associations cannot be democratic in procedures for selecting leaders and positions on issues. Here the state and the constitution could play a role guaranteeing the democratic nature of those functional interest groups that influence public policies argues Mueller¹²⁷⁴.

But of course, existing corporatist institutions have not arisen by constitutional design. Instead they have evolved to encompass those organized interests that already exist. Were one to design a corporatist system one would want to ensure that all citizens are represented.

If we analyze now the corporations as planned by de Ambris we see that he tried to cope with these problems. He recognized that most of the interests were already organized but that the state should give the democratizing impulse to this institution and by constitutionalization of this interests order and concatenate their effects within the state. He designed a system that included all the producers intended in the broad sense all the working individuals. Not all the citizens were represented, moreover he declared that the political rights of those that do not produce are only waiting to be suppressed. Nevertheless, he also tried to render the membership less involuntary a person could change the corporation if changed occupation etc.

Rather than ignoring or prohibiting these functional groups Fiuman constitution makers tried to focus their activities on the cooperative positive sum issues that confront all members of society. The argument behind corporatism was that that they mitigate the uncertainties of the market during the rise and decline of industrialism. In prohibiting those associations this might again foster the economic group hostilities that signed much of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Creating a second parliamentary chamber in which corporatist interests were represented and advanced, they created a less radical and more historically consistent alternative than relying on market competition and social insurance.

The constitutional provisions for the corporatist rearrangement of the state were those that were most criticized, even by his closest collaborators (E. Coselschi and Maffeo Pantaleoni, Rector for the finances and economy of the Regency.)

DICTATORSHIP

A striking provision was that on the "commandant" explicitly modeled on the figure of the roman *dictator*.¹²⁷⁵ As we have seen after the changes of D'Annunzio the limit of 6 months was dropped and there was only a generic reminder that in the Roman Republic the dictator used to be in charge for not more than 6 months. Soon after the enactment of the Carta, D'Annunzio nominated the 7 rectors that had to compose the heads of the executive government. Notice that in the case of the

¹²⁷³ See Mueller (1996), for a discussion; pp.198-206.

¹²⁷⁴ D. Mueller (1996), p.203

¹²⁷⁵ Weimar constitution had similar provisions giving to the president of the Reichstag dictatorial powers. For Max Weber it was the plebiscitarian leader who was the right political answer at the time to plebiscitarian democracy. The style of government in D'Annunzio's Fiume conformed almost perfectly to these ideas. Moreover, most of the rituals of fascism will be copied from D'Annunzio by Mussolini. In this he was an innovator as he invented the first system of plebiscitary government and intuited the needs of the crowds and developed the techniques to influence the masses.

"constitutional emergency" the rectors were downgraded to commissaries or secretaries (i.e. secretary for the economy).

Another possible explanation is that D'Annunzio *de facto* continued to hold all the power and simply didn't bother to follow constitutional procedures. In fact, there were several signs that the commandant ruled autocratically in Fiume, one of his "rectors" Maffeo Pantaleoni who was skeptical towards the constitution as well left Fiume soon after, reputedly because of the "autocratic ways" of D'Annunzio.¹²⁷⁶

On the other side D'Annunzio respected the authority of the National Council that only had at least initially some democratic legitimization because its composition was ratified by an election in November 1918. Later the reputation and popularity and public esteem of the Council will be seriously eroded as some members will be implicated in corruption affairs. D'Annunzio will never attempt to strike it down or suspend it, even if he had the military power in his control almost all the time. On the contrary, usually he searched and achieved compromise, although the extent to which D'Annunzio was acting opportunistically, autocratically or maybe irrationally - especially in the last phase of the *Impresa* (after the enactment of the *Carta*) is still an open question to discuss.

Along with the *Carta del Carnaro*, two other revolutionary documents were issued. The first was the charter of the "Lega di Fiume" or "League of the Oppressed Peoples" in opposition to the League of Nations ruled by the "plutocracies" of the world. The second was a "new order" for the legionaries "Ordinamento del Nuovo Esercito Liberatore" that introduced a radical democratic order for the armed forces. Obviously, taken together these three initiatives were a part of a far-reaching revolutionary project. In this outline of the political system we will refer only to the definitive constitution as it was after the changes of D'Annunzio, because this is the document that was enacted and was in force from September the 9th 1920, until January the 21st 1921, when D'Annunzio signed the capitulation and accepted to go to exile.

D'Annunzio's constitution entered in force the 8th of September. The revolutionary nature of this constitution immediately posed problems to D'Annunzio's "Commando". Parts of the Italian army officers that were with D'Annunzio protested and along with the National Council of Fiume resigned immediately. De Ambris with his ambitious plans was facing a typical dilemma for most revolutionaries: to limit its scope to the territory where he had some influence or to try to export the revolution. If the *Carta* was not to be a dead letter there was only one option left: 10 days later 18 September 1920, in a letter to D'Annunzio he was aware that the Fiuman revolution in order to succeed had to be extended to Italy. ("Italy was to be annexed to Fiume") (sic).¹²⁷⁷

The contemporary publication of the "Nuovo Ordinamento dell' Esercito Liberatore" by D'Annunzio, and the captain Giovanni Piffer, produced many defections among the officials of the D'Annunzio forces originated mostly from the Italian army.

Politically de Ambris and D'Annunzio were isolated, since the support for the new ordainment of the state was limited to the most revolutionary among the D'Annunzian troops in Fiume. Elections for the legislative bodies planned by his constitution should have taken place in the first months of 1921 and thus put an end the duality between the Commando and the Council. The National Council bargained the evacuation of D'Annunzio and his "Arditi" after the electoral process was over and the legislative bodies designed by the *carta* were instituted. After that agreement reached in September D'Annunzio started new provocation against the neighboring state of SHS and the Italian army. D'Annunzio instead for looking for some viable solutions for the Fiuman state was trying more and more dangerous provocation. The islands of Veglia (today Krk) and Arbe (Rab) were occupied by the legionaries the 13 of November and the "Commandant" contacted admiral

¹²⁷⁶ De Felice, R., *Sindacalismo rivoluzionario e fiumanesimo nel carteggio de Ambris – D'Annunzio*, Padova: Morcelliana, p. 24.

¹²⁷⁷ De Felice, R., *Sindacalismo rivoluzionario e fiumanesimo nel carteggio de Ambris – D'Annunzio*, Padova: Morcelliana, p.91.

Millo for a possible intervention in Dalmatia. This actions shed great doubts about his credibility as a bargainer and about the force of his promises.

There is no information about the last days of de Ambris in Fiume before the final end and collapse of the Fiuman adventure. Certainly, he felt more and more isolated. De Ambris went to Rome twice in December trying to get some concessions from the Italian government, but the reliability and reputation of D'Annunzio were so eroded that nothing stopped the armed intervention on December 25th. After the military intervention of the Italian army, in the Christmas night of 1920, D'Annunzio was politically dead in Fiume and in Italy. So the chances to promote a better mode of government in mind to D'Annunzio and de Ambris (who understood it already but stickled to D'Annunzio because of its appeal and the control of the military and enjoyed no support in the city) were nullified.

It wasn't a surprise since the news from the project leaked and the rumours stated about the revolutionary character, of the constitution that Gabriele D'Annunzio and his Cabinet were drafting. In the meanwhile, also the CNI started to manifest its disappointment. The last sessions of the directive county of the CNI reflect this. The delegate of the finances Rudan, expressed all his fears: "Il signor Rudan ritiene che prima di entrare nel merito del disegno di riforma costituzionale, sia essenziale sapere quali sono i fini che si propone il Comandante relativamente all'estensione del nuovo stato indipendente e circa i rapporti che si stabiliranno fra questo e il Regno d'Italia. Non meno essenziale è sapere se la proclamazione del nuovo stato sarà fatta d'accordo col Governo italiano o all'insaputa di questo o addirittura contro la volontà di esso".¹²⁷⁸ On the other hand, the major Gigante who also attended the session tried to tranquillise the Directive County¹²⁷⁹ Finally, on the 10th August, the Directive County realised that it was powerless, and that the citizens were now openly questioning what was the Directive County doing.

The 8th of September 1920, Gabriele D'Annunzio proclaimed its Statuto della Reggenza, the Statute of the Regency of the Carnaro. The first reactions of the CNI whose members although recognised the "geniality modernity of the new constitution", declared their incapacity to vote in its support since they had only the mandate for assuring the annexation of the City to Italy¹²⁸⁰. The republican aspects of the constitution meant alienation of any residual support from the Italian government. A major flaw of the Carta del Carnaro, as it was also known, was that it was not approved by the people, and therefore missing any value as an instrument against the Italian government in Rome. The CNI resigned. D'Annunzio answered with a vehement letter to Grossich, where he labelled the members of the CNI as "oppositori", "nemici", "parte schiava", with whom the fracture became definitive.¹²⁸¹ In Fiume this provoked an internal fracture – the directive county and the CNI resigned, while the Rappresentanza through the podestà Gigante recognized the regency.¹²⁸²

The fear by the Directive County of the CNI was obvious. The CNI could only vote its suspension. On the other hand its democratic deficit was far too obvious and the charisma (and control of political violence) by D'Annunzio was to preponderant to make possible any kind of opposition to the Comandante: il Comitato Direttivo si dovrebbe astenere da qualsiasi atto che potesse provocare una reazione violenta da parte del Comandante o dei suoi organi."

¹²⁷⁸ Verbali delle sedute del secondo Consiglio Nazionale - Comitato Direttivo – (16 agosto–21 settembre 1920). Fonte: Verbali del CNI custoditi presso l'Archivio Museo fiumano di Roma. Cartella Arm. B/III/1091. Verbale della seduta del Comitato Direttivo del Consiglio Nazionale il giorno 16 agosto 1920

¹²⁷⁹ Il sindaco comunica che il Comandante sta ultimando il progetto della nuova costituzione di Fiume. E' necessario che il Comitato Direttivo conosca questo progetto sul quale si sono fatte tante ingiuste congetture. Il Comandante l'ha assicurato che la nuova costituzione non cambierà in pratica l'attuale stato di cose; gli ha pure dato assicurazioni tranquillizzanti per quanto riguarda la conservazione degli stemmi italiani, della bandiera nazionale, di tutto ciò insomma che rappresentava e rappresenta l'Italia in Fiume., *ibid.*

¹²⁸⁰ Vedetta, 8 settembre 1920.

¹²⁸¹ Salotti, Guglielmo. I rapporti fra il Consiglio Nazionale fiumano e Gabriele D'Annunzio, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XVIII, gennaio-dicembre 1972, pp. 63

¹²⁸² Samani, Salvatore. Lettere di Gabriele d'Annunzio a Antonio Grossich, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XIII, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1967, pp. 97-127.

As the tensions grew, the CNI resigned on August the 21st 1920. the last act it issued was a minor act on the treatment of the Yugoslav currency in Fiume from the 31st August 1920.¹²⁸³

From 12th September 1920, the acts are produced by the Reggenza Italiana del Carnaro. And later they are enacted in the name of the “Popolo Sovrano di Fiume” in the name of the sovereign people of Fiume.

The first acts confirmed the previous acts enacted by the CNI but whose provisional character was explicitly stated until the legislative bodies of the Regency were to be formed, according to the prescriptions of the Articles 30, 33, and 34 of the Constitution.

The nature and the genesis of this constitutional text are striking. It was innovative and revolutionary at the same time and this raises problems for its theoretical and historical reconstruction. To summarize, we can conclude that the prime intention of the constitution makers wasn't to construct the political *identity* of their community but to give to them political *legitimacy*. The idea behind owes very much Rousseau with its overtones for the mass political participation. The main value wasn't that of avoiding tyranny and monopolization of power but the promotion of personal self-realization. The real subjects were not atomic *individuals*, but rather *groups* or *corporations*. Democracy was intended to be extended to the workplace, and this was the main case for de Ambris to introduce the corporations. The electoral system to be applied wasn't specified in its detail, except that it had to be proportional. The issues of *division of powers*, *political representation*, *political parties*, and *judicial review*, was influenced by *socialist* ideas, by *nationalism* and by *liberalism*. The dominant principle wasn't that of the *separation of power* but rather that of *unity of power*. The document's purpose was to provide legitimacy for a revolution of a broader scope that since its very beginning had to be extended to Italy or at least provide a model for future political changes. The document had no time to enter in force, however the presence of the main conflicting political ideologies of the XX century cast some legitimate doubts about its stability and coherence. Moreover, the principle of unity of power, the almost mechanical separation of domains between the political bodies resulted in a total absence of checks and balances. The parliament was virtually without power against the executive, and the latter had no accountability towards the legislative branch, so it is an open question if the State of Fiume with such a constitution would ever be able to avoid the situation of constitutional emergency.

Ideologically the authors applied the pluralist idea of the state that was put for the first time into a constitutional text, with the possible exception of the Soviet constitution of 1918. The authorship was almost single-handed: the constitution was conceived and drafted by Alceste de Ambris, D'Annunzio added only a few substantial and many stylistic¹²⁸⁴ corrections. No other person played a relevant role, although de Ambris never claimed his authorship. De Ambris was admittedly deeply influenced by A. O. Olivetti and other syndicalist thinkers. The syndicalist movement embraced by de Ambris and the D'Annunzio military command were explicitly acting as a revolutionary avant-garde. This is clear from the function of the tenth corporation whose main purpose was to shape the ideology for the masses in a sort of secular religion and make dannunzio's aesthetic political utopia happen.

The political system of Fiume according to its constitution makers was an enactment of the ideas of the pluralist state. Essentially it was a revolt against atomic individualism identified with liberalism and against monistic statism identified with Hegelians, but especially Marxists. The monistic state preferred the notion of separate individuals since they were easier to control. A society constituted by atomized individuals is also easily coerced into a market order. Against those dominant ideologies, according to the authors it was groups that resisted. Ultimately the recognition and imposition of an order based on groups would have lead to an even more powerful and integrated

¹²⁸³ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 p. 219.

¹²⁸⁴ The literary style that is employed is amazing for a modern legal document: it appears rather like the early modern Florentine political tractates, probably to stress its prime source of inspiration.

state.¹²⁸⁵ The state wasn't considered as to arise out of a contract among individuals but between organized groups. The juridical status of groups was recognized: the corporations and the communes had the status of juridical individuals. One of the reasons for adopting a corporatist system was dissatisfaction with parliamentary democracy considered as a troublesome aggregation of conflicting individual preferences which could make a stalemate in case of difficulties. Therefore, the power of the executive was not limited by the parliament. The parliament was bicameral and every chamber had its clearly separated domain of action. There were no checks and balances among different branches of government. This fits to the concept of *unity of power*. What had to unite people was to be a common ideology and not a system of laws or norms. This view is supported by the fact that in the case of exceptional situations a single individual assumed all the executive power. The National Assembly could proclaim the dictator and its mandate was not limited temporally, he could act as the only interpreter of the constitution, a function similar as for the "Hüter der Verfassung" of Carl Schmitt. The accountability of the executive to the legislative was therefore minimal. The legislative could only draft the laws in its specific domains. The constitution amending process was very easy to initiate moreover, every 7 years the gathering of the national assembly for constitutional revision. Therefore it was an exceptionally flexible constitution, suited for the continuation of the revolution. A remarkable fact was the full-scale introduction of economic and social rights, which makes Fiume to be one of the first welfare states. The National Bank wasn't independent but controlled by the executive.

The state was unitary but decentralized. The communes had a high degree of autonomy and self-government but the territorial division of power wasn't reflected in any political body at the national level. Local self-government was assured by the great devolution of power to the communes. Direct democracy was recognized to be an important political principle. In this respect the relative importance of referenda is reflected by the great variety of the typology of Fiuman referenda. Direct democracy was to be extended to the workplace and this was for de Ambris one of the main reasons for introducing the corporations. Another function was the reduction of class conflicts. Thus the corporatist assembly had a greater power and influence of the producers into the system since they could vote for the senate and for the chamber of corporations. The executive was drawn also from those bodies and the parts of the judiciary as well. The autonomy of each body was therefore almost complete and between them interference will be difficult. Another problem was the fact that between the executive and the chambers new conflict of interest will arise since their competencies overlapped. The structure of the judiciary reflects the division of powers within the Fiuman State, with the Supreme Court appointed for judicial review as well. On the other hand, there was the provision of the commandant that meant the practical suspension of the constitution and the rights. The executive could also initiate procedures of revision of constitutionality of acts if there were against the spirit of the constitution, it is not clear how these were defined and how could the rights of individuals be effectively protected under such broad interpretation clauses. If it lasted enough the system would probably had to suffer from the overlaps between the executive and the legislative, with no appropriate system of checks and balances. The limited function of the parliament could also have frustrating effects.

The analysis of the constitution making sheds some light on the origins the intentions and the differences between the two makers of the Carta del Carnaro: Gabriele D'Annunzio and Alceste de Ambris. They shaped the constitution without publicity and could therefore change their positions showing a degree of compromising not far away from much greater conventions such as the French one that were public. There was much more effort spent on rational argumentation, appeal to psychology or arguments on justice rather than bargaining in Fiume that, as in the French case shed strong doubts about the durability and realism of the document. The main political forces and the ultimate addressees of the Fiuman Constitution - the people, the National Council and the various political organizations and parties in the town accepted the Carta del Carnaro with indifference or

¹²⁸⁵ Vincent (1987) p.180

(more frequently) with overt hostility. This explains also the fact that with the end of the Impresa in the political practice of Fiume nothing was left of this constitutional project¹²⁸⁶. This wasn't inevitable since the city stayed independent formally for 4 more years and some laws enacted by D'Annunzio survived that time and most of the laws and decrees made by the National Council from the 1919 – 1924 were preserved after the annexation of the city to Italy.¹²⁸⁷

¹²⁸⁶ One year later in 1921 Riccardo Zanella who ruled the city till the fascist coup de état n 1922 commissioned a constitution to Hans Kelsen. From some references of Zanella and quotations, it seems that also the document that Kelsen wrote was inspired with the Carta del Carnaro but since the document is lost, these are mere hypotheses.

¹²⁸⁷ Nevertheless, the abrogation of the document was never enacted by no Fiuman or Italian government

THE RAPALLO TREATY

To solve the Adriatic question it became necessary to start direct negotiations between Rome and Belgrade, who signed the Treaty of Rapallo on November 12th, 1920. When the Treaty of Rapallo was signed the 12th of November 1920. Rapallo represented the final settlement between Yugoslavia and Italy, achieved after all the other European peace treaties (S. German Versailles and Trianon) were already signed. The eastern border of its newborn creature the Free State of Fiume was retained the same form the *corpus separatum*. Dalmatia was left to Yugoslavia, with the exception of Zara.

The Treaty entailed a contradiction between the principle of self determination and the principle of the natural borders as well as the imperative of national security. The biggest problem of the treaty as the State of Fiume was concerned was that its borders never gained a juridical sanction. Italy moved the western borders of Venetia-Julia region to the natural boundary of the Alps' range. The City of Fiume became a Free State. However, Dalmatia as defined by the London Pact was handed over to the S.H.S. State, except Zara and the island of Lagosta - altogether 104 square km.

The Free State of Fiume, born from the compromise comprised the territory of the *corpus separatum*, to whom a coastal corridor that granted territorial continuity with Italy. The oriental port area (Porto Baross) comprised between the old and the new course of the Fiumara river, was assigned to Yugoslavia. The cession of Porto Baross was not included in the Treaty but communicated with a letter from the Italian minister Sforza, to the Yugoslav foreign affairs minister Trumbić, who positively answered on the same day.¹²⁸⁸

The Compromise of Rapallo achieved in with many difficulties in November 1920 reflects more the weak position of Yugoslavia created by virtue of the principle of self-determination and now weakened when the plebiscites were organised in some of its disputed border territories. The country badly needed foreign policy support for their plans to retain the control in the parts of southern Serbia. In the far northwest fringes of the newborn kingdom considered by Serbia as an extension of their dominion things were going worse. The Klagenfurt plebiscite had resulted in a debacle for the Yugoslavs. It was clear that Fiume would have voted against Yugoslavia no matter what. Now even the position in the ethnically pure Slavs territories was in doubt as the Klagenfurt and Carinthian cases had demonstrated. It was clear that the plebiscite was not assuring success for the Yugoslavs, even in a region where their position appeared to be most favoured.

In the Dannunzian circles this outcome was fiercely opposed. Rapallo was from their perspective an unnecessary giving up to the Yugoslavs. No institution or office in Fiume was informed of the Treaty and that caused widespread protests not only in the D'Annunzian commando but also within the Rappresentanza and Gigante against the Italian government.

On the other hand, it assured the refusal to Yugoslav sovereignty from Fiume, which was not to be regained. The compromise to Fiume granted a position of full autonomy and state sovereignty. From the point of view of international law the State of Fiume existed since Rapallo.

La Vedetta d'Italia, having replaced the old *Bilancia*, and the autonomist *Voce del Popolo* that was banned.¹²⁸⁹ The Vedetta rejected Rapallo and considered, apart from annexation, only the

¹²⁸⁸ In Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982., p. 1. the letter had a legal binding power only for Sforza s cabinet. In this way the possibilitiyà for other Italian governments to act diversly was not precluded.

¹²⁸⁹ Die alte Fiumaner Zeitung *La Bilancia* hat während des Krieges ihr Erscheinen eingestellt. An ihre stelle trat nach dem Zusammenbruch *La Vedetta d'Italia*, jetzt das reichhaltigste und deshalb gelesenste Blatt, obwohl seine faszistische Richtung mit jener der Mehrzahl der Leser nicht übereinstimmt. Umsomehr wird ihre stimme vernommen, die der *Voce del Popolo*, die von alters erscheint und das Organ Zanellas war, an Einfluss Abbruch tat. In PUBLIC RECORDS OFFICE – LONDON - The National Archives, Kew, GFM 33/3769 - (Materials confiscated in Berlin 1945 ...microfilm). Political Department II: Fiume: Political situation- 1920 Mar-1924 Feb, Fiume unter der Regierung von Riccardo Zanella, 21 Marz 1922

Dannunzian Regency as an acceptable solution for Fiume.¹²⁹⁰ Pressures were directed against other parties, notably the Partito Popolare that seemed close to the autonomists.

The *Vedetta* from the 25th November 1920 issued a report from Rome, showing who were the enemies of the Reggenza identifying them principally in Carlo Sforza, Giolitti, Salvemini, the socialists and the Partito Popolare. Thus after the Partito Popolare in Rome voted favourably to Rapallo the *Vedetta* issued an ultimatum to the local Fiuman section of the Partito Popolare is satisfied with this they will have to stick with the autonomist block. This means that their political mapping of Italy is done regarding the position of the Italian political forces have on Fiume therefore on this basis of the allies in Rome enemies within Fiume are identified. It is clear that they invested considerable resources in following the Italian political scene in order to identify the allies and the enemies of the “Fiuman Cause”. Manipulation with the fear of “slavisation” of Fiume and loss of its Italianità was frequent and intensified after rumours that some Slavic districts of Susak and Castua would have given the right to vote in a referendum if they wanted to become parts of the Fiuman state thereby reducing the status of outlands to a minority. The *Vedetta* reacted in defining such a possibility a trap (tranello).¹²⁹¹

Fiume Declares War to Italy

After the settlement of Rapallo, it became clear also the commando that their position could have been opposed by the Italian regular forces. Giuriati - the former chief of cabinet, counselled D'Annunzio, to leave only a small garrison and to evacuate the Arditi troops to Dalmatia.¹²⁹² D'Annunzio remained isolated since also the nationalist and annexationist circles and supporters (notably Mussolini) refused any substantial support to D'Annunzio. Giolitti initially offered some room for negotiations, but D'Annunzio refused and instead occupied the islands of Veglia (Krk) and Arbe (Rab) that the Treaty handed to Yugoslavia.

To this a practical manifestation followed soon, as D'Annunzian troops occupied the islands of Veglia and Arbe¹²⁹³, and annexed it to the Regency that anyway in its constitution left open the extension of borders by the “will of the fraternal communities”, applying the art. 2 of the charter where is stated:

The Italian Regency of Carnaro is made up of the district of Fiume, of the islands, traditionally Venetian, which have declared by vote that they will share her fortunes; and of any neighbouring communities, which, after making a genuine application for admission, have been welcomed fraternally and in due legal form.

At this point the Italian government, through the intervention of the general Caviglia, intimated the immediate evacuation of the islands. To the refusal, on the 2nd December 1920 a “blocco effettivo del litorale” was issued - de facto a *casus belli*, to which on the 21st of December 1920 the Reggenza del Carnaro proclaimed officially the state of hostility with Italy. D'Annunzio disposed

¹²⁹⁰ The Treaty of Rapallo was rejected not because of Fiume, but because with the treaty Italy renounced to the greatest part of Dalmatia it claimed with the sole exception of Zara. The regency, on the other hand was a unilateral act, that as we have seen envisaged left the open possibility (also put in practice) of the expansion to other lands.

¹²⁹¹ Karpowicz, L.J. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The Corpus Separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, p. 364

¹²⁹² Giurati, Giovanni. *Con D'Annunzio e Mollo in difesa Dell'adriatico*, Sansoni, Firenze, 1954, pp. 170-171.

¹²⁹³ Auf Grund des Art. 3 des Vertrages von Rapallo waren die Inseln Veglia und Arbe an Südslawien übergegangen. Da sie aber noch von Legionären d'Annunzios besetzt waren, fühlte sich die italienische Regierung verpflichtet, für die Durchführung des Vertrages zu sorgen. General Caviglia, der damit beauftragt worden war, richtete am 28. Nov. 1920 an das Fiumer Kommando den Befehl, die Inseln und die Stadt von allen nicht-einheimischen Soldaten zu räumen. D'Annunzio, der sich nicht an den Vertrag von Rapallo gebunden fühlte, lehnte diese Aufforderung ab. Caviglia drehte mit Blockierung der Stadt, wenn dem Befehl nicht Folge geleistet wurde. Darauf hin erklärte Fiume am 21. Dezember 1920 den Kriegszustand mit Italien, am Heiligen Abend begannen die Feindseligkeiten ...

of pretty strong forces, at least on paper¹²⁹⁴. Nevertheless, their motivations and combat capability were far from satisfying and the numbers reduced from a maximum of 10,000, reached in the first months of the Impresa to 4,000. There was a significant shift in the composition of the Italian armed forces who were in Fiume with D'Annunzio. Now most of the higher ranking officers left D'Annunzio and the command of important units at the level of brigade was in the hands of young captains and lieutenants.¹²⁹⁵

In the evening of the Christmas Eve, the Italian regular troops attacked the D'Annunzio legionaries. The resistance was particularly strong in some districts such as at Valscurigna. There Capitano Marach one of the later leaders of Fiuman fascism (with the changed name in Maracchi) opposed strenuous resistance “con pochi uomini e 8 mitragliatrici”.

Once general Caviglia, commander of the land troops surrounding Fiume, declared his readiness to destroy the City (already targeted from the sea by the dreadnought battleship *Andrea Doria*) issuing an ultimatum to D'Annunzio's troops that expired on noon of the 29th December 1920. At this point D'Annunzio surrendered, in order to avoid the catastrophic shelling of the City threatened by the Italian ground forces commander. On December 28th, Host Venturi and Riccardo Gigante initiated the talks with the Italian general commander Ferrario in Abbazia. On the 28th December D'Annunzio suspended the Reggenza, and the day after deposited its powers received by the CNI on September the 12th 1919, and then with the “College of the Rectors” the 9th September 1920 date of the constitution of the Regency of the Carnaro “in the hands of the Mayor and the Sovereign People of Fiume”.¹²⁹⁶

Afterwards, the negotiations started on the 29th and ended on the 31st of December 1920, with the ratification of the Patto di Abbazia. On the Fiuman side was Podestà Riccardo Gigante (from 29 December 1920 to 31 December 1920 he was also the entrusted Head of State) and the Rector of National Defence Host Venturi, on the Italian side the army commander Ferrario.¹²⁹⁷

In effect the “Accordi di Abbazia” seemingly recognised the D'Annunzian Regency. Only in the last part of the act the State of Fiume (sanctioned at Rapallo) was explicitly mentioned. Otherwise, the Reggenza is mentioned, although to the two emissaries were considered simple Italian army officers who after a mutiny surrender to their general. In effect who declared war to Italy? The Free State of Fiume as defined in Rapallo or the Regency? It was the Regency, since the forces were

¹²⁹⁴ The composition of units in Fiume varied depending on defections and desertions. According to Culinovic, and data from the State archive in Fiume, on the 21st of December 1920 D'Annunzio had at disposal the following order of battle: the Granatieri di Sardegna brigade (Legione di Ronchi, Comander liut. Riccardo Traghetto), battallion Regina (Legione Bianca di S Michele, capt. Vinz Agozzino), bat Sesia (Legione di S Marco) – cap Italo Nachira, bat. Randaccio (legione Lupi di Randaccio) cap Trapano, Legione bersaglieri di Fiume mayor Santi Gugl, VIII battaglione bersaglieri ciclisti (Battinelli – cap Angelo Vanni), VIII reparto d'assalto Tenaglia maj. Giusto Nunziante, XII reparto d'assalto cap. Pietro Tonogiorgi, XIII reparto d'assalto cap. Filippo di Caselbarco, XXII reparto d'assalto liut. Giuseppe Carpinellii, compagnia guardie - D'Annunzio, liut. Elia Rossi Passavanti, Squadrone Piemonte Reale com. Mario Nicolini. Artillery was 7th mountain battery (Carlo Argan), 8th field battery, liut. Virgilio corrente, 10th field battery, liut. Mario Graziani, reparto O.P.C. liut. Evaristo Merlino, art. Detachment 105 mm guns (unknown number), com. Col. Liut. Oreste Rossi, Technical units: telegraph commandant Guglielmo Lepri, Aviation - the D'Annunzio troops run an airfield in Grobnik, (10 km far from the city!) commander of the aviazione legionaria was may. Vincezo Lombard, autotruppe 2 squadrons, Dalmatian legion cap. Gennaro Calavelle, two companies of the Guardia di Finanza, and the Navy, who had at its disposal several mutinied warships: foremost was the dreadnought battleship Dante Alighieri, the ships Mirabello, Abba, Cortellazzo, destroyers Nullo. Bronzetti, Espero, Bertani, torpedo boats 66 and 1 and the flotilla MAS (28, 88, 109, 112, 259, 261, 310). In Čulinović, F. *Riječka država*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1953, p. 198.

¹²⁹⁵ D'Annunzio even priced a revolutionary ordainment for the new army “Nuovo ordinamento per l'esercito liberatore”, that as the Carta had to pose the foundation of the new state was to build the foundation of the new liberation army.

¹²⁹⁶ *Al podestà e al popolo sovrano di Fiume*, Fiume 29 dicembre 1920, now in *La penultima ventura scritti e discorsi fiumani* a cura di Renzo de Felice, Milano Mondadori, 1974, doc. n. 86, pp. 446-449.

¹²⁹⁷ Significantly, the act was signed by Gigante and Host Venturi as (Italian) army captains, therefore General Ferrario treated them not as state representatives but as (mutinied) Italian army officers. To further downgrade the act, the document was not signed by Caviglia but to his subordinate.

from the Regency. Curiously, the official Italian stance towards the D'Annunzian Regency was never made explicit nor made an object of study.

In effect there are several signs that officially Italy somehow recognised the sovereignty of the Regency. One is as mentioned the official acts of the armistice after the Christmas fighting. The act of capitulation by D'Annunzio is still in the Foreign Affairs Archive in Rome, giving to it a status of an international diplomatic act. Another is that the official collection of Fiuman legislative acts included acts promulgated by the D'Annunzian Regency. The collection had an official status aimed at integration of the extremely complex legislation of Fiume (there was the Austrian civil code the Hungarian administrative code that coexisted along with local municipal legislation and the legislation of the D'Annunzian Regency) to be incorporated into the Italian jurisdiction.¹²⁹⁸

Apart from the Constitution of the Regency the Carta del Carnaro, D'Annunzio himself made moves in this sense. Namely, Armando Hodnig was entrusted "inviato straordinario della Reggenza". "In the name of the sovereign Fiuman people, we Gabriele D'Annunzio, proclaim Armando Hodnig as a representative of the Regency whose independence was recognised with the Treaty of Rapallo and which ordained its constitution on September the 8th" stated in his accreditation letter.¹²⁹⁹

Rapallo was primarily interpreted by D'Annunzio as a Yugoslav recognition of the Regency. The Regency had its legitimacy in history but even more important in the principle of self-determination. The Regency was thus legitimised by self determination and since the Fiumans wanted by self determination to become annexed by Italy paving the way for annexation.

If one looks at the new policies driven by the Regency one sees some similar goals as those set by the Italian military governorate in Trieste.¹³⁰⁰ In its foreign policy the Regency fostered destabilisation of Yugoslavia (seeking alliance with the Croatian and Montenegrin separatists) considered as a prelude to the occupation of the territories claimed by Italy by the London treaty. The suspension of civil liberties, the control of society policy and the economy through coercion and propaganda were *de facto* experimented and made possible by propaganda units in the whole Venezia Giulia under Italian military occupation.

Within the majority of the opinion within the army circles Fiume had to be the "fifteenth victory" of the Italian army. Moreover, even when Grazioli, the staunch supporter of the annexation, was replaced by other officers whose position was less profiled his influence was growing since he went to the headquarters in Rome.

Thus fascism that in Fiume manifest itself earlier as a state organisation must be explained in different terms – not as a state of exception or a "D'Annunzian mutation" of Fiuman politics but as a coherent continuous set of policies where D'Annunzio played only a part in the "piece".

¹²⁹⁸ Barone e Gaetano. 1926. *Legislazione di Fiume*, Roma, Provveditorato dello Stato.

¹²⁹⁹ Archivio ministero degli esteri, Roma, Fondo Fiume, busta 1214, Cited in Karpowitz, LJ. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The *Corpus Separatum* of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis., p. 352.

¹³⁰⁰ Apollonio A., *Dagli Asburgo a Mussolini: Venezia Giulia 1918-1922*, Gorizia, LEG, 2001.

THE FREE STATE OF FIUME: “THE FIRST VICTIM OF FASCISM”

Voja Marinkovic mi prospettò che stato indipendente Fiume sarebbe diventato in breve croato, non serbo: perciò pericoloso, causa inevitabili attriti. Io dico di no, e nel peggior dei casi, in forza determinismo economico, croati e italiani avrebbe(ro) creato nazionalità fiumana svizzeramente.¹³⁰¹



The flag of the Free State of Fiume (Stato Libero di Fiume), instituted by the Rapallo Treaty. Official flag from the 29th December 1920 to the coup de etat of the 3rd March 1922.

The Free State of Fiume is an ideal but neglected object for historians and a dreamland of stamp collecting. In terms of international law its existence was recognised by the Treaty of Rapallo, signed by Italy and Yugoslavia. After a brief and troublesome existence, it was officially ended with another treaty between the same countries, signed in Nettuno in 1924. With this agreement most of its territory went to Italy and a smaller part of the port facilities to Yugoslavia.

NATIONAL CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

After the intervention of the regular Italian army, the regime of D'Annunzio was ousted by Italian military forces at Christmas 1920. To execute the Treaty of Rapallo, by December 31st the Free State of Fiume was eventually established. The CNI gathered on the same day and as “Provisory Government” (Governo Provvisorio) it regained its “state powers”¹³⁰². As its first act it ratified the Patto di Abbazia and accepted D'Annunzio’s resignation. Antonio Grossich, president of the CNI,

¹³⁰¹ From the Diary of Riccardo Zanella, 27 January 1924, now in Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982, p. 172.

¹³⁰² Lost after the proclamation of the Regency.

was elected with the mandate of formation of the new government on January the 1st 1921.¹³⁰³ Antonio Grossich, until the 27th April 1921 titled “Chairman of the Provisional Government of the State”, was the first government of Fiume within the new context created by the Treaty of Rapallo. Nevertheless, the CNI (whose members constituted the whole Provisory Government) condemned the army intervention that expelled D'Annunzio, thereby declaring that it did not accept voluntarily the clauses of Rapallo.

Gabriele D'Annunzio left the City only on January the 5th 1921 and the last days after the Natale di Sangue and the capitulation were spent by D'Annunzio in attacking what he perceived as the archrival of the *Impresa*: Riccardo Zanella. On the same day, the new government was officially presented. The structure of the State inherited what had been designed by D'Annunzio with the Carta del Carnaro¹³⁰⁴. The government was enacted with the decree law 7th January 1921¹³⁰⁵, n. 30 that modified the law 21st October 1919 n. 6560 that transferred the state powers from the CNI to the Rappresentanza: “until the recognition of the annexation of Fiume to Italy, the State of Fiume is formed, whose constitutional norms will be deliberated by the National Constituent Assembly”¹³⁰⁶.

The expulsion of D'Annunzio and his troops should have paved the way for putting the compromise to work, nevertheless, most of the energies of the Provisional Government was spent to secure that Fiume was to be annexed to Italy thereby preserving as much of the D'Annunzian state apparatus as was possible. Although most of the rectors were not members of D'Annunzio's cabinet, and the CNI eventually regained its powers, Rector for Labour, was still Clemente Marassi as in the Reggenza.

More importantly, Rector for National Defence was still captain Host Venturi – Fiume's strongman, organiser and leader of the fiuman legion, and the person who invited D'Annunzio to occupy Fiume.¹³⁰⁷ According to the Treaty of Abbazia, after the evacuation of Dannunzian troops from Fiume two battalions of the *Milizia Fiumana* (under Host Venturi, who were “all fascists” as mentioned by ..) were allowed to remain in the City officially as “forces of the CNI”. More than 500 legionnaires remained in the City, hosted in private apartments as civilians, They requested the honorary citizenship of Fiume to strengthen the local Fascio for the elections for the Constituent Assembly. Legionary first and then fascist violence putting the whole life of the State in a state of perpetual instability, ultimately leading to its violent cessation.

Nevertheless, the Provisional Government abolished some of the D'Annunzio's repressive institutions in the City such as the Special and Military War Tribunals instituted by the Comandante.¹³⁰⁸ The circulation of the press was also liberalised, suspending the decree 15th October 1920 n. 28 on the press on January the 17th 1921 n. 220¹³⁰⁹, and the forced expulsions of persons decreed by the Regency.¹³¹⁰ Since the economic situation was catastrophic, the decree law

¹³⁰³ The CNI elected Grossich with 20 ballots, the second candidate Salvatore Bellasich received 14, plus 4 blank ballots. The proposal of Gigante to vote by acclamation was refuted, and soon afterwards he resigned as podestà, substituted by Bellasich. In Massagrande, p. 2.

¹³⁰⁴ The executive power will be exercised by a provisional government, composed by the president and the following administrative branches headed by ministers who retained the appellation of Rectors - like those of the Regency: Foreign affairs (Grossich), Interior (Elpidio Springhetti), Finances and Treasury (Idone Rudan), Communications, Trade, Industry and Agriculture (Giovanni Rubinich), Public Education (Attilio Depoli), Grace, Justice and the Cults (John Stiglich), Labour (Clemente Marassi), National defence (Giovanni Host Venturi), Rector without portfolio (Carlo Conighi) in Massagrande Danilo L., “I governi di Fiume indipendente 1918-1924”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XXII N.5 (Seconda Nuova Serie) gennaio-giugno 2002 , p. 15.

¹³⁰⁵ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 268.

¹³⁰⁶ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 99-101.

¹³⁰⁷ Ledeen, Michael A. 1977. *The First Duce. D'Annunzio at Fiume*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, p. 118.

¹³⁰⁸ The War Tribunal instituted by decree n. 3 from the 25th September 1919, The Special Military tribunal instituted by decree n. 33 from the 28th November 1919, The Martial Court instituted by decree from the 27th November 1920. Their functions were now retained by the Civil Tribunal in Fiume that had now also a criminal military office. In case of appeal the Supreme Criminal Court in Fiume. In Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 271-273.

¹³⁰⁹ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 277.

¹³¹⁰ Decree 19th January 1921, n. 215. in Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 278.

26th January 1921, n. 350 introduced a subsidy against involuntary unemployment in Fiume, probably under the influence of the Carta del Carnaro.¹³¹¹ The decrees from the 10th of January 1921 n. 48, 49, 52, suspended all the decrees from the 23rd September 1920 that instituted the Italian Regency of the Carnaro (the Official Bulletin, the Name of the State, the delegations in the foreign countries, the sottosegretari of the rectors etc.) and were merely formal in their aims.

The most important act enacted by the Provisional Government was the law 31st January 1921, n. 400, that fixed the procedure for the election of the National Constituent Assembly.¹³¹² With this law more than 3000 Fiumani were excluded from the lists, while more than 1000 legionaries and others from Italy were arbitrarily included.¹³¹³ Further development with the decree 18th February 1921, n. 830, with whom the norms for the presentation of the electoral lists for the election of the National Constituent Assembly.¹³¹⁴ More addenda were continuously added suggesting a fairly tense climate, up to the law 21st March 1921 concerning the election and the initial workings of the Constituent Assembly.¹³¹⁵ The comprehensive act fixed what had to be the first and only democratic elections in the City.

The Blocco Nazionale

The Rapallo Treaty in Fiume induced clear political polarisation in two political groups: both were coalitions of a broader spectrum of forces. Everything was centred on the state created by the compromise of Rapallo, whose acceptance or refusal of it marked the two blocks – the autonomists accepted Rapallo while the National Block refused it. The Blocco Nazionale was considered to be the favourite – it controlled the media, it had the monopoly of violence (widely employed, according to all accounts) and material and financial support provided by the Italian military and by several groups and countys active in Italy.

The Blocco Nazionale was primarily the embodiment of the CNI and the Italian occupation military and paramilitary forces in the City. Within it the nationalist element that identified with D'Annunzio and later more and more with fascism predominated.

The Fiumani simply tried to diversify their political scene in order to gain support from broader sectors of Italian society. The Blocco Nazionale was composed by the Fascio di Combattimento, Partito Democratico Nazionale, Popolare, Repubblicano, Nazionalista). The result was a rather heterogeneous coalition, comprising also several affiliations of Italian political parties: the republicans, the Popolari (Catholics) the fascists were all represented and adapted to the Fiuman state in formation.¹³¹⁶ Most of these parties were founded to draw support from the Italian parties, and functioned as their local branches.

Most interesting party of the Blocco Nazionale is the Partito Nazionale Democratico whose all members were drafted from the old *Lega Autonoma*. According to the same report, the members of the CNI were by no means favourite but the Partito Nazionale Democratico that was in a phase of reconstitution, but not ready to take power until the city was not cleared of D'Annunzian elements that were terrorising the inhabitants threatening them with “knives and bombs”. The tone of the program published in the *Vedetta* is rational and cool minded the party is concerned with the return of the traffics to Fiume. Even the issue of Baross is minimised claiming that even if it is assigned by

¹³¹¹ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 279.

¹³¹² Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 281-284.

¹³¹³ The suffrage was still for both sexes from the 20th year of age, and for the volunteers in the Fiuman Legion older than 18. Excluded were the mentally insane, the excluded from public offices, and women who “professionally exercised prostitution”. This probably for the critics against D'Annunzio, and the women who surrounded him and the soldiers.

¹³¹⁴ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1, pp. 286-287.

¹³¹⁵ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1, pp. 297-310.

¹³¹⁶ Karpowitz, L.J. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The Corpus Separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, p. 347

treaty to Yugoslavia the Party will work to direct the traffic to Fiume in order to make out of the main port of the south-eastern Europe.¹³¹⁷

The political manifesto of the group was A. Ossoinack's article "Perchè Fiume deve essere porto franco?" (Why Fiume is to be a Freeport?). The paper sets the priority of the economic reconstruction of Fiume as a recognised sovereign state.¹³¹⁸ The framework was that of the Free State, protected by Italy¹³¹⁹ but threatened by bankruptcy.¹³²⁰ Italy not only had to help the national feelings of the Fiumani but it could also backing needed against a strong state capable of support its economy. The regime had to be granted also to Trieste as both should have prosper after the opening of competition.¹³²¹

The solution was that of the Freeport. Only an independent economy could assure the preservation of the *italianità* of the City.¹³²² Both Fiume and Trieste were strategic outposts to Italy for the traditional markets sited in the Balkans, central and northern Europe. Now that the rich rail conduction network was there and that Fiume had the position it had it would have been irrational not to exploit it.¹³²³

There was an interesting interpretation of the port's place in the imperial network as well as the flow of investments. Ossoinack claims that it was irrational for Austria and Hungary to force the construction and developments of ports in Trieste and Fiume since they had to overcome powerful natural barriers, that made the use the German ports or the Danubian basin much better for navigation. Therefore, only with subsidies these ports could prosper and for Fiume these subsidies

¹³¹⁷ Karpowitz, LJ. 1986, observes that according to the program the group PND does not oppose Rapallo, a move that she considers as purely demagogical. The program appeared contemporary with that of the official foundation of the Fasci Fiumani di Combattimento. She thinks that the Ossoinack's party had to assure the moderate electors of Fiume and that it was vested with this purpose by the Fascio itself. To support her view she quotes from the Prefecture of Fiume from the end of 1922 claiming that the old Freemason's lodge Sirius simply organised their own party, *without a political program* and with a small membership. Nevertheless, the report reports that the organisation could become dangerous if its goals would not coincide with those of the "public authorities" in the State of Fiume, thereby implying their "coincidence" so far. A contemporary document from the private archive of Zanella reckons that the members of the Lodge Sirius (Vio Bellasich, Mini, Ossoinack, Rubinich, and Conighi) are dangerous and ready for any action only to enhance their wealth and authority. The group always associated with the lodge Sirius is to be the financially the most powerful in Fiume. As the reincarnation of the Lega Autonoma for there is their acceptance of the primacy of the rational argument and of the economic interest to irrational exaltation of heroism and passion that characterised fascism and the line of irredentism that goes back from the Giovine Fiume. In Karpowitz, LJ. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The Corpus Separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis, p 375.

¹³¹⁸ Io ritengo che, nel mentre ci accingiamo a dare sostanza e forma ai nuovi ordinamenti statali, sia compito nostro di prevedere e far precedere la concretizzazione del nostro ordinamento economico, da cui deriva la possibilità d'esistenza della popolazione di Fiume, la quale deve in sé stessa, nelle proprie forze, trovare le ragioni e i mezzi per vivere una vita economica indipendente. In Ossoinack Andrea, *Perché Fiume deve essere Porto Franco*, Fiume, 1922, p. 2.

¹³¹⁹ Ad onta della sua lotta sublime, Fiume non ha riportato la completa vittoria: può attendere però, perché essa è resa *intangibile* e la Patria veglia su di lei. Ossoinack Andrea, *Perché Fiume deve essere Porto Franco*, Fiume, 1922, p. 20.

¹³²⁰ Ne consegue da ciò che, qualora non si potesse assicurare questa vita economica, nei cittadini verrebbe a mancare la capacità contributiva, e quindi ne deriverebbe inevitabilmente il fallimento dello Stato. In Ossoinack Andrea, *Perché Fiume deve essere Porto Franco*, Fiume, 1922, p. 2.

¹³²¹ Secondo il mio avviso, tanto Trieste quanto Fiume devono divenire i due grandi empori del retroterra a loro corrispondenti; e non solo non ne sono preoccupato, ma anzi desidero fra questo due porti la concorrenza, che perfezionando il commercio lo rende più vivo e più fruttifero. In Ossoinack Andrea, *Perché Fiume deve essere Porto Franco*, Fiume, 1922, p. 17.

¹³²² Quindi mi sia oggi permesso di fare l'altrettanto "necessaria dichiarazione", che per conservare l'italianità di Fiume, per difenderla contro tutti i tentativi di snazionalizzazione, minaccianti, attraverso la prevedibile infiltrazione economica *noi dobbiamo creare ed opporre una salda, nostra organizzazione economica indipendente ...*" In Ossoinack Andrea, *Perché Fiume deve essere Porto Franco*, Fiume, 1922, pp. 1-2.

¹³²³ Ossoinack was careful to avoid any special favour limited to Fiume. Instead he wanted also Trieste in the Freeport regime, knowing that Fiume as a Free State was anyway granted with more manoeuvring space: Ma oggi che Trieste e Fiume non devono più dipendere dall'egemonia germanica ormai infranta, la quale, in altri tempi, ed abusando della remissività del governo Austro-Ungarico, imponeva ad essi le sue dispotiche volontà, inquantocchè i vincoli politici più non esistono; Trieste appartenendo al Regno d'Italia, Fiume dichiarata e riconosciuta stato libero, devono ricostruire il sistema delle franchigie doganali per riprendere la lotta di concorrenza contro i porti del nord. O. p.4.

come from Hungary. It seems therefore that the “idyll” as the golden age of the relationships between Hungary and Fiume was known in reality was little more than steady flow of capitals from Hungary.

There was an interesting parallelism on the Freeport history. Ossoinack claimed that it was the Freeport framework that granted prosperity not only to Trieste and Fiume but also to the German Hanse ports of Hamburg and Bremen. It was the necessity of imperial Germany to subjugate politically these Free Cities that induced them to put pressure to Austria to do the same with the two Adriatic ports in 1891.¹³²⁴

After the end of the *idyll* that in the economic interpretation of Ossoinack equalled to the end of the Freeport, pressed by Germans which Hungary did not oppose, and that Italy was not ready to support, it had to reconstruct its economic development in an independent fashion that political independence assured.¹³²⁵ Moreover, in a paragraph titled “inutile sacrificio dell’annessione” the following argumentation was presented: since the allies at the Paris Peace Conference put the question of Fiume in purely economic and commercial terms and not in national ones, the best way to assure if not annexation then at least the preservation of *italianità* and economic pre-eminence in the area by assuring to the City the economic liberty capable to assure.¹³²⁶

In effect, what can be considered to have been the masterpiece of the fiumani in attracting a huge amount of subsidies was now reason of concern: the “artificial organisation” was not to be supported, and therefore the transit freight was not the basis for development any more, Fiume had to turn to the free flow of merchandise, exempted from tolls¹³²⁷.

Of course to work the port had to remain undivided. Thus for autonomist was vital that all the port remained fiuman and not handed in any of its parts to Yugoslavia. For annexationists not since they knew that anyway the City would have relied on heavy subsidies to survive.¹³²⁸

Ossoinack proposed (once more) the project of the *Stato Cuscinetto* where the economic concept of the state triumphed. It was a free trade zone comprising the whole Italian Liburnia with the Yugoslav districts of Susak, Kastav and Veglia. Ossoinack in November 1922 drafted his last project, where he could therefore express his ideas freely since the proposal was left secret.¹³²⁹

There Ossoinack claims that in case the Yugoslav rails continued their blockade of Fiume should have expelled from the city the 10,000 Yugoslavs without permit to stay. In this way an ethnically cleansed city that would have been also easier to supply. Moreover, a new industrial development aimed at substituting the rails will have lead to an automatic creation of jobs.¹³³⁰ But there was no interest for such desperate solutions, after Rapallo, the economic situation of Fiume did not improve since the Yugoslavs had the leverage by controlling the rails that lead to Fiume.

Karpowitz, L.J. 1986, (p. 385) notices is that the group centred around Ossoinack (that she identifies as Freemasons from the lodge Sirius) were the key players who dominated the public life in the city from 1901 to its annexation to Italy. Their names appear everywhere and contemporary Italian

¹³²⁴ Interestingly, it was around that year, by the end of the 1880s when it became clear that the Freeport status was to be abolished that Ossoinack’s father started to organise the autonomist opposition movement centred around Maylender.

¹³²⁵ Ossoinack concluded his economic utopia: (italics) *Fiume dunque deve cercare la propria salvezza nella sostituzione dell’artificiale e non più ricostruibile commercio di transito, con un effettivo proprio commercio che, trovando la fonte di alimentazione e la forza di espansione in un sistema di porto franco, possa costituire il germe della sua rinascita economica base non solo di esistenza materiale, ma garanzia pure per il suo avvenire nazionale.*

¹³²⁶ In Ossoinack Andrea, *Perché Fiume deve essere Porto Franco*, Fiume, 1922, pp. 12-13.

¹³²⁷ L’abolizione della dogana si impone anche per ‘eccessiva improduttiva spesa derivante dalla necessità dei controlli e dal mantenimento del dispendioso servizio, sproporzionato in confronto alla modesta estensione del nostro stato, che mancando in una sua parte di confini naturali, richiede una vigilanza più assidua e costosa. In Ossoinack Andrea, *Perché Fiume deve essere Porto Franco*, Fiume, 1922, p. 15.

¹³²⁸ Non si può ammettere che un porto, costituente un unico organismo economico, venga suddiviso politicamente ed amministrativamente. In Ossoinack Andrea, *Perché Fiume deve essere Porto Franco*, Fiume, 1922, p. 7.

¹³²⁹ Progetto schematico dimostrante come si possa assicurare l’esistenza economica di Fiume anche senza immediata riattivazione di traffici MAE, affari politici, Fiume, busta 1066.

¹³³⁰ The idea that the rail served better the interests of the lands from the hinterland than those of the Fiumani was not a new one, starting at least from Peretti in the 1860s.

police reports considered them to be most wealthy and influential people in the city.¹³³¹ What is really remarkable is their capacity to survive in such turbulent times: with the Lega Autonoma the group stayed in power under the Hungarians. As CNI they managed to stay in power even during the Dannunzian occupation and then as Constituent Assembly and later as Partito Nazionale Democratico they tailored Fiuman fascism to their interests.¹³³²

Only upon one point the two confronting groups the annexationists of the *Blocco Nazionale* and the autonomists of the *Lega Fiumana Indeficienter* agreed: it was the refusal of the secret note sent by the Italian foreign minister Sforza by which the Porto Baross was granted to the Yugoslavs thereby impairing the port of Fiume.¹³³³ Nevertheless, the Porto Baross proved ultimately decisive for dooming Yugoslav support for the Free State, since by its possession the Yugoslavs could have done even without excreting any control over Fiume and upon this support the chances for the autonomists ultimately resided. For the annexationists it was clear anyway that the city under Italian sovereignty could have survived only with a steady flow of Italian subsidies.

The Blocco Autonomo

For the autonomists the Treaty of Rapallo was a triumph: the historical municipal autonomy of the *Corpus Separatum* survived through the turmoil of the Great War and was now recognised internationally, giving to it a further dimension.

Zanella did not produce any strategic reflection on the future development of Fiume centred on Rapallo; instead he was much better at tactics. Having sent some telegrams of gratitude to Italian politicians of having solved the impasse in a peaceful constructive way it seems more to highlight his position as leader of autonomists (Gotthardi, backed by the Yugoslavs, was another pretender at this position).

The autonomists gathered in the *Lega Fiumana Indeficienter*¹³³⁴ composed by the Partito Autonomo of Zanella, the Partito Autonomo Democratico Fiumano of Gotthardi, the Partito Jugoslavo Fiumano and the Partito Socialista Internazionale.

The *Partito Jugoslavo Fiumano - Riječka Jugoslavenska Stranka* provided the link to Yugoslav government to autonomists, upon which support Zanella had to rely. The Partito Jugoslavo Fiumano, notably, minimised the relevance of Porto Baross. In perspective the Fiumani who claimed that it was crucial for Fiume were right since across assured to the Yugoslav important port facility by which they could export their agricultural products to the worlds as Hungary did before with Fiume.

The fear of Fiumani, both annexationists and autonomists, was that Baross in Yugoslav hands would have provided a powerful competitor to Fiume. And so it was. This produced the effect that Sušak that mirrored Fiume ultimately knew a much faster rate.¹³³⁵ On the other hand Yugoslavia without Sušak would have been deprived of the entirety of its port facilities that the newborn

¹³³¹ DARI - 0053 RIJEČKA KVESTURA (Questura di Fiume) - Rijeka (1918-1945); 1918-1945: knj. 12, kut. 915, kartoteka 8; 101,8: 1.

¹³³² It is noticeable how the goals of Fiuman fascism seem to overlap with their private interests. In the first phase fascism needed funding and money and a lot of was made along the new eastern Italian border (Canali).

¹³³³ The Porto Baross was built in 1889 as *Porto fiumano della Fiumara per il legname*, and in 1892 renamed after the Hungarian minister who fostered its construction, on the delta of the Fiumara river. It was intended as the natural expansion of the fiuman port to the east, but since the borders of the *corpus separatum* were marked by the river, and the delta was built upon the deviation of the course of the fiumara the delta and Porto Baross was claimed both by the Hungarians and by the Croats. For the Fiumani and the Hungarians since it was built and administered by the port authority of Fiume it was de facto a part of the city, although not of the *corpus separatum* as intended in the diploma of Maria Theresia from 1779, while the Croats considered it to be still under their sovereignty.

¹³³⁴ Fiume's motto was "INDEFICIENTER" in Latin. Meaning 'Inexhaustible', as in non-deficient or never-deficient of water, referring to the source and the short river of Rjecina/Fiumara. The first is Croatian, the latter is Italian name of the river both giving the name of the city Rijeka/Fiume. The vase pouring water in the CoA refers to the same.

¹³³⁵ Similarly as did Gdynia along with Danzig in the Baltic after to this was given a Freeport status. We don't know if this would have been the development of Fiume with respect to usual if Fiume was to remain a Freeport. On the other hand, Danzig had many competitors in the Baltic, Fiume almost no one in the Eastern Adriatic.

Yugoslav state would have been left with no modern port nor coastal industrial centre, a hardly just and equal situation. Sušak was about to perform for Yugoslavia what Fiume did for Hungary. According to a letter, that Karpowitz found in Zanella's private archive, a Yugoslav informant warned Zanella that in Sušak the Croats now openly supported the possibility that Fiume become Italian since in this way the way for economic prosperity of Sušak was open and Fiume as the Italian port situated in the Italian outermost periphery was doomed.

The Partito Socialista Internazionale

Although interesting and somehow surprising, there is still a paucity of sources on the topic of Marxist groups on Fiume.¹³³⁶ As seen on Chapter 4, in Fiume operated a Socialist Party under the name the name Partito Socialista Operaio di Fiume – Sezione del P.S.O. d'Ungheria, founded in 1903. The party was formally internationalist but during the war, several of its Italian members opted to nationalism, and eventually joined the Italian army as volunteers.

During the last months of 1918 the party held an uncertain stance on "The Fiume Question". On one extreme, already in November 1918, some members of the Party proclaimed the "Republic of Fiume", to contrast the proclamations of the Italian and Croat National Councils who proclaimed the annexation of Fiume to their respective "mother countries". Others were in line with the declarations of Turati who asserted his favour in the annexation of Fiume to Italy.¹³³⁷ Given the fact that many fiuman socialist were members of the CNI, the annexationist current within the Partito Socialista Operaio di Fiume prevailed. Several Italian socialist deputies (Ezio Riboldi¹³³⁸ and Cazzamalli among others) visited regularly Fiume where the Partito Socialista Operaio di Fiume was *de facto* if not *de jure* considered a section of the Italian Partito Socialista.

The Cassa per Assicurazioni Operaie was dismantled and given the technical shortcomings of the old Hungarian office was unsuited to protect the "predominantly Italian working class of Fiume" a new one under hereafter the... of the Italian suited much more. Namely the leaders of the Fiuman working class political movements such as the Sindacato and the socialists inter party were all employed in the previous cassa (Arpad Simon, Norberto Sintich, Umberto Pagan). With the instrument that Karpowitz defines as simple corruption namely now the funds that were badly need come from Italy and the CNI was the intermediary.¹³³⁹ In this way a political obstacle was removed and the influence of the CNI was extended even among the working classes and era where it badly lacked popularity.

In Fiume Communism had an early start, and also the communists were divided among assertors of annexation to Italy and those of the autonomy: already in 1919, with the Autonomists emarginated, a Communist Party of Fiume (Partito comunista di Fiume) was founded by a relatively unknown man, Albino Stalzer. Reportedly the first communist "cell", was founded in 1919, in obscure circumstances, suggesting a very small membership.¹³⁴⁰ Stalzer initiated a paper *La voce del lavoratore del porto* ("The Docker's Voice") where he invoked the foundation of the "Republic of

¹³³⁶ See Luksich-Jamini A. "Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV-XVI, gennaio 1969-dicembre 1970, 54-70, and Ballarini Amleto, "Albino Stalzer: il "compagno" dimenticato. Le controverse origini del partito comunista fiumano", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno XIV N.28 (Prima Nuova Serie) II Semestre 1994 pp. 13-20.

¹³³⁷ in Luksich-Jamini A. Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45, pp. 58-63.

¹³³⁸ Ezio Riboldi (1879-1965), avvocato, nel 1914 fu sindaco di Monza, nel 1919 deputato, nel 1920 consigliere provinciale di Milano. Esponente della sinistra del Partito socialista, al congresso di Bologna aderì all'o.d.g. massimalista di Serrati. Rieletto deputato nel '21 e nel '24, venne arrestato nel '26 e successivamente condannato a 17 anni di carcere. Si veda amplius la voce curata da T. Detti in *Il movimento operaio italiano*, cit., v, IV pp. 339-341.

¹³³⁹ Karpowitz, L.J. 1986, p. 347.

¹³⁴⁰ Nel 1919 in un separè del Caffè grande, in piazza Umberto (ex Andrassy) Albino Stalzer e il tipografo Simeone Schneider fondavano il Partito Comunista di Fiume. La consistenza numerica del primo Partito Comunista di Fiume non si poté mai conoscere. Pare però, che fosse solo una cellula. Ballarini Amleto, "Albino Stalzer: il "compagno" dimenticato. Le controverse origini del partito comunista fiumano", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno XIV N.28 (Prima Nuova Serie) II Semestre 1994 p. 15.

Fiume” seemingly in tune with Bela Kun and the Spartackists in Germany. The reference is therefore, within the central and eastern European revolutionary tradition, although Stalzer met the revolutionary socialists in Florence where he lived after expatriation in 1914 due to the war.¹³⁴¹

With D’Annunzian occupation things become much more complicated, and Stalzer’s party is facing impossibilities to continue its activity. Nevertheless, within the Commando came several revolutionary exponents, and as we have seen D’Annunzio was not extraneous of political experimentation with the leftist revolutionary elements especially after the nomination of De Ambris as chief of the D’Annunzian cabinet. D’Annunzio opened to the workers organisations after the failure of the *modus vivendi* negotiations with Badoglio who acted as an emissary of the Italian government. After what D’Annunzio promised to them “a Social Republic of Fiume” first premise for the “Republic of Italy” and the plan was promptly accepted by the fiuman socialist leader Samuel Maylender.¹³⁴²

When the Sedi Riunite of Fiume were irrupted by the legionary forces they found documents attesting the contacts of Leon Kochnizky, head of the D’Annunzio Foreign Office, with the triestine socialists with the proposed project of a “Social Republic” comprising Fiume and Trieste, first premise of a revolutionary attempt for Italy. Although the D’Annunzian commando denied, the socialist deputy Tuntar of Trieste¹³⁴³ in an interview from the 7th November 1920 affirmed that the encounter happened but it was discarded because of the opposition of the Triestine socialist Passigli to establish any contact with D’Annunzio.¹³⁴⁴

The papers were also intercepted by Enrico Camerra autonomist who at the time because of D’Annunzio occupation was exiled in Trieste, and confirmed the existence among the papers of the Sedi Riunite proving contacts with the socialist aimed at the socialist republic. The papers were sequestered by the police and the Questura of Fiume and as such used by the delegate for the interior Springhetti to blackmail D’Annunzio and Grossich with the accusation of the revolutionary and subversive attempts in Fiume.

Given the desperate economic situation in Fiume during the D’Annunzian occupation on the 6th April 1920 all the worker organisations in Fiume (Camera Sindacale del Lavoro, Sedi Riunite and the catholic Unione del lavoro) proclaimed the general strike. On that occasion, D’Annunzio mediated quite well between the workers and the employers.

After that there was another attempt of a revolutionary motion lead by a “Workers County” that without the support of any labour organisation of Fiume wanted the withdrawal of the CNI. It was quickly suppressed by the carabinieri and the fiuman police sent by Springhetti delegate of the interior of the directive county of the CNI, on 18-19 June 1920. With this intervention initiated by Springhetti (who died afterwards in unclear circumstances), the D’Annunzio commando was *de facto* bypassed, since Springhetti contacted directly the carabineer commanders Vadalà and Rigoli in the name of the CNI. D’Annunzio understood the autonomous action of the CNI and lamented it to the officers who justified the action with its urgency, adducing the documents found at the Sedi Riunite of the imminence of the revolutionary attempt.¹³⁴⁵

¹³⁴¹ Ballarini, Amleto. “*L’antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella*” [The Antidannunzio at Fiume – Riccardo Zanella], Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo, 1995, p. 15.

¹³⁴² We know it from a speech delivered from Riboldi at the Italian Chamber on 6 July 1920, where he said that the organised workers saw in the “independent republic” the only way to preserve the *italianità* of Fiume as well as the integral preservation of its vital port facilities.

¹³⁴³ TUNTAR Giuseppe dirigente socialista, fondatore a Livorno del Partito comunista d'Italia (Visinada d'Istria 7.1.1882 - Buenos Aires 2.7.1940). Fu direttore di “Il Lavoratore” e di “Spartaco”, deputato al Parlamento dal 1921 al 1924. Emigrò in Argentina ove continuò l'attività politica. Cfr.: Rin. II, 737-743; L. Patat, G. T., Udine 1989.

¹³⁴⁴ Luksich-Jamini A. “Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV-XVI, gennaio 1969-dicembre 1970, p. 61.

¹³⁴⁵ According to Alija Konjhodžić, a Bosnian Muslim who was a member of the Serbian nationalist organisation Mlada Bosna, an contemporary action was planned by the Yugoslav side. When D’Annunzio with his black shirts took Fiume by violence on 1920 (sic), the surviving Serbian revolutionaries and martyrs from the Mlada Bosna started an action for the recruitment of volunteers for the liberation of Fiume, from this conqueror antecedent of Mussolini. I was among the

This action was used by D'Annunzio for the proclamation of the Regency that as we have seen had clearly revolutionary overtones. Interestingly, the Partito Socialista did not assumed any stance towards the revolutionary project: contrary to the CNI (32 councillors out of 55 resigned) and the Catholic Partito Popolare. The Sedi Riunite renamed in Camera del Lavoro, and initiated the publication of the "L'Avvenire del lavoratore" (intended as a weekly but only a single issue appeared) when the decisive opposition of the Zanella and the Partito Popolare.

In October 1920 the Fascio Fiumano di Combattimento called its members for action. The motive was that Pietro Belli from the Popolo d'Italia was wounded this lead to the massive fascist punitive action against the syndicate and went to the Danubius yard (recalled Cantieri Riuniti)

Quella che si può dire la prima azione squadrista ha avuto luogo poco dopo il 15 ottobre. Era giunta notizia da Trieste che Pietro Belli corrispondente del Popolo d'Italia era stato aggredito e ferito dai socialisti a Trieste. A tale notizia i fascisti, esasperati, passano alle rappresaglie e agli ordini di Mrach, prendono d'assalto i locali delle "sedi riunite" socialiste, in Viale delle Camicie Nere fanno sospendere i lavori ai Cantieri Navali e al Silurificio e impongono la chiusura dei negozi e dei locali pubblici. (Peteani, manuscript, p. 9)

After the expulsion of D'Annunzio, Even Gramsci lamented in his Ordine Nuovo on 11 January 1921 an article titled "Fiume" where he announced the PSI for his failed support to the D'Annunzian Regency. The Italian socialists, and the future communists therefore were unequivocally annexationist.

PRESIDENT ZANELLA

The elections of the 24th April 1921 were a sensation: victory went to Zanella and his autonomist coalition who got 6557 votes, against the annexationists of the Blocco Nazionale with 3447 ballots¹³⁴⁶.

In the evening of the election day fascist groups, led by the former mayor Riccardo Gigante, and Francesco Giunta¹³⁴⁷ who arrived from Trieste, entered the electoral sites, irrupted the Tribunal, destroyed the ballots after the rumours that the Blocco Nazionale had lost.¹³⁴⁸ Zanella' home was attacked and he fled with several other supporters to Yugoslav territory. The provisional government resigned, and with decree nr. 1187 the Commissioner Extraordinary Grossich gave all powers to Bellasich and Host Venturi, and the control of the carabinieri was taken by the Italian legation in Fiume.

If the *Fascio* could not prevent the electoral victory of the autonomist coalition, they could at least prevent its functioning. Fiume was to experience its second putsch.¹³⁴⁹ On April the 27th 1921 the local Fascio led by the former mayor Riccardo Gigante with the "help from fascist elements" from Trieste (led by Francesco Giunta) entered the municipal building occupied it and proclaimed the

2 thousand volunteers, most of them Bosnian. We gathered in Novi Sad, but were dissolved by the state authorities. Алија С. Коњхоџић Муслимани у четницима (2) Погледи (број 263, новембар 2004).

¹³⁴⁶ Out of 12702 electors 10004 voted. In the city 4887-3350 in the sottocomuni 1670-122.

¹³⁴⁷ Francesco Giunta was the leader of the Fascisti in Trieste. One of the first leaders of the fascist squads, he already came to the fore having organised and led the attack on the hotel Balkan in Trieste, the local base of the Slovenes and south Slavs in Trieste.

¹³⁴⁸ The president of the fiumano Court of Appeal Nachtigall who was also the president of the Electoral commission managed to preserve the signed verbal of the elections, what allowed the publication of the official results. In Massagrande, p. 27.

¹³⁴⁹ The first putsch was the "urna inesausta" episode when D'Annunzio refused to accept the results of the referendum for the *modus vivendi* and after that decided to dissolve the CNI.

“Provisional Directory of Fiume” (Governo eccezionale)¹³⁵⁰. At this point although the Italian army supported the Fascio¹³⁵¹, the Italian plenipotentiary Caccia Dominoni urged to find a compromise, after the intention expressed by Gigante and Giunta to call more fascists for support from Italy “to solve the problem”. Zanella on the other hand met Caccia Dominoni in Susak in the same night the 27th where he showed no will to compromise, having been expelled from the city after having won the elections. Since Zanella refused any compromise with the fascists (and by that he had to accept a diktat from a delegate of the Italian government), ended the chances to form a bipartisan government, as proposed by Caccia Dominoni.

Giunta declared his will to accept the 2 commissioners but with the promise not to convoke the Constituent Assembly before the next Italian national elections where he declared “an annexation of Fiume” would have resulted. When Caccia Dominoni refused any solution that deliberately ignored the will of the Fiuman electorate the fascists accepted to compromise with Bellasich. On April the 30th 1921 the Provisional Government formally resigned and, with a new decree nr. 1910, on the 28th April 1921 left its powers to Commissioner Extraordinary Salvatore Bellasich, a firm though moderate annexationist who remained in power until the 13th of June 1921.¹³⁵²

The Extraordinary government was an emanation of the staunchest annexationists: The Commissioner Extraordinary Salvatore Bellasich held the office of the foreign affairs and the interior. The other 6 commissioners hold the remaining posts. Giving powers to Fiume’s strongman Host Venturi (who retained the control over the Fiuman Legion and was now entrusted with the office of national defence) meant a complete dismissal of the electoral results. The government never worked because of the fascist “intransigence” meaning that violence became widespread as in D’Annunzio’s times, in the City reigned the chaos.¹³⁵³

Zanella instituted in Buccari an autonomist provisional government, but Caccia Dominoni refused to recognise it hoping for a bipartisan compromise among the Fiuman factions.¹³⁵⁴

Up to the last days of May, the Italian diplomacy attempted to find a compromise. The autonomists and nationalists were invited in Rome for open consultations by the Consulta to start by the 27th of May.¹³⁵⁵ At the end, a compromise was found after the autonomists accepted to renounce the leadership in the general commission. of its 7 members, 5 were drawn from the majority (Bellasich, Jeckel, Rudan, Blau and Lengyel) and 2 from the nationalist opposition (Bellasich and Rubinich) who were nominated only in June.

By admission of Castelli and Caccia Dominoni the solution found in Rome was unrealistic giving the intransigence of the nationalists and Caccia Dominoni asked the Consulta to exercise more pressures upon Zanella, what was refused by its president Contarini given the extent of the concessions Zanella already did as winner of the elections.

At this point the government of the Kingdom of Italy appointed an Italian naval officer, Antonio Foschini as High commissioner of the City. Bellasich formally resigned by leaving all the powers to Foschini on June the 13th. Initially, this solution appeared to enjoy a bipartisan consensus: the autonomists hoped that an external High commissioner would have helped to overcome the internal polarisation and thereby enforce the rule of law. On the other hand the fascists who preferred to

¹³⁵⁰ ...Governo eccezionale che sotto la guida dell'ex sindaco Riccardo Gigante e dell'on. Francesco Giunta, arrivato da Trieste, aveva occupato il palazzo municipale, nel timore che vi si insediassero Zanella coi suoi fautori. In Depoli, p.119

¹³⁵¹ This it admitted even by Silvino Gigante in Storia del Comune di Fiume, p.

¹³⁵² Host Venturi was refuted as he did not accept wholeheartedly the action of the 24th, in Depoli Attilio, Incontri con Facta e Mussolini, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1956 p. 119. Caccia Dominoni proposed to the Consulta the possible evacuation of the Italian troops in order to leave to the Fiuman factions the outcome of the clash, the Italian foreign minister Sforza preferred the direct intervention with the aim of contrasting the fascists, especially because of the blatant incapacity of the Italian reinforcements to prevent the coup of Giunta and Gigante. in Massagrande, p. 33.

¹³⁵³ They put as a precondition the obligation by the new government to accept the acts of the previous ones and to put an explicit annexationist statement. This was obviously refused by the autonomists. In Massagrande, p. 35.

¹³⁵⁴ Massagrande, p. 30-31.

¹³⁵⁵ In Rome, by the Foreign Office since ?? was instituted a ministerial body proposed for the solution of the question of Fiume, the so – called Consulta where both representatives of the autonomists and the nationalists participated.

postpone to installation of the new government as resulted from the elections. Only Italian diplomacy considered it as a last resort. Sforza namely had to put in action the Rapallo Treaty, and since the Yugoslavs were suspicious of any Italian move towards Fiume the nomination of an Italian officer was putting Italy into a compromising situation.¹³⁵⁶

Foschini was nominated in a crucial moment where he had to stabilise the internal political situation in Fiume as explicitly asked by Sforza, and to enable the full execution of Rapallo Treaty. The new High commissioner ordered to dissolve the Fiuman militia as first act of his government. The paramilitary group who since early 1919 was led by Host Venturi effectively eliminated the local opposition and de facto enabled the rule of the CNI. On the other hand, Foschini, former commander of the *Dante Alighieri*, the battleship mutinied to D'Annunzio, again could only represent continuity with D'Annunzio's regime in Fiume, and the dissolution of the militia remained formal, since most of its members as well as a great many D'Annunzian Arditi remained in the City.

Moreover, Foschini was nominated to effectively hand out Porto Baross to the Yugoslavs. To accomplish that he had to show strong hand to the n. but he did nothing even when the Arditi inscened a military occupation of Porto Baross. Instead of stabilising the political situation in Fiume Foschini made things worse with his indecision. Predictably, Zanella refused any offer of a compromise, seeing Foschini's unconditioned support or tolerance of fascist violence.¹³⁵⁷

His declining popularity in Fiume is reflected by rumours that he represented the interests of the "Triestine maritime circles" who manifested their hostility to cession of the Fiuman port to the Yugoslavs or the constitution of the Free State.¹³⁵⁸

In Italy a new government was formed with Bonomi, in the 4th of July 1921, Foschini instead to continue a stronger line gives an general amnesty, celebrated by the carabinieri manifested marching trough Fiume with slogans for D'Annunzio, and several supporters of D'Annunzio arrive in the City (Cabrana among others).

Ultimately, Foschini was *de facto* displaced by giving much greater powers to the Commission for the Fiuman border delimitation. (r d. 2nd February 1921). The Commission, headed by Quartieri was entitled with all the problems of the effective set of the Free State of Fiume. The commission was in charge with the conduct of negotiations with the Fiuman political forces and parties for the formation of the new government commissioner Foschini was only to be informed about their progress. In the meanwhile, Porto Baross, occupied by Arditi, was deserted after the isolation of their outpost and the subsequent conflicts arisen within the nationalist camp between D'Annunzian Arditi and the fascists.¹³⁵⁹

In this period Zanella starts a series of interviews for the foreign press, the Zanella paper *La Voce del Popolo* starts again to be published, and finally Zanella went to Belgrade to discuss the pendant issues of the Porto Baross, as a head of the party who won the elections, but with no real power in his hands.

In Belgrade Zanella denounced the Porto Baross clause of Rapallo what immediately alarmed the press in Croatia, where it was realised that the promised cession was a private act of the Italian minister Sforza and not an act of the Italian government. Zanella and the Free State of Fiume felt he was not forced to accept the loss of its territory. Zanella remarked that any economic agreement with Yugoslavia was pendant upon and agreement on the delimitation of Fiuman borders. This claims proved damaging, since the Yugoslavs feared they were going to lose from the Free State of Fiume what was already granted to them by Italy. Since the cession of an important part of the port

¹³⁵⁶ According to the Treaty of Rapallo, Fiume was a condominium between Yugoslavia and Italy In the case of the nomination of an Italian commissioner of the City the Yugoslavs had the right to put an officer with the same powers, and for Italian diplomats this was the worst solution, since the Free State of Fiume, for all the Italian governments was acceptable form the very beginning only as a puppet state.

¹³⁵⁷ Violence culminated on the ... with several deaths in the Porto Baross area when legionaries Arditi always accompanied by the carabinieri from Fiume attacked Sussak in several occasions with a total of 4 deaths.

¹³⁵⁸ see for example Tamaro, in his *Irredentismo senza romanticismi*, ...

¹³⁵⁹ Massagrande, p. 46.

was already promised by the Italian government the Yugoslavs, their authorities had no reason to refute it. Zanella needed a strong Yugoslav support. On the other hand, without granting all the port facilities to the Free State of Fiume he was uninteresting to the Yugoslavs. Although Zanella contacted Svetozar Pribičević (a Croatian Serb) in order to seek a compromise with the Croats, and had several contacts with Serbian banks who still owned important assets in Fiume, his visit was unsuccessful.

Foschini, in the meanwhile, presented his resignation with a letter where he invoked that all the powers should now be concentrated on a single Italian commander in this way within left Fiume also Bassignano as head of the Italian armed forces, Caccia Dominoni as head of the Italian diplomatic office (who was acting as the Civil Commissariat in the Julian March) and Foschini as commissioner extraordinary. Although Foschini tried to secure the annexationist positions he nevertheless tried to achieve some political balance, but with the known distrust towards the autonomists, shown by all Italian governors and plenipotentiaries in Fiume.

Foschini proposed Michele Castelli for this function, but the general Amantea was chosen because he was a “new man” in Fiume. Formally, Amantea’s powers were unrestricted in the city, this concentration (proposed by Foschini) had the goal of securing a strong and effective leadership in Fiume. *De facto* he was under the influence of Castelli, who as we have seen was a strong supporter of the annexationist cause and nurtured “deep suspicions” towards the autonomists¹³⁶⁰.

Luigi Amantea, was appointed “High commissioner” without a decree of the transfer of functions, as if the transfer was an internal Italian army affair, remarked Čulinović and not an act of an internationally recognised subject.¹³⁶¹

His main task was to stabilise the situation in order to put the system at work after the elections in April Fiume in October was still without a Constituent Assembly, let alone a legitimate government. It seems that his short governorate officially aimed at preparing the basis for the implementation of the Free State, envisaged by the Rapallo Treaty, consisted rather in a series of measures to achieve a complete Italian control and leverage upon the “Free State of Fiume”¹³⁶².

The distrust towards the autonomists, shared by all Italian governors and plenipotentiaries in Fiume, induces a suspect on the diplomatic abilities of Zanella, since it seems that the members of the CNI and the annexationists engaged in lobbying with the Italians, Zanella refused any subordination to the Italian representatives and this ultimately came at a high cost.

Finally, on September the 21st 1921 the official results of the elections were made public and the Constituent Assembly was convoked for the next October. On October the 5th 1921 the Constituent Assembly was inaugurated by Amantea. Zanella spoke as the representative of the majority, Bellasich of the annexationist side, granted generic support for the new government but claiming that annexation remained their priority. Zanella, on the contrary, remarked that annexation for Fiume was impossible and that Rapallo obligated now both Italy and Yugoslavia to cooperate for the help of Fiume. The assembly elected Zanella with 57 out of 68 voters (11 white ballots). And the session concluded with his proclamation as head of government. The government of Riccardo Zanella, President of the Free State of Fiume was the only Fiuman government that was genuinely pursuing a policy of independence and the only one to have won an electoral competition in Fiume. Even after its expulsion Zanella government remained the most popular and apart from Gabriele D’Annunzio was the only one to remain in the memory of the locals, even up to day.¹³⁶³ Perhaps for this reason his opponents have tried to reduce its figure to mere opposition to Gabriele

¹³⁶⁰ Michele Castelli, was the real “grey eminence” of Fiume. Officially a civil consultant to Foschini, before that vice prefect within the civil district commissariat in Volosca, he will be the person who will keep all the contacts between the Italian Government, the Foreign Office and Fiume. All the information wanted to ... in Italy were denied ... etc.

¹³⁶¹ Amantea signed the acts for Fiume as the “Commander of the Royal Italian troops in Fiume”. Čulinović, F. *Riječka država*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1953.

¹³⁶² Amantea with the qualification of “Alto Commissario pel Governo Provvisorio di Fiume” issued some decrees by which the entire economic and financial infrastructure of the Free State was handed to Italy. , in Massagrande, pp. 52-53

¹³⁶³ Even today among the *esuli* the fiuman expellees they are divided among the supporters of D’Annunzio and annexation and the autonomists who refer to Zanella, Gotthardi after the end of the Free State faced total oblivion.

D'Annunzio.¹³⁶⁴ Zanella later presented himself as an anti fascist and rightly claimed that the Free State of Fiume was the “first victim of fascism” in the world.¹³⁶⁵

Zanella tried and succeeded to ensure popularity mass support to his movement and project. To this he used extensively the media the press but also tried to organise public meetings and festivals where the Fiuman traditions and culture were perpetrated. Many articles were written in the Fiuman Venetian dialect and not in official Italian, as if to stress the cultural specificity of the Fiumani.

On the 6th of October 1921 Zanella nominated the government of the Free State. It was organised in 8 “secretariats”:

1. Interior (Mario Blasich)
2. Justice (Mario Jechel)
3. Finances (Donato Mohovich)
4. Education and cultus (Vittorio Sablich)
5. Public works (Leone Peteani)
6. Social policies (Eugenio Lasciak)

President Zanella took the foreign office secretariat and the secretariat of trade, industry and communications.¹³⁶⁶

The same day the program guidelines were exposed. The priority goals of the executive were the financial and administrative sanation of the State, restoration of public order, and the initiation of negotiations with Yugoslavia and Italy on the management and delimitation of the port facilities as well as the restoration of economic relationships.

The Economic Destruction of the Free State

On the 6th of October 1921 Michele Castelli asked Zanella if the Fiuman government wanted to negotiate independently the issue of the Hungarian property located within the Free State or if it wanted to put in charge the Italian government within the comprehensive debt negotiation. In that case the government should have ceded at least formally the railways and the port in Italian hands.¹³⁶⁷ Although Zanella reserved to take time before giving an answer, the day after the decree 3135 by which all the port and rail infrastructures were ceded to Italy signed by Amantea and Castelli (who by the way had no official fiction, since the cessation of the Italian legation in Fiume). When Zanella took power on October the 5th 1921 he could only make the discovery that Amantea signed an act by which due to the fact that the railways were run by the Italian state railways and the shipping lines from Fiume were subsidized by the Italian government were sequestered by the Italian government.¹³⁶⁸ The fiuman government sent to the Italian government a formal refutation of the decree that never received an answer.¹³⁶⁹

¹³⁶⁴ See for example Ballarini, Amleto. 1995. “*L’antidannunzio a Fiume - Riccardo Zanella*” [The Antidannunzio at Fiume – Riccardo Zanella], Trieste: Edizioni Italo Svevo.

¹³⁶⁵ This was the argument he used in 1947 at the (second) Paris Peace Conference, in a desperate attempt to regain the sovereignty of the free City.

¹³⁶⁶ Massagrande, p. 68.

¹³⁶⁷ Massagrande, p. 67.

¹³⁶⁸ After being ousted from Fiume, Zanella wrote: Due giorni dopo l'inaugurazione della Costituente e la elezione del Governo di Fiume, un decreto assolutamente illegale ed arbitrario del Comandante delle truppe generale Amantea, antedatato col 4. ottobre, ordinava il sequestro ingiustificato del porto e delle ferrovie e di tutti i loro impianti, sottraendo così allo Stato di Fiume - con un atto d'inaudita sopraffazione e malgrado la protesta del Governo fiumano - i più importanti organi della sua esistenza e della prosperità. Zanella 1922, p. 8.

¹³⁶⁹ Nota del Governo di Fiume al R Governo d'Italia contro l'arbitrario e illegale sequestro del porto e delle ferrovie di Fiume, in *Libro Rosso* doc. n. 3, pp. 29-35.

Zanella went to Rome on the 20th of October 1921 to discuss the questions of economy. The Italian governmental emissary Contarini refused the main requests: the reparation for the damages by military operations, and from the financial administration done by the Italian authorities. The cancellation of the debt made by the previous provisional governments was also refused by Contarini with the argument of protecting the interests of Italy also in the eventuality of possible future pretensions done by third countries”.¹³⁷⁰

Contarini refused also the restitution of the port with the argument that this had await the solution of the border dispute with Yugoslavia. At this point Zanella wrote an extensive report where he argued the reasons for refusal of the Italian proposal and about the real necessities of the Fiuman state.¹³⁷¹

Finally Zanella managed to obtain a loan of 250 million lire, whose instalment however was greatly delayed.¹³⁷²

Another exceedingly interesting document, discovered by Karpowicz, suggests how the Fiuman economy was deliberately destroyed.¹³⁷³ After a short introduction to the political situation in the city where it is said that there were “less than 10 true annexationists” in the city and given that the Fiumans were as they always were – awaiting money from Italy (as they did previously from Hungary) and thereby fostering their autonomy.

The authors identify the greatest danger from the Fiuman oil refinery plant, since Zanella as the head of the new state struck a deal with the Hungarians and it was planned that the plant starts with the activity. The Italian Ministero della Marina Mercantile was resolutely opposing this developments and the Maritime Government of Fiume that was *de facto* under Italian control, refused to grant the State of Fiume to manage the plant.

The Cantieri Navali del Carnaro (former Danubius Ganz, privatized by the Italian group Orlando Terni) things were not good for Italian interests, since the new Fiuman government initiated talks about the possible cession to foreign investors.

Moreover, the Magazzini Generali (a favorite topic in Fiume since the Hungarian times) had to be placed under the maritime government (including the Albergo Emigranti built by the Hungarian government for the migrants to America). The Magazzini Generali were part of the railway system of Fiume, but were managed and owned by a separate company owned by the Leszámitoló és Pénzváltó Bank Rt. (Discount and Exchange Bank).¹³⁷⁴ The collapse of the Monarchy did not change anything since the new government of Zanella extended the concession to the Hungarians that expired on the 21st December 1921 up to the 31st December 1922 “in exchange of Hungarian concessions”. The document reported the old “promemoria”, proposed by Zanella in 1913, that the Magazzini Generali be put under the control of the “neutral body” chamber of commerce, to prevent the exploitation of Fiuman traders. Instead of that the authors proposed the Magazzini Generali, the rails, the albergo immigranti, and the roofed warehouses had to be a part of the future Fiuman port consortium or an integral part of the Fiuman maritime authorities, firmly under Italian control.

¹³⁷⁰ Massagrande, p. 69. from the *Libro Rosso*, p. 40.

¹³⁷¹ *Dichiarazione al R Ministro degli Affari Esteri in merito alle ragioni dell'inaccettabilità delle proposte per il riassetto finanziario di Fiume*, Rome 9th novembre 1921. now in *Libro Rosso* doc. n. 5, pp. 39-42.

¹³⁷² The first two instalments of 6m lire each had to arrive by November, by the end of December not even 2 m were assigned for Fiume.

¹³⁷³ Archivio MAE, Affari Politici, Fiume 1919, busta 1065, in Karpowicz, L.J. 1986, *Riječki Corpus Separatum: 1868-1924*, [The corpus separatum of Fiume: 1868-1924], Ljubljana University, Faculty of Sociology, Political Science and Journalism, unpublished PhD thesis., pp. 337-340. the document from the Italian Foreign Office is undated and the names Puliti and Amantea were added with a pencil as well as the date of January 1922.

¹³⁷⁴ The Hungarian Discount and Exchange Bank was also formed in 1869 when the Niederoesterreichische Escomptegesellschaft took over the old Pest private banking house of C. J. Malvieux. [2, p. 76]. In 1881, the same group of French and Austrian banks that had invested in the Hungarian Mortgage and Credit Bank also raised the capital of the Discount and Exchange Bank. The two thus became sister institutions. the Exchange Bank was fifth in size among the six major Hungarian banks. In 1913, it had total assets of 423 million crowns (\$84.8 million U.S.). in Barcsay. T. (1991) Banking in Hungarian Economic Development, 1867-1919. *Business and Economic History* 20 (2nd Series): 216-225.

The document is of exceeding interest to trace the economic evolution in Fiume. It appears that along the pervasive control of the rail and port infrastructures that hampered any attempt by Zanella, the Zanella's elected government started an ambitious campaign for the economic reconstruction of Fiume that was apparently achieving substantial results. Zanella used extensively the Hungarian connections, and the Hungarian investors appeared interested in the operation, that was basically restoring their assets leverage and participation in the Fiuman economy.¹³⁷⁵

The government of the Free State without means. Everything was put under Italian control, there was no currency control, the debt had arisen to monstrous proportions, and the city depended on Italian help for assuring the mere survival of its citizens.

Zanella knew that to ensure the life for his state more than ideology and program were needed. Indeed he made some striking moves to ensure the economic viability for his project, probably inspired by English and American interlocutors.¹³⁷⁶

The Whitehead torpedo works were in liquidation. Certainly the most interesting industrial complex in Fiume of the time after the virtual cessation of the Danubius-Ganz and Whitehead works was the ROMSA oil refinery, the largest in the Balkans, well connected with all of central and south-eastern Europe and bigger than any oil refining plant available at the moment in Italy.

Given the desperate financial situation and the reluctance of the Italian government to proceed with any effective support Zanella, managed to cut a deal with the Standard Oil Company. The deal had to enable the survival of the port, where the Standard Oil with a location – management contract planned to build a big petrol refinement and stocking facility for its planned supply of the Yugoslav market¹³⁷⁷

Zanella had cut a deal as the head of the new state with the Hungarians and it seemed that the plant was going to become operative again, also with a deal with the American Standard Oil Corporation. Fiume was interesting for the American conglomerate in a free trade arrangement appeared thus to be the ideal oil processing and distribution hub for a relatively big area of oil production refinement and consumption.¹³⁷⁸

The Italian government decidedly stopped the deal.¹³⁷⁹ It seems that the strategy of the company was to shift its activities from Fiume to Italy after the Free State alternative had been discarded with the end of Zanella.¹³⁸⁰

The Italian port and railway authorities who managed the infrastructures in Fiume blocked the execution of the deal and two reports sent by Zanella were answered that the execution could not be

¹³⁷⁵ It appears that in the same time also the American investors were starting to invest in Hungarian banks, and the industrial assets they owned. Fiume was a central a part of it, and it is possible that Zanella entered this game. the standard oil apart from coming to Fiume, at the time started in acquiring also the Hungarian oil industry. See Major, Mark Imre. *American Hungarian Relations: 1918-1944*, Danubian Press, Inc. Astor, Florida, 1974, available on web at <http://www.hungarian-history.hu/lib/maj>, visited on April 2007.

¹³⁷⁶ Karpowicz claims that Wilson even had the project to settle the League of Nations headquarters in Fiume, but she brings no evidence for this claim.

¹³⁷⁷ Massagrande, p. 72.

¹³⁷⁸ See Massagrande, p. 195.

¹³⁷⁹ Hoffman: Alle andere Bemühungen Zanellas blieben mit Unfruchtbarkeit geschlagen. Ein abkommen, das mit der Standard Oil Co. Um die Jahreswende geschlossen worden war, um den Warenzufluss nach Fiume wieder zu eröffnen, wurde von der italienischen Regierung kraft ihrer Verwaltung des Freihafengebietes gehemmt, angeblich u.a. weil der amerikanischen Gesellschaft zu günstige Mietbedingungen eingeräumt worden seien.

¹³⁸⁰ For further involvement of Standard Oil in Italian politics see the excellent study of Mario Canali, *Il delitto Matteotti*. The killing of Matteotti in 1924, proves the massive and substantial involvement of Standard Oil in this affaire.

put in force due to orders issued by “superior instances”¹³⁸¹ Zanella than wrote a much documented note of protest given to Castelli the 10th of January 1922¹³⁸².

To all this accusations the Italian government never answered, what Zanella did not know was that it was the Italian ministerial Consulta that had to deal with the issues of Fiume, who sent a dissuasion letter to the American Embassy in Rome.¹³⁸³

Zanella turned to the Yugoslavs, but as his position weakened the Yugoslavs interest in supporting the Free State was declining. The main railway connection from Fiume to Hungary, the one that actually completed in 1873 enabled the development of the port was blocked by the Yugoslavs as a pressure tool.¹³⁸⁴

THE END OF THE FREE STATE

*I sentimenti di affetto, di fiducia, e di rispetto della popolazione fiumana verso il R. Governo d'Italia e le sue autorità, sono stati completamente distrutti dalla politica e dalle azioni compiute a Fiume per parte degli irresponsabili, dall'armistizio ad oggi. Ciò che l'Austria e l'Ungheria non erano riuscite a compiere in un secolo, con le persecuzioni, le blandizie, le corruzioni e le violenze, è purtroppo riuscito agli italiani in meno di tre anni.*¹³⁸⁵

In the meanwhile, the fascist violence was steadily growing. The representative of the Fiuman Yugoslav Party Gavra Stejic denounced, while on a travel to Belgrade, the preparation of “imminent fascist attacks” in Fiume, but the rumours were labelled by the Italian plenipotentiary Castelli as “pure fantasies”.¹³⁸⁶

The third session of the Constituent Assembly on 31st January 1922 was to be the last one: after leaving the municipal palace, Zanella was attacked with 3 bombs.¹³⁸⁷ The assembly sent a letter of protest to the Fiuman government and proposed to suspend the gatherings *sine die* up to when the security conditions in the city improved. To this the mandate of the Constituent Assembly was extended to indeterminate time, in awaiting the stabilisation of the internal security which had to be provided by the Fiuman guards in way of constitution.

The government Zanella took seriously the issue of constitutional and administrative regulation of the government. Apart from the Constitution of the Free State, also the functioning of the Constituent Assembly was regulated with a *regolamento interno* (with 137 articles), that had to be

¹³⁸¹ Nota con la quale le Ferrovie dello Stato italiano che amministrano le Ferrovie di Fiume, rifiutano l'esecuzione del contratto con la “Standard Oil Company”, and the Nota con la quale il Governo Marittimo gestito illegalmente dal R Governo italiano rifiuta l'esecuzione del contratto con la “Standard Oil Company”. Fiume, 2nd January 1922, in Libro Rosso doc. n. 11, 12, p. 49.

¹³⁸² Nota del Governo di Fiume al R Governo d'Italia per l'esecuzione della concessione accordata alla “Standard Oil Company” in Libro Rosso doc. n. 13, pp. 50-51. Zanella illustrated personally to Castelli the contract as well as the reasons for its signature, who noted: “stamane ho avuto lunga conversazione Zanella. Mi ha presentato e illustrato contatto con Standard Oil dichiarandomi di essere stato spinto concludere necessità dar lavoro operai”, in Massagrande, note 32, p. 104.

¹³⁸³ Letters of Contarini to the Italian legation in Fiume and Belgrade, 13th January 1922, now in MAE, T. Gab. Busta 151., cited in Massagrande, notes 34 and 35, p. 104. the demarche was successful as, Massagrande notes, “the United States of Harding were not those of Wilson”, in Massagrande, p. 72.

¹³⁸⁴ Hoffman: Die Eisenbahnlinie nach Agram ist (als Druckmittel des S.H.S. Königreichs) immer noch nicht wieder eröffnet, und endet Buccari, obwohl die gesprengt gewesene Brücke über den Eneo nicht wieder hergestellt ist. Still in 1923 the traffic reaches 12% of the median from the pre-war period. The rails with Zagreb are closed, the rail to Trieste and Lubiana lowers the tariffs by 50% only during the governorate Giardino, when annexation was imminent.

¹³⁸⁵ From the appeal of the head of the Fiuman Government in exile Zanella, to the Italian prime minister Facta. Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982, doc. N 23, p. 204 in

¹³⁸⁶ M., p. 73

¹³⁸⁷ Only one exploded hurting a guard and a member of the Assembly.

represented in front of the Constituent Assembly at its fourth gathering that never took place.¹³⁸⁸ The Constitution of the Free State, that Kelsen, paid for the service by Zanella only in June 1931, is lost.¹³⁸⁹

Although concrete measures to equip a public security force in Fiume were taken¹³⁹⁰, the month of February Fiume appears as a lawless city where bands and gangs of fascists (under the lead of Host Venturi and a certain captain Krall) attacked the members of the political opposition and the few loyal *questurini*.¹³⁹¹

On February 11th violence exploded in full scale, the *Questura* office was attacked, and the "Military County" of the Fascio was organised. Zanella sent several letters of protest to Rome where the government of Bonomi who was about to resign, replied with "generic statements", to a helpless Fiuman government¹³⁹². Fascist violence continued uninterrupted for another 10 days (the fascist had the advantage of the ministerial government crisis in Italy ended only on February the 26th 1922 with the first government Facta¹³⁹³).

The fiuman government on the 25th February announced its renunciation public security service provided by the Italian forces (carabineers, and the financial guards), since the Fiuman guards were considered ready to enter in service.¹³⁹⁴

On the 3rd of March 1922 the fascists organised a full scale attack against the fiuman government.¹³⁹⁵ The Italian fascist deputy Francesco Giunta arrived from Trieste the day before and although the fact alarmed Zanella who advised the carabineers, the action took the defences of surprise. After a series of strenuous attacks where the Fiuman guards, not helped by the carabineers, undermanned and absolutely ill equipped for an effective defence, fought bravely. Fearing a stalemate, at 11 in the morning, Giunta took a torpedo boat (MAS) of the Italian navy present at the harbour and started fire against the Governor's Palace, at this point Zanella surrendered and the palace was entered by the fascists.¹³⁹⁶

¹³⁸⁸ *Disegno di regolamento interno dell'Assemblea Costituente presentato dall'on. Nicolò dott. Biasi*, Fiume, Società editoriale fiumana, 1922.

¹³⁸⁹ The draft of the Constitution of Fiume was commissioned to the Austrian jurist Hans Kelsen. Massagrande, IN his book, published the letter of Kelsen to Zanella from June the 16th 1931, when he was paid for the work: „*Ich habe seinerzeit nicht nur aus persönlichen, sondern aus sachlichen gründen sehr bedauert, dass in ihrem Auftrag ausgearbeiteter Entwurf einer Verfassung für Fiume nicht realisiert werden konnte. Umso hoher muss ich die Gewissenhaftigkeit und den vornehmen sinn einer Regierung schätzen, die – selbst nicht mehr im amte – nach so vielen Jahren in so korrekter weise einen privatrechtlichen Vertrag erfüllt*“. He answered. In Massagrande, pp. 188-189.

¹³⁹⁰ Weapons were ordered and were under way from Austria.

¹³⁹¹ Members of the Polizia Fiumana, since they were devote to Zanella. the carabineers - the Italian units were still officially entrusted with maintenance of public order and safety in Fiume and manifested a continuous support for the fascist side in Fiume.

¹³⁹² In Massagrande, p. 75.

¹³⁹³ Luigi Facta (Pinerolo, 16 November 1861 - November 1930), was the last prime minister of Italy before the advent of Benito Mussolini.

¹³⁹⁴ Governo fiumano, nota n. 220 del 25 febbraio 1922. It is probable that Zanella wanted to speed up their entry in service given the absolute inefficiency of the carabineers for the task.

¹³⁹⁵ This is how Zanella described the event: "Addì 3 marzo u. s. fu sferrata contro il primo Governo legale di Fiume un'aggressione a mano armata, riuscita soltanto dopo 7 ore di accanito e sanguinoso combattimento, grazie alla 'passività' ed all'assenteismo del R. Governo d'Italia e delle sue truppe dislocate a Fiume, e per merito delle armi, delle munizioni e dei cannoni che erano di proprietà del R. esercito Italiano." (...) "Matteo Marussich, Luigi Finderle, Andrea Blasich, caddero in quel dì gloriosamente ed eroicamente per la libertà e per l'indipendenza di Fiume nostra. Sono morti, colpiti dal piombo di volgari aggressori camuffati da fratelli, abbattuti dalle pallottole del tradimento." <Zanella 1922:3> "Il colpo di mano, o meglio l'aggressione del 3 marzo, era stata ordita, preparata ed organizzata da lungo tempo, sotto l'etichetta di pochi nomi fiumani, da elementi triestini e regnicoli, con la collaborazione di deputati italiani, dell'Associazione Nazionale degli Arditi d'Italia", di elementi indisciplinati locali dei Reali Carabinieri e con la prudente, dissimulata tolleranza delle autorità italiane locali e dei funzionari regnicoli del Governo Marittimo. <Zanella 1922:6>

¹³⁹⁶ Giunta had just finished the ammunitions of his 37 mm gun when Zanella surrendered. It is doubtful that a continued resistance would have changed something given the preponderance of the fascist forces, who were equipped and supplied by the Italian regular units, a fact recognised by Zanella in recalling the events.

Zanella was forced to sign the capitulation where he declared his permanent exclusion from public life and political activity. At first he refused, since Giunta was considered a foreign citizen being Italian and not a Fiuman, and at this point it was the local head of the Fascio Attilio Prodani who took charge of signing the capitulation. The Free State of Fiume was therefore the first state to experience, on the 3rd of March 1922, a fascist putsch.

Zanella and his allies were effectively prevented to act in the city by the fascist violence.¹³⁹⁷ In this way, the fascists gained precious time to organise in the city, while Zanella started to organise the state administration and propaganda offices from Portorè and Buccari. Zanella's refusal to come to pacts with the fascists forced him to exile, in Yugoslav territory at Portorè and Buccari, where he stayed most of the time. Nevertheless, he started a serious attempt at reorganisation of the administration of the Free State as well as to look for solving its desperate financial situation.

Zanella made an explicit (and unsuccessful) request for the Italian government for the recognition of his Government in exile, asking the help of troops for clearing the city of fascist elements with the alternative to request the same from the allied powers.

The failed intervention of the Italian government in support to the Free State of Fiume was, as Massagrande points out, nothing but the final stage of a substantially hostile relationship that Italy had with the "Free" State of Fiume that will be supported and tolerated only as a docile puppet state under the complete economic and political control from Rome. A free handed autonomist government like that of Zanella was a persistent threat for the final settlement of the Italian eastern borders with Yugoslavia, therefore the Italian government *de facto* never tolerated a Free State of Fiume capable to establish relationships on an equal footing with sovereign states such as Italy or Yugoslavia, even worse that started to make open denunciations of the Italian policies at the League of Nations, or started independent economic negotiations with multinational corporations such as the American Standard Oil - a project that threatened the whole Italian energetic national strategy.¹³⁹⁸

After the Fascist overthrow of the government of Fiume, a "County of National Defence" took power in Fiume, thereby declaring the cessation of the Government Zanella and the Constituent Assembly, nominating Giovanni Giuriati, as provisional President.¹³⁹⁹ Giving his compromised political biography as one of the leaders of Adriatic irredentism, an Italian citizen and a member of the Fascist Party, the Yugoslav Government officially questioned the Italian Government what measures were intended of being taken after the violent overthrow of Zanella.¹⁴⁰⁰

Officially, Italy condemned the putsch, and Castelli, who was nominated on 5th March 1922 as Italian plenipotentiary for Fiume, in replacement of Caccia Dominioni¹⁴⁰¹, attempted to constitute

¹³⁹⁷ Even in Yugoslav territory Zanella was exposed to fascist attacks, several times prevented by the Yugoslav forces.

¹³⁹⁸ As we have said Fiume was the biggest oil refining plant in the Balkan area, and in Italy at the time there was no oil refinery of comparable size. More about the energetic strategy of Italy in the early 1920s in Canali, *Il delitto Matteotti*.

¹³⁹⁹ The "Committee of National Defence" had 4 fascist members (head of the committee Attilio Prodani, Mario Petris, Ramiro Antonini, Guido Cartesio) and three republicans (Gino Sirolo, Giovanni Abramovich, Giacomo Pontevivo). Prudently, they wired a message to Rome asking the restoration of the Italian carabinieri as responsible for public order and safety in Fiume, and urged the sending of new Italian governor of the city. The argument changed from the "unanimous request from all the Fiuman political groups" an evidently false statement, later changed with "the incapacity of the local groups to form a stable government".

¹⁴⁰⁰ Giovanni Giuriati (August 4, 1876 — May 6, 1970) born in Venice, a law graduate and lawyer, he associated in 1903 with the irredentist group Trento e Trieste ("Trento and Trieste" - regions which it aimed to have secede from Austria-Hungary), and soon became its president. In early 1915, he channelled aid from Italians in Austria for the earthquake-hit town of Avezzano, and volunteered as a soldier in World War I. Wounded in the First Battle of the Isonzo, and again in the Third, he was twice decorated. He returned to his legal practice as the war ended, but decided to follow the paramilitary movement of Gabriele D'Annunzio in (Fiume).

¹⁴⁰¹ Michele Castelli, che, avendovi esercitato le funzioni di addetto civile e consigliere dei vari Comandi succedutisi dopo l'occupazione, aveva una profonda conoscenza dell'ambiente fiumano e godeva la fiducia degli elementi nazionali.. in Depoli, Attilio. "Incontri con Facta e Mussolini", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1956, p.121.

rapidly and by “legal means” a “representative government” for Fiume.¹⁴⁰² On the 7th of March the Italian foreign minister Carlo Schanzer recommended to Castelli to seize the opportunity and try a “pacification” in order to establish a government of Fiume with “local elements” that had to *appear* as a government made by Fiuman citizens, and to whom all the support of the Italian government would have been granted.¹⁴⁰³

On the 11th the Yugoslav Government made it clear it was not going to consider acceptable the nomination of an Italian High Commissioner, remarking that the Rapallo treaty, as a Yugoslav – Italian *condominium*, envisaged a joint implementation of decisions. In the eventuality of an instalment of an Italian High Commissioner, the Yugoslavs had the right to install a Yugoslav High Commissioner. Also the Italian troops or the gendarmerie in Fiume were to share the same rights and duties of the Yugoslav forces. Alternatively, if public order was to be maintained by a fiuman militia (as Zanella wanted), this had to be put under a joint Italian - Yugoslav command.

After pressures from the Italian government, on March the 13th, Giuriati publicly renounced the position.¹⁴⁰⁴ Giuriati was refuted only because the present international situation made it impossible to nominate a commissary in the person of an Italian deputy, that among others was one of the organisers of the fascist putsch.¹⁴⁰⁵ On the 15th of March the commander of the carabinieri Cabrana took power in Fiume, after the occupation of the headquarters of the County of National Defence. Cabrana assumed powers in the name of a “Military Council” (Consiglio Militare), with the purpose to establish a legal government in Fiume.¹⁴⁰⁶

On March 19th the Yugoslav foreign minister Momčilo Ninčić declared to the Italian plenipotentiary in Belgrade Manzoni that seen the situation in Fiume, where continuously new Italian forces gathered, a military occupation of Fiume with the participation of Yugoslav forces appeared necessary.¹⁴⁰⁷

After the alarmed telegram Manzoni sent to the Italian foreign minister Carlo Schanzer, answered that after the departure of D’Annunzio, in the city remained circa 800 carabinieri with the task of maintaining public order. In Susak there was a alpine battalion with the “strictest order” to shoot at any agitator from Fiume that attempted to enter the city: “Si deve a ciò se malgrado le violenze commesse a Fiume, nessuna ne è mai stata perpetrata a danno dei jugoslavi di Susak”. But given the last *colpo di mano*, “questo ministro del Regno S.H.S. lamentava principalmente il turbamento dell’ordine pubblico a Fiume che minacciava vita ed averi di sudditi jugoslavi”. Therefore, the Italian government guaranteed only for the life of the S.H.S. citizens, not for the fiuman ones, and this was achieved by overcoming all kinds of difficulties of given the fact that in Fiume were present several “extremist Italian deputies”. Schanzer concluded with an open threat of the possible irremediable consequences that a Yugoslav intervention could have had on the relations of the two countries.¹⁴⁰⁸

¹⁴⁰² Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982, p. 80.

¹⁴⁰³ In Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982. , p 81 “Che apparisca come un governo voluto dalla cittadinanza fiumana”.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Fearing Yugoslav protestations the Italian government wanted a Fiuman as Head of the Free State, not an Italian who was a declared irredentist, annexationist and officer of the Italian army.

¹⁴⁰⁵ In the meanwhile, he had joined the Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF), being elected to the Italian Chamber of Deputies in 1921. After the March on Rome, Giovanni Giuriati became Minister of Freed Territories in the Benito Mussolini government, and took over the Ministry of Public Works in 1925. He was President of the Chamber of Deputies between 1929 and 1934, and national secretary of the PNF in 1930. After 1934, he served as senator.

¹⁴⁰⁶ The statement was proclaimed in the session of the parliament where Schanzer declared that the government of Facta was against Giuriati as Commissioner of Fiume and that there had to be a Fiuman solution to the crisis.

¹⁴⁰⁷ In fact, the fresh Italian forces were called in by Castelli for reasons of public safety after widespread fascist violence.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Stimo superfluo dilungarmi a dimostrare alla S.V. la gravità della situazione che verrebbe a determinarsi qualora truppe jugoslave entrassero in questo momento a Fiume, dato che esse dovrebbero eventualmente agire anche contro deputati italiani. Una tale ipotesi potrebbe soltanto considerarsi da chi volesse irrimediabilmente turbare la realizzazione della politica di amichevole intesa col Regno S.H.S. che è sinceramente negli intendimenti dell’attuale governo italiano.

This was the anatomy of occupation. Fiume was *de facto* an area occupied by the Italian armed forces, even Sussak owed its security thanks to the benevolence of the Italian government there to assure the safety of Yugoslav citizens. Moreover, the double layered policy of occupation demonstrates clearly the influence of official Italian policies to the security situation in Fiume: the profascist carabinieri were entrusted in Fiume, while in Sussak the alpinists provided effectively to the maintenance of order, as shown by the several incidents where extremists coming from Fiume were shot dead.

In the city fascist violence was again on the rise after the spread of rumours that the Italian government wanted to restore Zanella. Acts of terrorism and violence become so widespread that more than a thousand autonomists and their supporters left the city by mid March.¹⁴⁰⁹

Already in the 16th Zanella produced an extensive account on the putsch from the 3rd March, where he explained the reasons for the failure of the Free State of Fiume, the circumstances upon which he was forced to resign and the measures the Free State had taken to stabilize fiuman society and economy as well as the plans for the future.¹⁴¹⁰ The government of Fiume therefore, as a puppet state, to receive economic support for its strangled economy had to obey only to the Italian government.

Manzoni from Belgrade relied that the non applications of the provisions from the Rapallo Treaty and the resulting irregular situation in Fiume was damaging on the relations of the two states and that this was more damaging than an eventual “arbitral solution” or by the League of Nations.

Zanella eventually wrote an appeal to the League of Nations, on March the 30th. In the lengthy appeal in 15 points the history of the Free State (from the expulsion of D’Annunzio up to the attack on Zanella the 3rd March 1922) was presented as well as its present situation was analysed.¹⁴¹¹ Zanella wrote that the legitimate government was the Constituent Assembly in Portorè.¹⁴¹² These acts produced no results, since it was clear that now the issue of Fiume had to be solved bilaterally between Yugoslavia and Italy. Yugoslavia was becoming less interested in acquiring Fiume, especially as the Serbians wanted to solve the pendant issues with Italy as soon as possible. In Italy a broad array of political forces supported the annexation of the city, even the

in Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982., p. 191. In m. 190-191 doc. 14

¹⁴⁰⁹ The situation was such to induce the pro fascist Castelli, to request a military occupation of the city by Italian regular troops. In Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982. p. 83.

¹⁴¹⁰ 1st Chapter of the Libro Rosso: *Memoriale del Governo di Fiume al R. Governo d'Italia sui fatti del 3 marzo 1922 e loro precedenti*, Fiume 1922.

¹⁴¹¹ Après l'épilogue tragique du 3 Mars un nouveau régime de terreur s'installe à Fiume. Le gouvernement provisoire fasciste présidé par mr. Prodam, fut renversé quelques jours après par une dictature militaire essentiellement formé d'éléments des bandes dannunziennes étrangères a Fiume. Les pleins pouvoir furent confiés à un lieutenant des légionnaires ancien suons officiers de carabinieri, nomme Cabrana. Celui-ci prétendait forcer les membres de la majorité de la constituante à convoquer l'assemblée pour nommer un gouvernement suivant ses instructions, qui était à leur dictées par M.G. Castelli, ministre italien à Fiume. Les députés s'y refusèrent, mais on les menaçait et leur donnait la chasse. Les députés du parti autonome furent obligés de abandonner leur foyers et leurs familles et se réfugier, à travers mille dangers et difficultés, sur le territoire Jougoslave. Now in Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982, doc. N16, pp. 192-198.

¹⁴¹² La première séance de la majorité a eu lieu à Portorè le 25 mars dernier à la présence de 47 membres de la constituante, 8 députés réfugiés en Autriche avaient envoyé leur adhésion, et j'ai eu l'honneur d'y prendre part avec les anciens membre de mon gouvernement. L'assemblée était légale et constitutionnelle car elle représentait la majorité absolue : 55 députés sur un total de 75. Après une longue discussion on vota à l'unanimité l'ordre do jour dont le texte est ci-joint.

On a voulu tenir un simulacre d'assemblée avec 12 députées de la minorité, nous ne pouvons considérer ces réunions et décision que comme nulles et sans efficacité légale.

Au nom aussi des membres de la majorité de la constituante et de toute la population fiumane, je prie cet honorable conseil de bien vouloir accorder sa bienveillante protection à la cause sacrée d'un petit peuple qui, selon le Traité de Rapallo ne demande que d'être libre et maître de ses destinées pour dédier tous ses efforts, dans une atmosphère de tranquillité, aux oeuvres fécondes du travail et de la paix.

communists. the annexationists in Fiume could therefore count on a support from all the political forces in Italy.

When on the 20th of March 1922, the Constituent Assembly was reconvened, the Autonomist Party publicly announced it was going to retire from the gathering, and after the 21st, date of the opening of the Assembly, most of the autonomist members (that is the vast majority), left Fiume for Portorè, to join Zanella and the members of the executive.

From there starts the odyssey of the Fiuman Government in Exile, that will last for 2 years and proclaimed itself as the only legitimate government of Fiume. Zanella will from there start and indefatigable work of propaganda to demonstrate the real situation in Fiume and later the nature of the fascist regime.

THE SEPARATION OF FIUMAN CHURCH FROM CROATIA

Before the elections for the Constituent Assembly, a decree law 7th April 1921 n. 1500,¹⁴¹³ established an autonomous bishopric for Fiume. So far it was still under the bishopric of Segna,¹⁴¹⁴ although after the arrival of D'Annunzio, it had an independent legate from the Vatican.

Even before the proclamation of the Free State at Rapallo (enabled only after the expulsion of D'Annunzio and ratified in Italy in January 1921), in 1920 the archidiaconate of Fiume and its territory was separated from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Segna e Modrusa and constituted as an "apostolic administration" under the lead of Celso Costantini (card. Pietro Gasparri, Rescritto n. 6663, 14 giugno 1920). Monsignor Celso Costantini arrived in Fiume already in 1919 officially as a Vatican's envoy to Fiume where he was invited by D'Annunzio who was his friend.¹⁴¹⁵

The nomination was up to the Holy See, as well as the definition of the borders of the new diocese, the concession of the exequatur to the nomination of the bishop was on the government of Fiume. So the goal of the fiumani for an independent diocese from Segna was ultimately achieved. What the autonomists did not manage to achieve was now accomplished by the factual independence of Fiume from its hinterland.

After 1918 the situation finally was mature for a separation of the church in Fiume from the diocese of Senj. With the formal argument that the communication of Fiume with the diocese in Senj was difficult (a false statement, since Kukanich had at the period an intense correspondence with the diocesan office)¹⁴¹⁶ Valentino Liva, dean from Cividale, was nominated by the prefect of the consistorial delegation as apostolic visitor for Fiume on 10th May 1919.

¹⁴¹³ Barone and Gaetano, vol. 1 pp. 313-314.

¹⁴¹⁴ In the age of Joseph the 2nd in 1787 Fiume was included in the diocese of Segna e Modrusa, before that its capitol was part of the diocese of Pola, after the renunciation of the bishop of Pola (Insinuato governale n. 1960, 16 ottobre 1787). who originally owned and gave it as a fief to the counts of Duino, Walsee etc.

The aggregation to the Diocese of Segna is in the form of a personal union through the person of the bishop under the superior dependency of the Hungarian metropolis of Kalocsa, and not of Zagreb to which the diocese di Segna e Modrusa was subjugated. In same period between 1788 al 1807, the diocesi di Segna e Modrusa (comprising Fiume), Trieste e Capodistria, Parenzo e Pola become under the metropolitan church of Lubiana.

Finally, in 1851, Emperor Francis Joseph detached Fiume from Kalocsa and annexed it to the Croatian-Slavonian ecclesiastical province. In 1852 the Holy See accepts the dependency of the diocese of Segna e Modrusa, including Fiume, to Zagreb (Pio IX, bolla Ubi primum placuit, 11 December 1852). During the Nineteenth Century in an age of national polarisation, this was causing arising attritions. As we have seen, in the CH4 one of the biggest issues was to separate Fiume from the Croatian diocese of Segna. To this several projects were proposed ranging from the independent diocese to the inclusion of the city (again as a *corpus separatum!*) into a Hungarian diocese (Esztergom and Budapest were proposed). The most serious attempt was started in 1908 by the podestà Antonio Vio and the deputy at the Hungarian parliament Riccardo Zanella who went to Budapest and to the Holy See to ask for separation of Fiume from the diocese of Segna. Nevertheless, they were unsuccessful.

¹⁴¹⁵ A 44 anni assunse la responsabilità di Amministratore Apostolico di Fiume durante l'occupazione dannunziana (1921), dove venne chiamato anche in virtù dell'amicizia con Gabriele D'Annunzio, nata ad Aquileia.

¹⁴¹⁶ Bogović, Mile, "Crkvena povijest Rijeke od 1889. -1924.", in *Bernardin Nikola Škrivanić i njegovo vrijeme*, Matica Hrvatska, Rijeka, 1997, pp. 31-32.

When D'Annunzio entered Fiume Kukanich fled from the city, only to return soon afterwards and started an anti campaign of opposition to the CNI and d. the next step was removal of Kukanich from office. Already on December the 1st 1919 Antonio Grosssich in a letter to the Pope in Rome, claimed that it was “humiliating for the religious institutions of a large and noble Italian city to be subject of a diocese from an obscure Croatian borough of Senj”.¹⁴¹⁷ On 18th December 1919 representatives of 14 catholic institutions sent a letter to the Holy See with the request for removal of Kukanich from office, given his “incapacity to relate with the authorities, opposition of the population, bad management with the ecclesiastical goods etc, frequent absence form the parish, and indifference towards the Azione Cattolica”.¹⁴¹⁸ The Cardinal Gasparri answered on 9th January 1920 that an apostolic visitor was already sent to Fiume and that the new settlement of the Fiuman church was subordinated to the political settlement of the city.¹⁴¹⁹ He tried unsuccessfully to prevent the forced Italianisation of Croatian family names in Fiume, (reportedly a great many people lamented the fact), although Kukanich asked help in Zagreb and Senj. The CNI and the major avoided to attack him directly but sent the mod. Kukanich was frequently attacked by the mob and then his public apparitions were prohibited on grounds of public safety. The “population” even confiscated the keys of the collegial church and gave it to D'Annunzio, on 24th of March 1920. Finally, major Gigante (who was publicly derided by Kukanich with a satirical poem) with the pretext of closed the church and only the San Vito remained open. Gigante sent 10th February 1920 to the papal secretary of state: in the letter Gigante complained about Kukanich who since 20 years was in constant conflict with the city authorities and population. He fostered in all means the Croatian on Sundays there were 7 masses in Croatian and only one in Italian. When D'Annunzio came to liberate Fiume Kukanich fed to Croatian when he came back the city authorities gave him the permission to continue with his .. when I contacted mons. Liva Kukanich answered to me with a poem that is not only offending but reflects the state of his mind.¹⁴²⁰ Liva really tried to help also the Croatians in Fiume and to tried to settle the disputes, but he was opposed also by Senj and Kukanich who let him know that his presence in Fiume was unnecessary, then he decided to leave. The Croats hoped for the restoration of the authority of Senj over Fiume but instead the holy see after a consultations with the Italian bishop recommended the canonical from Aquileia, Celso Costantini that on 30th April 1920 was nominated apostolic administrator of Fiume with even greater prerogatives in Fiume. Gigante wrote to the Vatican, that there could be no better presentation of the Holy See¹⁴²¹, while Kukanich resignedly wrote in Senj that the definitive separation of Fiume from the Senj diocese was accomplished.¹⁴²² Costantini was definitely of Italian irredentist and complied in Kukanich that for him the Croatian clerks in Fiume was foremost Croatian and then catholic. As shown in his petition to the annexation of Fiume to

¹⁴¹⁷ Scottà Antonio, “I territori del confine orientale italiano nelle lettere dei vescovi alla Santa Sede 1918 – 1922”, *Fonti e studi di storia veneta*, 21, Trieste, 1994. pp.

¹⁴¹⁸ After the entry of the Italian troops in Fiume, also the Italian catholic laically organisation Azione Cattolica, was founded in Fiume. In the letter the representatives of the Azione Cattolica, and the churches of s Sebastian, s Hieronym s. Vito and the ? de Cosulich, head of the Sorelle del Cuore di Gesù di Maria del Crocifisso. This were the Italian catholic organisations that opposed the Croatian ones in the person of Kukanich and the capuccini. Kukanich described them as croato phobe and italophile in a letter sent to the diocese in Senj. In Bogović, Mile, “Crkvena povijest Rijeke od 1889. -1924.”, in *Bernardin Nikola Škrivanić i njegovo vrijeme*, Matica Hrvatska, Rijeka, 1997, pp. 32.

¹⁴¹⁹ “Una sistemazione ecclesiastica definitiva non potrà esser data alla città se non quando sarà stato regolato l’assetto politico della medesima”. In Scottà Antonio, “I territori del confine orientale italiano nelle lettere dei vescovi alla Santa Sede 1918 – 1922”, *Fonti e studi di storia veneta*, 21, Trieste, 1994. pp. 313-314.

¹⁴²⁰ In Scottà Antonio, “I territori del confine orientale italiano nelle lettere dei vescovi alla Santa Sede 1918 – 1922”, *Fonti e studi di storia veneta*, 21, Trieste, 1994. pp. 317-320.

¹⁴²¹ In Scottà Antonio, “I territori del confine orientale italiano nelle lettere dei vescovi alla Santa Sede 1918 – 1922”, *Fonti e studi di storia veneta*, 21, Trieste, 1994. pp. 345.

¹⁴²² Kukanich used to write in latin to the bishop in Senj: avvulusio interinalis civitatis fluminis a diecesibus segnienis ac modrussionesi sive corbaviensi mox est futura definitiva ac peremptoria, 8 august 1920, in Bogović, Mile, “Crkvena povijest Rijeke od 1889. -1924.”, in *Bernardin Nikola Škrivanić i njegovo vrijeme*, Matica Hrvatska, Rijeka, 1997, p. 37.

Yugoslavia and the fact that he left the city when the legionnaires entered in. On the other hand, he defended Kukanich since he was the legitimate parisher. Although the Holy See answered with some assuring letters,¹⁴²³ it was clear that Costantini started with the systematic work of peroration for the establishing of a bishopric of Fiume causing protests in Croatia. Already on 16th June 1920 Costantini received the permission of the consistorial delegation to dismember the parish of Fiume in more parishes, later in a proposal written by mayor Gigante fixed in six.¹⁴²⁴

Kukanich opposed the activity of Costantini with the argument that he already had great prerogatives given by the diocese in Senj, and therefore the presence of Costantini was redundant. The letter to the Holy See was intercepted by Costantini who considered it as a proof of the spiritual condition of these clerics (indice dello stato d'animo di questo clero). Kukanich made his last (and unsuccessful) attempt: In May 1921 he went to a visit to the Pope with an *exposé* on the situation of the Croats in Fiume.¹⁴²⁵

Costantini went to a mission to China¹⁴²⁶ and was replaced by monss. Sain who become first Bishop of Fiume after the Treaty of Rome that sanctioned the annexation of Fiume to Italy the 27th January 1924. The Bishopric of Fiume was proclaimed on May 1924. already on the 27th of May 1924 Sain invited Kukanich to resign within one week, what he ultimately did, and was replaced as parisher by mons. Torcoletti, leader of the Italian Catholics in Fiume.¹⁴²⁷ The Fiuman Church was now firmly in Italian and annexationist hands.

THE SMALLEST COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE WORLD

After the autonomist victory at the elections for the Constituent Assembly on 24 April 1921 the local Fascio made his *coup de etat*.

Albino Stalzer however, provided the link to the autonomists of Zanella with the working classes and by that quite successfully. Stalzer and Schneider founded also a Cooperativa dei Lavoratori del Porto, whose influence proved to be much greater that that of the party itself.

As a consequence, the Camera del Lavoro in opposition proclaimed the general strike and its leaders Antonio Zamparo and G. Holly were immediately arrested by dictator Gigante, who

¹⁴²³ From the letter of Cardinal Gasparri from 22nd of May 1920: la nomina di mons. Costantini non pregiudica in alcun modo la questione di Fiume, né sotto il punto di vista politico, né sotto quello ecclesiastico". In Scottà Antonio, "I territori del confine orientale italiano nelle lettere dei vescovi alla Santa Sede 1918 – 1922", *Fonti e studi di storia veneta*, 21, Trieste, 1994. pp. 331. On the other hand, Costantini the cardinal knowing the situation that now reigns in Fiume now other but an italian nationality prelate could be sent ot Fiume at the moment.

¹⁴²⁴ Blažeković, Tatjana. "Postanak riječke biskupije i njezino djelovanje do drugog svjetskog rata", *Jadranski zbornik*, V, Rijeka-Pula 1962. pp. 141-142.

¹⁴²⁵ He was sent to the prefect of the concistorial delegation Ceruti who substituted the prefect de Laye only to inform that the Fiuman authorities are requesting the separation of Fiume from the Bishopric of Senj and Modrussa. to Kukanich was clear that the nomination of the Bishopric was now imminent. In Bogović, Mile, "Crkvena povijest Rijeke od 1889. -1924.", in *Bernardin Nikola Škrivanić i njegovo vrijeme*, Matica Hrvatska, Rijeka, 1997, p. 38.

¹⁴²⁶ Nominato da Papa Benedetto XV nel 1922 come primo Delegato Apostolico in Cina, nel 1924 promosse il primo "Concilium Sinese" (Concilio Plenario di Cina). Grazie alla sua opera vennero consacrati da Papa Pio XI nella Basilica di San Pietro in Vaticano i primi 6 vescovi cinesi (28 ottobre 1926) compiendo così il passo essenziale verso il coronamento dell'opera missionaria in Cina. In quegli stessi anni fondò la prima congregazione religiosa cinese "Congregatio Discipulorum Domini" (CDD) o Congregazione dei Discepoli del Signore, oggi diffusa in diverse parti dell'Asia. Tornato in Italia fu Segretario, dal 1935 al 1953, della Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli (allora chiamata Sacra Congregatio De Propaganda Fide o brevemente "Propaganda Fide") e rettore del Pontificio Ateneo Urbano, ed al fine cardinale titolare di Gerepoli. Papa Pio XII lo elevò al rango di cardinale nel concistoro del 12 gennaio 1953.

¹⁴²⁷ In Bogović, Mile, "Crkvena povijest Rijeke od 1889. -1924.", in *Bernardin Nikola Škrivanić i njegovo vrijeme*, Matica Hrvatska, Rijeka, 1997, p. 40. Interestingly, in Fiume, developed a support committee for Kukanich, Comitato per la difesa cattolica, that that Kukanich was the last defence bulwark against the fascists and that by his removal in Fiume a great danger to pass to the schism was now left open quoting even that on 25 march 1924 a meeting of orthodox Catholics was attended by some 2000 people. Member and one of its initiators was the autonomist Antonio Luksich.

nominated dictator threatened with their immediate fucilation if the strike was not revoked. The Camera del Lavoro proclaimed its cessation of the strike, but the strike continued *motu proprio*, forcing the “Exceptional Government” with Gigante “Dictator” to resign as asked by the Italian plenipotentiary Caccia Dominioni and the entry of the Alpine troops in Fiume.¹⁴²⁸ It will be the *Cooperativa dei Lavoratori del Porto* of Stalzer the main organised force of the opposition to the “dictator Gigante”.

This was the single most important action done by the leftist organisations in Fiume, and it had clear autonomist underpinnings: what was contested was not only the fascist organisation of the putsch, but its annexationist character. It had to be the last one since their action were quite made difficult after the closing of the Camera del Lavoro by the Italian carabinieri.

The Fiuman communists soon had a new competitor on the left, and by that an annexationist one. The Communist Party of Fiume (Partito Comunista di Fiume - Sezione della III.a Internazionale) was instituted on November 1921, after the proclamation of the Rapallo Treaty, the Communist Party of Fiume was the smallest Communist Party in the world. It was founded following the principles of the third international, according to which each sovereign state had to have its own Communist Party organization. The history and development of the Communist Party of Fiume is an important test bed for the history of the Free State of Fiume. We shall focus especially in the nationalist stances their reactions and the relationship of the Communist Party of Fiume with the Free State of Fiume of Rapallo.

The party issued several articles on the *Lavoratore* from Trieste and "Lo Stato operaio" from Milan, not a single one being published in the Yugoslav communist press, since the organization turned to Italy for its inspiration and guidelines. In Fiume, its main concern was the neutralisation of the local Communist Party, founded (almost single-handedly) by Albino Stalzer in 1919.

Nevertheless, the relative stabilisation after the insediation of the extraordinary commissioners for Fiume that had to enable the conditions of normalisation and the inauguration of the Government Zanella in October 1921, soon afterwards in November a socialist congress of Fiume was held where as it happened in Italy the Communist Party was formed. The Party originated from a split within the Socialist Party in Fiume. Confused birth on coda of the secession in Livorno on 13th November 1921.¹⁴²⁹

After 1918 the Socialist Party of Fiume becomes Partito socialista internazionale di Fiume, but the Sedi Riunite preserved their name until the Dannunzian occupation in 1920; then “after the initiative of the socialist legionary Antonino Priolo¹⁴³⁰ a Camera del Lavoro was funded. A Fiume there was also another Camera del Lavoro, these of the nationalists headed by Malusardi and Alceste de Ambris, named Camera sindacale del Lavoro.¹⁴³¹ The first document is an invitation to participate at the V congress of the Socialist youth in Fiume 11 November 1921.¹⁴³² On the same day, on the 11th November, the Socialist Party of Fiume entered officially the Communist International.¹⁴³³ the founding report was published the *Lavoratore* from Trieste. (13 November

¹⁴²⁸ Luksich-Jamini A. “Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV-XVI, gennaio 1969-dicembre 1970, pp. 64-65.

¹⁴²⁹ Luksich-Jamini A. “Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV-XVI, gennaio 1969-dicembre 1970, p. 54.

¹⁴³⁰ Later, Antonino Priolo was socialist deputy, after the liberation prefect of Catanzaro, socialist member of the national Consulta, socialist deputy of the constituent assembly, and finally undersecretary of state.

¹⁴³¹ Luksich-Jamini A. “Notizie sui partiti, circoli e organizzazioni sindacali marxisti di Fiume 1900-45”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XV-XVI, gennaio 1969-dicembre 1970, p. 56.

¹⁴³² DARi-fondo Questura fiumana Q A/8, Dossier Manich Santo.

¹⁴³³ The Comintern was thus founded in these conditions in March 1919 by the Russian Bolsheviks, whom adopted the name "Communists". Lenin then sent his Twenty-one Conditions (which included democratic centralism) to all socialist parties, which were then split on the basis of the adhesion or not to the new International. The French SFIO ("French Section of the Workers International") thus broke away with the 1920 Tours Congress, leading to the creation of the new French Communist Party (called "French Section of the Communist International" - SFIC); the Communist Party of Spain was created in 1920, the Italian Communist Party was created in 1921, the Belgian Communist Party in September 1921, etc; from: Wikipedia® page was last modified 13:49, 9 December 2006.

1921) The “old socialist party of Fiume” had to discuss the “Twenty-one points of Moscow”, that were not discussed in the previous congress since when it was held (22 august 1921), since in Fiume reigned a “regime of terror”, when its “best comrades” were expelled etc. Causa il regime terroristico che imperversava a Fiume, per cui i migliori compagni erano stati espulsi o erano costretti a vivere nascosti.¹⁴³⁴

At the meeting the reintegration of the old members (such as Arpad Simon, Hungarian who escaped in Fiume after the failure of the Hungarian Republic of Councils of Bela Kun.) was decided and the leadership of Lenin proclaimed honorary president of the party, in the name of the international youth communists spoke the Italian delegate Secondino Tranquilli.¹⁴³⁵

The meeting shows the division in two fractions: the Communists and the Unitarians. The unitarians adopted the Lenin's 21 points but stated the will to preserve the old name of socialist party, and omitted the intention to eliminate the reformers and the centrists. Moreover, the “special conditions” of the city are recognised (“si insiste sulle solite condizioni speciali di Fiume”), moreover, in Fiume the Russian way could not be applied (a Fiume non si può seguire il metodo russo).¹⁴³⁶ The communists, “represented by three workers” and “an old and estimated intellectual”, “refuted successfully all the arguments of the Unitarians”.

After the elections where the communist faction prevailed, a “mozione della frazione comunista” was voted: adhesion to the third communist international, adopts the new name of Partito Comunista di Fiume, (sezione della III internazionale Comunista). adopts in terms of discipline and organization the tactics from the II congress of the Communist international, subordination to the international directional centres, adhesion to the labour chamber and *Sedi Riunite*, at the international Red International of Labour Unions. (Internazionale dei sindacati rossi).¹⁴³⁷ The party intended to participate in the elections but only with keeping the “revolutionary purpose well in mind” with the goal of the overthrow of the “bourgeois democracy”. (p.24) afterwards the president Simon declared that the Socialist Party ceased to exist and in its place the Communist Party of the Free State of Fiume was constituted: Il Partito Comunista dello Stato libero di Fiume. The socialists unitarians had their proposal.¹⁴³⁸ their were put on a defensive: although it accepted the 21 points, given the “incommensurable difficulties” of organizing a proletarian party in a bilingual

¹⁴³⁴ The Twenty-one Conditions refer to the conditions given by Lenin to the adhesion of the socialists to the Third International (Comintern) created in 1919 after the 1917 October Revolution. Little was demanded in terms of ideology or strategy; the primary concerns were organizational. From: Wikipedia® This page was last modified 19:38, 21 August 2006.

¹⁴³⁵ Secondino Tranquilli, later known as Ignazio Silone, his involvement starts after FIRST WORLD WAR. in the years 1919 - 1921 Tranquilli is secretary of the Unione socialista romana, editor of the «Avanti!» and director of the L'Avanguardia», the socialist youth weekly magazine. In 1921 participates at the founding session of the Partito Comunista Italiano as representative of the Gioventù Socialista. Probably in mid 1922 he moves to Trieste as editor of the daily «Il Lavoratore». The involvement ceased in 1923, probably caused by the great difficulties where the paper entered after the fascist persecutions and the sequestration of the paper by hand of the police. At the beginnings of 1923, Silone expatriated clandestinely reaching Berlin and then Spain. In Mario Canali, “Ignazio Silone, ovvero la doppia identità”, in *L'Informatore: Silone, i comunisti e la polizia*.

¹⁴³⁶ In Mihael Sobolevski, Luciano Giuricin, *Il Partito Comunista di Fiume, (1921-1924): Documenti-Grada*, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, Fiume: Centar za historiju radničkog pokreta i NOR-a Istre, 1982, p. 20-21.

¹⁴³⁷ The Red International of Labour Unions, widely known by its Russian abbreviation Profintern, was an international body established with the aim of co-ordinating Communist activities within trade unions. It was intended to act as a counterweight to the influence of the 'Amsterdam International', the Social Democratic International Federation of Trade Unions (branded as the 'Yellow International' by the Comintern). Its formation was proposed by Grigory Zinoviev at the Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) in March 1920, but the founding conference, attended by national delegations from a large number of countries, did not take place until July 1921. The full-time secretariat of RILU consisted of the Spaniard, Andreas Nin, the Russian trade unionist Mikhail Tomsy and General Secretary Alexandr Lozovsky. In addition to its Moscow headquarters, RILU established four overseas offices in Berlin (Central European Bureau), Paris, (Latin Bureau), Bulgaria (Balkan Bureau) and the United Kingdom (British Bureau). In Britain, the Bureau worked closely with the National Minority Movement.

¹⁴³⁸ The document is in DARi-fondo questura fiumana Q A/8, dossier Stanflin Pietro, now In Mihael Sobolevski, Luciano Giuricin, *Il Partito Comunista di Fiume, (1921-1924): Documenti-Grada*, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, Fiume: Centar za historiju radničkog pokreta i NOR-a Istre, 1982, pp. 30-32.

environment, the name Socialist Party had to be retained (per obbligo e superiore imposizione di natura e struttura logistica) still they promised not to infringe the unity of the United Proletarian Front.

But the crucial question that interests us here is what was the position of the communists in relation to the Free State and with the Yugoslav and the Italian communist parties. According to the *Vedetta d'Italia*, there was no accident that Maylender appointed Arpad Simon.¹⁴³⁹ It is logical comments the article that Arpad Simon came to Fiume thanks to the concession of the revocation of all the expulsions in Hungary he was a (Hungarian) nationalist pretending to be an internationalist.¹⁴⁴⁰ The communists were therefore in Fiume primarily anti-Italians but at home they were consistently Croatian or Hungarian nationalists. According to the *Vedetta d'Italia*, the Communist Party in Fiume given the status of Free State could become a convenient location for propaganda, and this is its sole function since the local workers and proletarians were not interested in it. The article coincided with the consideration that the new directives would have been interesting, not for the effects it was about to have in Fiume, but to disclose the secret goals that came from its backstage.¹⁴⁴¹

On the 22nd November the communists came out with a program, the party after the III congress of the socialist party and at the meeting from the 20th changed its name in communist party since it repudiates the methods of the socialist reformers. The proclamation stated that the congress after a careful reading and discussion that took into consideration the local and the international political situation deliberated to take and following all the demands and requirements from the principles of the II and the III Communist International. Adoption of the organizational practices, etc. As bases for action the Communist Party of the Free State of Fiume adopted the following:

On the 28th November the Executive County of the Italian Communist Party sent a salute letter to the Partito comunista di Fiume. Again, the relationship is always with the PCI, the Yugoslav party is never mentioned. Nevertheless, for the Communist Party of the Free State of Fiume the biggest enemy was Albino Stalzer. The funeral of Cesare Seassaro¹⁴⁴², was the only mass meeting ever organised by the Communist Party of the Free State of Fiume, where several speakers participated.¹⁴⁴³

Albino Stalzer on the occasion launched a vehement anathema against Cesare Seassaro, who “essere andato a cercare dei comunisti dove non c’erano che degli opportunisti e banderuole al vento pur sapendo che fino al 1919 esisteva a Fiume un partito comunista operante per la rivoluzione e per la III Internazionale”. On the 23rd November comrade Stalzer was expelled from

¹⁴³⁹ Era però da attendersi la professione di fede del dott. Maylender, quando si pensi che il partito comunista ha per esponente a Fiume, il ben noto suo correligionario Arpad Simon (he also was a Jew), ritornato alle dolci sponde del Quarnaro per divulgare il verbo moscovita, già ritenuto un'utopia nei discorsi privati. In Mihael Sobolevski, Luciano Giuricin, *Il Partito Comunista di Fiume, (1921-1924): Documenti-Grada*, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, Fiume: Centar za historiju radničkog pokreta i NOR-a Istre, 1982, p. 44.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Abbiamo assistito ad altre conversioni simili e abbiamo notato che, specialmente tra noi come nella Venezia Giulia, il comunismo non sia, per moltissimi, che una bandiera comoda per contrabbandare il proprio nazionalismo, cioè il proprio odio antiitaliano. In Mihael Sobolevski, Luciano Giuricin, *Il Partito Comunista di Fiume, (1921-1924): Documenti-Grada*, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, Fiume: Centar za historiju radničkog pokreta i NOR-a Istre, 1982, p. 44.

¹⁴⁴¹ La *Vedetta d'Italia*, Fiume, n. 270, 18 XI 1921.

¹⁴⁴² Cesare Seassaro was an early Italian communist, author in 1918 of *Cooperazione e municipalizzazione. La personalità giuridica dell'azienda municipalizzata*. Seassaro came in Fiume to give “organisational support” from the Italian Communist Party since he was the director of the “Il Lavoratore” di Trieste. He died in Fiume of gas intoxication while on sleep, on the 15th November 1921.

¹⁴⁴³ The *Vedetta d'Italia*, Fiume, n. ? prima che la salma fosse tumulata, oratori e rappresentanti di vari partiti e organizzazioni – tra i quali Vidali per i comunisti d'Italia, Pastore per quelli di Trieste, Stalzer per i Lavoratori del Porto di Fiume e Quarantotto per le Sedi Riunite – pronunciarono discorsi improntati ad una profonda mestizia per la fine immatura del compagni di lotta ...

the party. The text of the *communiqué* was titled “Diffida al compagno Albino Stalzer” portrayed him as a betrayer of the worst sort.¹⁴⁴⁴

On the 7th December “Il Lavoratore” reports of the reconstitution of the Socialist Party in Fiume, the party also condemns Albino Stalzer, and two options both accepted the 21 points but the second had a reserve on the point 17 on the name asking the preservation of the name socialist.

“Il Lavoratore” from the 10th of December 1921, in the article “Siamo italianissimi o croatissimi?” replies on the Vedetta d'Italia, and on the national affiliation of the Partito comunista di Fiume. The party defends from the accuses of the Vedetta d'Italia that they are Yugoslavs or croatazzi, with the claim that the well minded (benpensanti) Italian workers abandoned the Sedi Riunite to join the Camera del Lavoro Italiana, but now it is the Riječki Glasnik printed in Zagreb that accuses the Partito comunista di Fiume that the Partito comunista di Fiume is the convey of the *italianissimi* at the Sedi Riunite the only language is the Italian, claiming that 1200 Croatian workers had migrated to Sušak, this claim is refuted by the Partito comunista di Fiume saying that there were all still in Fiume

Therefore, the desire of the Riječki Glasnik for the workers to join the Jugoslavenska Stranka is doomed to fail since the workers knew very well their interests.¹⁴⁴⁵ As the official paper “Il Lavoratore” from Trieste was chosen.¹⁴⁴⁶ Than the party proclaims its intention to strengthen the actions of communist propaganda by the new central county, especially in the suburbs and the peripheral regions of the Free State of Fiume.¹⁴⁴⁷ In a letter fort the PCI to the Federazione gioventù comunista di Fiume it is transparent that the Partito comunista di Fiume is considered by the PCI as a *trait de union* with the Yugoslavs.¹⁴⁴⁸ Ella Seidenfeld was the *liaison* of the Partito comunista di Fiume with the PCI and her sister Serena married Ignazio Silone.¹⁴⁴⁹

“Il Lavoratore” from Trieste 25 December 1921 wrote that the “Il Lavoratore” from Fiume was about to be published twice per month again (it was the socialist paper from 1909 to 1913).

¹⁴⁴⁴ Un volgare profanatore di tombe, approfittando dei funerali del nostro compagno Seassaro ha pronunciato un discorso funebre sulla bara del defunto a nome di un partito – assertivamente (sic) vecchio e comunista. Questo tizio nel suo sproloquio, sfogando tutta la bile che gli rode l’anima malvagia, ingiuriò non solo i compagni del defunto ama anche la memoria del morto ... il Comitato Esecutivo del Partito Comunista di Fiume comunica che l’unica Sezione dell’Internazionale comunista esistente è il Partito Comunista di Fiume sorto dal partito internazionale di Fiume, cambiandone il nome in seguito all’accettazione delle tesi di Mosca e del programma comunista (...) tutti gli organi comunisti sono pregati a riprodurre questa diffida. Giuricin etc.

¹⁴⁴⁵ E se i nostri compagni jugoslavi seguono anche i consigli di qualche slavo, questi è certamente ed esclusivamente il nostro grande compagno Lenin.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Dopo aver discusso ed accettato il testo dello statuto si svolse una serena discussione sulla stampa del partito, deliberando con grande entusiasmo ed a unanimità che “Il Lavoratore” di Trieste venga considerato quale organo de Partito Comunista di Fiume e tutti gli iscritti al partito ed alla federazione giovanile comunista siano tenuti ad abbonarsi.) In Mihael Sobolevski, Luciano Giuricin, *Il Partito Comunista di Fiume, (1921-1924): Documenti-Grada*, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, Fiume: Centar za historiju radničkog pokreta i NOR-a Istre, 1982, p.96.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Si diede incarico al neoelegendo C.C. Di intensificare al propaganda comunista specialmente nella periferia della città costituendo le sezioni del partito nei sottocomuni e nel territorio annesso allo Stato di Fiume; In Mihael Sobolevski, Luciano Giuricin, *Il Partito Comunista di Fiume, (1921-1924): Documenti-Grada*, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, Fiume: Centar za historiju radničkog pokreta i NOR-a Istre, 1982, p.96.

¹⁴⁴⁸ The original is at the istituto Gramsci. Voi preparerete quella unità spirituale fra i lavoratori giovani italiani e jugoslavi che deve rinsaldare le forze proletarie di fiume le quali formano un ponte di passaggio per il giorno in cui i lavoratori italiani potranno finalmente stendere la mano ai compagni slavi, nella vera redenzione auspicata dai due proletariati oggi schiavi delle politiche imperialistiche di Belgrado e di Roma. Now In Mihael Sobolevski, Luciano Giuricin, *Il Partito Comunista di Fiume, (1921-1924): Documenti-Grada*, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, Fiume: Centar za historiju radničkog pokreta i NOR-a Istre, 1982, p.102.

¹⁴⁴⁹ When on mission to Fiume on the 14th November, Tranquilli met Gabriella Seidenfeld, young fiuman of Hungarian-Jewish origins who then became his partner. Thanks to Gabriella Seidenfeld and her sisters, Silone entered in contact with the Fiuman communist organisation that boosted many international contacts and was close to Italian subversive groups as well. In Sara Galli, *Le tre sorelle Seidenfeld. Donne nell’emigrazione politica antifascista*, Firenze, Giunti, 2005.

The Partito comunista di Fiume showed some activity in 1922 in January it announced publicly its birth by a public announcement. At the beginnings of 1922 the statute of the Partito comunista di Fiume was published (*Mozione comunista e Statuto del Partito comunista di Fiume*)¹⁴⁵⁰.

After the fascist putsch that struck down the government Zanella, the secretary of the Triestine section of the Italian Communist Party, Cavaciocchi arrived immediately in Fiume, where in an interview to the *Vedetta d'Italia* he implicitly solidarised with the fascist action against the “bourgeois” Zanella.¹⁴⁵¹

Again; it was Stalzer who protested for the fascist violence, denounced in a paper titled “L’Ultima ora”, and later with a manifesto and some clandestine leaflets where he denounced the curious solidarity between the fascists and the local communists. That was his last action, afterwards he fled to the exile in Portorè where he was with Zanella turned to an isolated private life on the edge of misery and oblivion.

In September 1922, in a second public announcement, the Partito comunista di Fiume condemned publicly the “Primo Partito comunista di Fiume” led by Albino Stalzer, with the charge that the party was close to the “bourgeois autonomist party” (*solidale col partito autonomo (borghese) di Zanella*) and for his evacuation with Zanella in Portorè.

On the 10th October 1922 the delegates of the Partito comunista di Fiume were nominated for the IV congress of the third international and the II congress of the Red International of Labour Unions. The secretary of the C.C. of the Partito comunista di Fiume the Hungarian Jew, Arpad Simon, was elected who proposed Stefan Popper (again a Hungarian Jew) as representative of the Partito comunista di Fiume at the conference. If he was to refuse, the Italian communist party delegation at the conference had the full mandate of the Partito comunista di Fiume.¹⁴⁵²

Progressively, as the fascists concentrated power in the city, the activities of the Partito comunista di Fiume became increasingly difficult. The press releases and reports of the party during the 1923 are defensive acts written after some of the members of the Partito comunista di Fiume or simple sympathizers (to which the propaganda office urged to point their extraneous) after attacks or arrests.¹⁴⁵³ The last ones were published in the Milanese paper “*Lo Stato Operaio*”, after the devastation of the redaction of the *Lavoratore*. With the *communiqué* of the executive county (in 1 XI 1923 the Milanese paper became (as it was for Italy) the official press organ for the Partito comunista di Fiume).¹⁴⁵⁴

¹⁴⁵⁰ In the art 1 (Preamble) the party proclaimed the full adhesion to the revolutionary stances and principles of the II International. The party was organized in sections along city districts. Each section elects an executive committee, that nominates the various commissions (evaluation of candidatures, communist youth etc.) the central committee has 15 members who nominates the executive committee of 5 members assumes the direction of the communist organ propaganda. The congress is the sovereign manifestation of the Party. The art 54 gave the possibility to the members of the Socialist Party to enter the Communist Party of the Free State of Fiume within one month.

¹⁴⁵¹ Cavaciocchi declared that on 3rd of March the city was liberated from the “tyrant” (referring to Zanella). In Luksich-Jamini A., “Storie di una questione nazionale e della Resistenza al confine orientale d’Italia”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Anno XVII, gennaio-dicembre 1971, p. 105.

¹⁴⁵² In Mihael Sobolevski, Luciano Giuricin, *Il Partito Comunista di Fiume, (1921-1924): Documenti-Grada*, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, Fiume: Centar za historiju radničkog pokreta i NOR-a Istre, 1982, pp. 150-152. The pseudonym of the press office was always signed with “*schiaivo ardito*”. The ironic reference with the D’Annunzian *arditi* was obvious to which the ethnic and class overtone *schiaivo* (that in the eastern Adriatic designated the Slavs by Venetians) was added.

¹⁴⁵³ In Mihael Sobolevski, Luciano Giuricin, *Il Partito Comunista di Fiume, (1921-1924): Documenti-Grada*, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, Fiume: Centar za historiju radničkog pokreta i NOR-a Istre, 1982, pp. 176-178.

¹⁴⁵⁴ In Mihael Sobolevski, Luciano Giuricin, *Il Partito Comunista di Fiume, (1921-1924): Documenti-Grada*, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, Fiume: Centar za historiju radničkog pokreta i NOR-a Istre, 1982, pp. 182-184.

ANNEXATIONISTS ON POWER: ATTILIO DEPOLI

The Constituent Assembly was convened with only two members of the autonomist majority, since despite the “conciliatory proposals” made by exponents of the annexationist minority, they refused to participate., and by the 22nd it appeared absurd to constitute a government with the sole minority. The commander of the carabinieri Cabrana then conferred all the powers to the (15 out of 76) members of the Constituent Assembly who were present at the moment in Fiume.¹⁴⁵⁵

At the gathering the second vice president of the Constituent Assembly Attilio Depoli was nominated as new head of government.¹⁴⁵⁶ After his instalment, the Constituent Assembly in Fiume could also formally be dissolved.

Attilio Depoli, the second (and last) President of the Free State of Fiume, certainly, was the right person at the right moment from the annexationist point of view. Depoli, himself a historian, wrote extensively afterwards, claiming that he tried to make viable the life of the microstate but reputedly, “economic considerations” (that he ascribed solely to the Yugoslav boycott of trade and communications) that ultimately “made annexation unavoidable”.

From all the evidence that was available at the time it was clear also to the contemporaries that many of the problems of the fiuman economy had been created by the Italian occupation force since their very arrival. During the whole period 1918-1924 only those industries that received Italian support (always given according to political interests of the occupation forces) were let to survive in Fiume. The others were doomed, and even a strong deal such it was that with the Standard Oil signed by Zanella was immediately blocked by Italian diplomatic authorities in Fiume (Castelli) and then from the “highest level” from Rome. Depoli knew very well the details of the deal with the American oil conglomerate, since the deal was publicly announced, and public were also the accusations to the Italian government later written by Zanella. The confiscation of the Fiuman infrastructures enacted by Amantea with decree n published in the ... obviously were an act of public domain. It appears therefore that Depoli is not sincere when he denied the economic perspectives of the Fiuman Free State. This is even more true when compared to economic stagnation of the city during the whole period of Italian sovereignty, certainly the worst in two centuries. The evidence suggests that throughout his intellectual and political career Depoli remained a convinced annexationist.¹⁴⁵⁷

Zanella reconstituted the Constituent Assembly in Portorè, where it had its first official gathering on March the 25th 1922 there were 56 out of 76 deputies. On the same day the Yugoslav police arrested on the border the members of a squad who planned a large scale terrorist attack against the Constituent Assembly. After some unsuccessful attempts to contact the Italian authorities (all stranded by Castelli) Zanella started a large scale campaign of information of the situation in Fiume sending an appeal on the 30th of March to the League of Nations and a series of telegrams to the Yugoslav Government. These new actions made even more conviction in Italy (by the Consulta)

¹⁴⁵⁵ The 15 members were: Antonio Grossich, Salvatore Bellasich, Attilio Depoli, Gino Sirola, Luigi Miskulin, Giuseppe Lasinio, Giovanni Host-Venturi, Andrea Ossoinack, Luigi Maria Torcoletti, Clemente Marassi, Edoardo Susmel, Ariosto Mini, Antonio Vio, Giovanni Rubinich, Albino Wurzer. In Depoli, p. 123.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Depoli mimizes the event: “in realtà si decise soltanto che l’Assemblea avrebbe accettato la rinuncia da parte del Consiglio Militare, dichiarando di esser disposta ad esercitare i poteri statali per mezzo della propria Presidenza, in attesa di poter passare all’elezione di un Capo regolare dello Stato, con la conseguente costituzione di un Governo normale, restando inteso che, essendo volontariamente assenti gli altri membri della Presidenza, questa sarebbe stata rappresentata da me che, a suo tempo, su designazione e rappresentanza dell’opposizione, ero stato eletto vicepresidente”. In Depoli, Attilio. “Incontri con Facta e Mussolini”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1956, p. 123.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Depoli stick to Rapallo, at least initially, only because he had to. The disbandment of Rapallo came probably as a consequence of the Yugoslav incorporation of Porto Baross (Italian troops left the eastern shore of the river Recina and Susak only in 1923) and by the different signals Italy started to give when Mussolini took power, ignited finally by the crisis of Corfu.

that Zanella was in effect the betrayer of Fiume, working against Italy, and possibly a Yugoslav agent.¹⁴⁵⁸

On the evening of the 5th April Depoli convoked the remnants of the Constituent Assembly.¹⁴⁵⁹ Given the most impellent economic necessities of the State, the mandate of Depoli was limited to ask the Italian government the financial aid.¹⁴⁶⁰

In a lengthy letter Depoli sent to the Italian ministry of foreign affairs, Schantzer, he drafts a complete analysis of the situation in Fiume, and its future prospects. The document discovered at the Italian Foreign Office Archives by Danilo Massagrande¹⁴⁶¹, can be considered as a complete expression of Depoli's views of the Free State, its present situation, problems and future perspectives and most importantly how to ensure *de facto* if not *de jure* its annexation to Italy.¹⁴⁶² In effect we might argue that the whole action of Depoli as head of the government is traceable along the guidelines of this single program document.

According to Depoli, economically, the State created by Rapallo was left without defined resources, and it was economically passive and dependent upon external (that is Italian) help.¹⁴⁶³ Politically, there was a permanent impossibility to found a local government given the polarisation produced by the "civic passion" (*passioni cittadine*). By showing a blatant indifference towards the electoral result and the degree of support the local annexationists had from Italy, for Depoli, the victory of one or another party always lacked the necessary prestige and authority to be effective. Moreover, the Autonomist Party with its intransigent stance, made impossible any reconciliation. The city bureaucrats were boycotting extensively his government, as Depoli seems to admit, and only if the administration would have been liberated by the "constant concern of the continuous and imminent elections", it will be able to devote itself to the "interests of the collectivity".¹⁴⁶⁴ To conclude, for Depoli the city also in the interest of its hinterland (meaning Yugoslavia, since the letter was addressed to the foreign minister who had to provide answers to the Yugoslavs) needed a stable

¹⁴⁵⁸ Afterwards when the Yugoslav government will subsidise the constituent assembly in Portorè, although officially for humanitarian reasons (at its peak, according to Zanella, more than 4000 fiumani sought rescue in Yugoslav territory. This support will never be tolerated by Italy, and be cause of "severo imbarazzo". It seems, therefore, that any departure from the annexation of Fiume or a puppet state will be denied from the beginning. This is confirmed also by Depoli when he mentions a speech of Castelli where he claimed: "Il ministro d'Italia comm. Castelli ci fece sapere che il governo aveva dichiarato che non avrebbe in nessun caso riconosciuto, e tanto meno appoggiato, un governo che sarebbe stato eletto dall'Assemblea Costituente, monca o completa che fosse, e che questa non doveva più essere riconvocata". Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982, p. 86.

¹⁴⁵⁹ To confer legitimacy to the Constituent Assembly a public invitation to rejoin was made to the exiled autonomist members. The Zanella secretary Lengyel, had a speech with Manzoni, and convinced him to do something emergently for Fiume with the argument (that was also of Zanella) that with the economic ruin any residual feeling of italianità in the city was about to disappear, if not treated promptly. Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982, p. 86

¹⁴⁶⁰ The text: il vicepresidente Depoli viene incaricato di esercitare, in nome dell'Assemblea, il potere amministrativo e politico e di rivolgersi, quale rappresentante dello Stato fiumano, al governo italiano per chiedere i mezzi finanziari per far fronte al più urgente bisogno. in Depoli, Attilio. "Incontri con Facta e Mussolini", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1956, p. 125.

¹⁴⁶¹ In Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982. doc. n. 17, pp. 199-200.

¹⁴⁶² A real manifesto anti Zanella!

¹⁴⁶³ Depoli wrote: "Né il trattato però, né successive convenzioni hanno fissato i mezzi e le risorse di esistenza di questo stato. L'esperienza degli ultimi anni ha dimostrato invece l'impossibilità che Fiume possa vivere senza appoggi materiali esterni". Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982., p. 199. The deficit for April, presented by Depoli to Castelli was of 1150000 lire, excuding the port and the rails already nationalised by Italy. in Depoli, Attilio. "Incontri con Facta e Mussolini", *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1956, p. 125.

¹⁴⁶⁴ ... gl'impiegati pubblici che vedendo nei loro capi soltanto gli esponenti di un partito si sentono di diritto di ricorrere alla resistenza passiva e al sabotaggio, sicuri di ottenerne il premio appena le vicende politiche avranno portato al potere l'opposizione. Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982., p. 199.

government “extraneous to the partisan conflicts”, that had to be “generously subsidized” by Italy, in other words, it had to be an Italian puppet government.¹⁴⁶⁵

Rapallo had to be overcome, since the only solution was annexation to Italy, but if this was not possible to be achieved in short time, at least Italy had to cut an agreement with Yugoslavia, such that enabled the representation of some (subsidised) economic activity. Moreover, the minority of the Constituent Assembly retains that the Italian government should have taken control over the city in exchange to some economic compensations.¹⁴⁶⁶

The Yugoslav position towards the Free State changed from mild or generic support to a complete indifference. On October the 23rd 1922 at Santa Margherita an agreement of the SCS and Italy was signed. This joint Italo-Yugoslav Commission (named Commissione Paritetica) had to settle the demarcation of borders, the port issues between the Free State and Yugoslavia whom was granted the whole eastern suburbs (the future City of Sušak) the Porto Baross, etc.

The delegates at Santa Margherita (started already in April with the first conclusions leaking already in May 1922) deliberated that since the borders of the Free State of Fiume were still not settled, both governments agreed to consider the Free State of Fiume as “not yet organised and existing”. Therefore, all the governments that could have emanated from the Constituent Assembly were declared void of any constitutional powers. In this way the legitimacy of the Constituent Assembly, elected by the Fiumani, was eliminated with joint act by the Italian and Yugoslav governments.

In the meanwhile, Depoli’s powers were progressively extended in Fiume, and that was also confirmed by the government in Rome where he met Prime Minister Facta. By conferring to him “dictatorial powers” the Constituent Assembly was effectively deprived from its powers, a solution favoured by the Directorate of the Fascist Party and by the King as reported by Castelli.¹⁴⁶⁷ The Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Schantzer, finally conceded a financial subvention of 2 million lira per month, and promised a rapid solution of the problem of the currency conversion in Fiume. Mussolini declared his will to avoid any trouble with the international relations and therefore declared his acceptance of the Treaty of Rapallo. Fiume was therefore left as a Free State, and the internal political situation in Fiume was not to be changed although this implied conflicts with the local fascists. Depoli remarks how in October 1923, in concomitance with the March in Rome, the fascists had several actions in Istria, Trieste, the Vice Prefecture of Volosca was occupied, but (strangely enough) in Fiume nothing happened.

¹⁴⁶⁵ In conclusione, la città ha bisogno di un governo che sia estraneo alle lotte partigiane, che abbia carattere di stabilità, che sia largamente fornito di mezzi dalla generosità d’Italia. Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982., p. 199.

¹⁴⁶⁶ La minoranza dell’Assemblea Costituente ritiene che il R. Governo possa e debba chiedere che ad esso venga provvisoriamente affidata l’amministrazione della città in cambio di concessioni di carattere economico, e ciò fino a tanto che non vengano eliminate tutte le ragioni delle condizioni attuali e non sia possibile la definitiva costituzione di un governo locale che assicuri una vita pacifica e normale alla città. Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982., p. 199. As we shall see, Depoli will be able to realise the same project in a 6 months time, when he had the occasion to present it to Benito Mussolini who, in October 1922, was appointed Prime Minister of Italy. The person nominated to the function will be the Military Governor Gaetano Giardino, who will de facto accomplish also the formal annexation of the city in February 1924.

¹⁴⁶⁷ ... mi vedevo confermate ed ampliate, per un tempo indeterminato, quelle funzioni e quei poteri, che io con viva riluttanza avevo accettato, parzialmente e con carattere transitorio; per giunta, ad evitare ogni riconoscimento dei poteri dell’Assemblea e ad evitare ogni riconoscimento dei poteri dell’Assemblea e ad evitare ogni cambiamento, mi veniva tolta la possibilità di circondarmi di una specie di governo con cui condividere poteri e responsabilità, sicché avrei assunto delle funzioni dittatoriali praticamente illimitate. in Depoli, Attilio. “Incontri con Facta e Mussolini”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1956, pp. 128-129. his position turned from “Vicepresidente dell’Assemblea autorizzato ad esercitare funzioni di governo” to a “Commissario con pieni poteri”. p. 129.

Depoli who officially was the “Provisory Head of the Free State”¹⁴⁶⁸ went to Rome to the new head of government Mussolini and ask for “instructions”, obviously nervous for growing fascist intolerance for the passive stance showed by the Italian government towards the annexation of Fiume. The reconstruction of the event he provided in the 1962 reflects rather the style of an Italian plenipotentiary more than that of a haed of a sovereign state.¹⁴⁶⁹

Mussolini sent to Castelli, on October the 31st clear dispositions to avoid any perturbation of public order to the local fascists, with a clear support to Depoli, seen as a guaranty of local stability.¹⁴⁷⁰

The continuous actions of interdiction to which they were exposed, degraded severely the autonomist capacities to act in Fiume. Zanella continued to send formal protestation telegrams to Mussolini, that were never answered.

The Yugoslav government had now the priority to put on action the last dispositions of the Rapallo Treaty that is the final evacuation of the “Third line” in Dalmatia¹⁴⁷¹ and the borough of Susak, granted to the Yugoslavs and about to become their main port. The Yugoslav government raised no formal objections for Depoli as head of state since he “wasn’t a fascist and was a Fiuman”.

Depoli visited Mussolini once again on the 22nd December 1922 to illustrate a *memorial* where once again the desperate economic situation caused by the Yugoslav boycott urged the Italian government to “assume completely its responsibilities” in the administration in the city-state. To this as a symbolic act the nomination of Antonio Grossich as senator of the Kingdom of Italy as it was already done with several Dalmatian senators.¹⁴⁷²

After the Italian government raised the stakes, the negotiations with Yugoslavia come to a stalemate. In January 1923 in Fiume there was a resurgence of fascist protests and actions also done by the Dalmatians against the acceptance of the Rapallo Treaty.¹⁴⁷³ On the other hand, Mussolini claimed that the treatment of the Fiuman refugees competed to the planned joint Italo-Yugoslav

¹⁴⁶⁸ In June the office of the president of the fsof was offered to Nino Host Venturi, but he refused. In Depoli, Attilio. “Incontri con Facta e Mussolini”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1956, p. 126-7.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Depoli: (...) la dichiarata volontà del fascismo, in Marcia su Roma, di impossessarsi anche con la forza, di tutte le leve del comando, come nella capitale, anche nelle singole province, mi avevano fatto pensare, in quel lontano ottobre, ad un tentativo di occupazione di tutti gli uffici governativi anche a Fiume. Ma con molta meraviglia appresi che i fascisti di Fiume avevano avuto sì l’ordine di conquistare la sottoprefettura di Volosca, ma di evitare ogni moto a Fiume ... costituitosi il governo sotto la presidenza di Mussolini *mi sentii in dovere di chiarire subito la mia posizione* (italics added)... decisi quindi di recarmi immediatamente a Roma per conferire col nuovo capo del governo ... nella seconda settimana di novembre partii, accompagnato da John Stiglich e Iti Bacci, delegati della federazione fascista ... io allora dopo avere esposte le condizioni della città, le *origini* ed i *limiti* dei miei poteri, (italics added)... misi in risalto quanto fosse necessario che al persona preposta allo stato fiumano godesse della più assoluta fiducia del capo del governo italiano .. a questo punto Mussolini mi interruppe per dirmi ... “io desidero che a Fiume non avvenga nessun cambiamento, desidero anche che non ci si facciano delle elezioni e la prego di rimanere al suo posto.” In Depoli Attilio, Incontri con Facta e Mussolini, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1956 pp. 132-135.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982., p. 113.

¹⁴⁷¹ Dalmatia was still occupied by Italian troops when the Treaty was signed, roughly in the areas that were granted to Italy by the London agreement. The evacuation proceeded gradually in three phases. In the first phase, completed in spring 1921, concerned the surroundings of Fiume (with the exception of Sušak up to the delimitation of the eastern fiuman border that is the Porto Baross question) and the island of Veglia (Krk) where evacuated. In the second (June 1921) it was the turn of Dalmatia. The third, comprising the outer Dalmatian islands (Lissa, and others). The evacuation of Sušak settled only at the Santa Margherita, after the come of Mussolini to power, in March 1923.

¹⁴⁷² Antonio Grossich was nominated Senator of the Kingdom of Italy on the 19th April 1923, when the city was still independent.

¹⁴⁷³ Depoli left Fiume to Trieste where he was contacted and convinced by the secretary of the Italian legation Roddolo (described him as “sfiduciato e depresso”) and persuaded him to return in his place. In Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982., p. 117.

“Commissione Paritetica” and that if Zanella continued to be considered as a referee by the Yugoslav government this would have put the whole negotiation process in question.¹⁴⁷⁴

Finally, the convoking of the Italo-Yugoslav “Commissione Paritetica” was agreed and enacted on February the 21st 1923 in Italy and the ratifications were exchanged on the 26th in Rome.¹⁴⁷⁵

On March the 1st the Italo-Yugoslav “Commissione Paritetica” was convoked in Abbazia.¹⁴⁷⁶ The first agreement was the evacuation of Sušak by Italian troops by the 3rd of March. Difficulties arose about the delimitation of the eastern border of the Free State of Fiume especially the Porto Baross.¹⁴⁷⁷ For this area a transitional period was taken, in case of dispute the arbitration of the president of the Helvetic confederation was envisaged. Although the Yugoslavs showed goodwill, nevertheless what doomed the fate of the “Commissione Paritetica” was Italian intransigence motivated with the issue of Porto Baross as well as to the support granted to Zanella by the Yugoslavs where he still printed *la Difesa*.¹⁴⁷⁸

The Fiuman political factions printed several pamphlets to influence the workings of the “Commissione Paritetica”. Zanella produced the *Memoriale alla Commissione Paritetica Italo-Jugoslava in Abbazia*.¹⁴⁷⁹ With this paper Zanella denied legitimacy to the “Commissione Paritetica” being the Constituent Assembly elected on 24th April the sovereign body of Fiume. The Santa Margherita agreement could not therefore comprise the fulfilment of the point e) relating to the asset of the Free State of Fiume. The other autonomist – Gotthardi sent to Quartieri an appeal where he attacked Zanella and asked for Fiume a foreign (preferably British) governor with an attack to the style of government of Zanella and the acting of the exiled Constituent Assembly.¹⁴⁸⁰

¹⁴⁷⁴ The Yugoslav funding of Zanella procured serious embarrassment although, officially, it was exclusively for humanitarian reasons. The Yugoslav government stated clearly that his priority was the normalisation of the relationships with Italy and invited him “not to create embarrassments”. Zanella was therefore losing any substantial support from the Yugoslav government, and was seen only as a potential source of embarrassments. On the other hand, the Yugoslav government, continued to finance the Fiuman government in exile of Zanella in various ways. In Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982., p. 117.

¹⁴⁷⁵ GU, 21st of February, 1923, and Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982., p. 117.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Italian members: Quartieri, president, deputies gen. Ettore Mazucco, and adv. Paolo Mattei-Gentili, secretary - Count Alessandro Casati. Experts nominated on the 25th by Mussolini were Carletti, Rosboch, comm. Brocchi, and comm. Viglione. The Yugoslav members were: Admiral Prica, President (whose removal was asked by Mussolini in person, since imputed of having been in the Austrian military commission who condemned Nazario Sauro, the Yugoslav government accepted and Prica was thereby substituted by the Slovene Ottokar Ribarž). The shipmaker Rasić and professor Šilović, from the University of Zagreb. Notably, there were no members from the State of Fiume, as agreed in ... All the pendant issues had to be decided by bilateral agreements between Italy and Yugoslavia. To this Zanella answered with a *Manifesto* in Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982, p. 118-119 and notes 24-26 on p. 146.

¹⁴⁷⁷ The Italians minimised the importance of the note of Count Sforza, by which Porto Baross was to be handed to the Yugoslavs: “Lo sgombero di Sussak fu dai jugoslavi dichiarato incompleto, perché, secondo l'interpretazione dei delegati S.H.S., l'Italia non aveva adempiuto, insieme, agli obblighi derivanti da quel famoso impegno Sforza, segreto quanto si voglia, ma internazionalmente validissimo. Il che dette inizio alle più estenuanti tergiversazioni”. In Benedetti, Giulio. *La pace di Fiume*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1924, pp. 118-119. the Yugoslavs kept Fiume under a land blockade: “Ebbene, malgrado gli accordi di Santa Margherita e il proclamato proposito di eseguirli in amicizia, la Jugoslavia rifiutava di procedere alla riapertura di quella linea ferroviaria di Zagabria che dall'entrata in fiume delle legioni dannunziane era stata arbitrariamente sospesa, e che tuttavia non toccava affatto il territorio in contestazione”. In Benedetti, Giulio. *La pace di Fiume*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1924, pp. 118-119.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Mussolini threatened with international arbitration, at the end the Yugoslavs with the f o m Ninčić accepted a transitional period for the evacuation. In an interview given in Zagreb on March the 16th Ninčić answered about the absence of any delegate from the fs of with the fact that the State was not really existing.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Anonymous, (Governo di Fiume). *Memoriale alla Commissione Paritetica Italo-Jugoslava in Abbazia*, Jugoslavenski Stamparski zavod d.d., Zagreb, 3 marzo 1923.

¹⁴⁸⁰ According to Massagrande one copy of the document in Raccolte Storiche del Comune di Milano – Arch. Guerra carte Alessandro Casati. In Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982., note 40 p. 146.

The annexationists Ossoinack, Depoli e Baccich produced a paper focused on the infrastructure considerations of the port of Fiume, claiming the necessity to keep Porto Baross.¹⁴⁸¹

The negotiations stopped for a couple of months. But for the Italian government there was no reason of concern: Fiume was a puppet state, with Depoli. It was Yugoslavia who needed a deal in order to gain Porto Baross, and in this way a modern harbour in the northern Adriatic well connected to its railway system. The Free State of Fiume was still a priority for Yugoslav government but not for the original reasons as providing an outlet and an outpost from where to establish international economic connections but mostly for the Croat public opinion.

In effect, the cession of Porto Baross to the Yugoslavs meant automatically the solution of the question of Fiume, according to the spirit of the Paris Peace Conference¹⁴⁸². Namely Fiume was ethnically an Italian city, and its possession was claimed by the Yugoslavs principally on grounds of economic necessity for the new state. Now with the blockade against Fiume, Yugoslavia showed that *de facto* the possession of Fiume was not crucial for their trade and economy. The Free State of Fiume was a good compromise since it granted a degree of control and influence to the Yugoslavs while it had to remain a viable economic entity that could serve principally the commercial needs and interests of the non Italian hinterland. On this position that served so well the autonomist outlook, since its marked resemblance of all the past negotiations of the position of the city done in the history of Fiume, ceased with the cession of Porto Baross.¹⁴⁸³

¹⁴⁸¹ The paper is titled: *Considerazione sui traffici marittimi e ferroviari con speciale riflesso al libero sbocco al mare a al retroterra*. According to Massagrande there are only four copies of the typed document. The project is to “lasciare insoluto il problema del confine orientale entro i limiti di un consorzio portuale” in order to guarantee equal treatment with respect to the interest of the consociate parties. In Massagrande, Danilo L., *Italia e Fiume 1921-1924: dal 'Natale di sangue' all'annessione*, Milano, Cisalpino - Goliardica Istituto Editoriale, 1982., note 41 pp. 146-47.

¹⁴⁸² See the interview of Ossoinack and Wilson in Paris on April 1919, on p.

¹⁴⁸³ La Jugoslavia era riuscita già a Parigi a influenzare l'opinione pubblica internazionale, con la tesi che Fiume ed il suo porto fossero indispensabili ai suoi traffici, e che Fiume annessa all'Italia, equivaleva a bloccare il suo Paese. Con questa argomentazione, la Jugoslavia era riuscita a imporre la creazione dello Stato indipendente ed era, per conseguenza, responsabile di questa creazione. Questa sua responsabilità, però l'obbligava a servirsi del porto di Fiume per i suoi traffici, ma lo spirito del trattato di Rapallo non mirava certamente a staccare da Fiume una parte vitale del suo porto e cioè il Porto Baross col Delta, per poi atrofizzare tutta la vita economica dello Stato indipendente di Fiume, ben creava lo Stato Libero affinché tutto il retroterra. In Benedetti, Giulio. *La pace di Fiume*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1924, pp. 119-120.

THE ANNEXATION

According to the in the Italian interpretation, the Free State of Fiume as it was framed by the Santa Margherita treaty, was still not a recognised subject of international law.¹⁴⁸⁴ Italy had the goal to reduce the possible competition from Sušak that was to become the principal Yugoslav port. On the other hand, Yugoslavia wanted to avoid even the theoretical possibility of an armed crisis with Italy. Rather a current formed favourable to arbitration that still saw in Zanella a tactical solution, especially in the case of international arbitration. Moreover, since the delimitation of borders of the Free State of Fiume were not agreed for the Italians this meant that the state was still not definitely constituted, and therefore, still subject to the tutelage of the contracting states - that is Italy and Yugoslavia.

Two international events unpredictably changed the climate. One was the assassination of Agrarian Party leader Stamboliski in Bulgaria, creator of the Bulgarian Yugoslav rapprochement, on the 9th of June 1923.¹⁴⁸⁵ Yugoslavia had already tense relationships with Austria, Hungary and Italy (FN), now at least according to Zanella in his diary note from the 23rd June that in Yugoslavia rumours circulated that Mussolini openly worked on the possibility of a *colpo di mano* in the Adriatic aimed at Fiume and Dalmatia. The Yugoslav government of Pašić needed urgently a deal with Italy. Nincic declared to the Italian plenipotentiary Negrotto Cambiaso in the first decade of July that for the Yugoslav government the independence of the Free State of Fiume was not necessarily seen as an “immutable principle” and that the question was only to find the necessary compensations in order to calm the Yugoslav public opinion, and to proceed to the necessary modification of the treaty up to then considered immutable.

The Yugoslav government was now composed solely by Serbian ministers, and that certainly made rapprochement with Italy easier. The Yugoslav government was now firmly on Serbian hands with the Croatian and Slovene nationalist champions from the days of the Peace Conference were now definitely emarginated. After all it was a Croatian interest to gain Fiume, that become since the *Nagoda* a constitutive part of the Croatian national mythology. As we have seen, the international context had changed widely and for the worse for the Yugoslavs at this since Wilson left the Peace Conference.

Seeing that the very existence of the Free State of Fiume was doomed, Zanella started a series of frenetic actions to keep contacts with opposition in Belgrade, to revamp the actions of the Constituent Assembly still in Portorè that issued the declaration on the 12th July reaffirming to be the only expression of the will of the fiuman people.

¹⁴⁸⁴ “Tra gli obblighi della Commissione paritetica di Abbazia era posto quello di “organizzare il funzionamento dello Stato di Fiume in base all'art. 4 del trattato di Rapallo”, con che si veniva a precisare che lo Stato di Fiume sarebbe stato un'entità perfetta soltanto dopo che la commissione avrebbe espletato il suo compito di sistemarlo. Fino ad allora lo Stato fiumano – anche secondo le dichiarazioni contenute nella relazione presentata al senato dall'on. Scialoja – non poteva considerarsi definitivamente costituito e sottratto anche alla tutela degli Stati che l'avevano creato. L'accordo di Santa Margherita, insomma, riconosceva che Fiume era ancora sotto tutela e che la sua organizzazione doveva compiersi ancora”. In Benedetti, Giulio. *La pace di Fiume*, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1924, pp. 117-118.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Under the Treaty of Neuilly (November 1919), Bulgaria lost its Aegean coastline to Greece and nearly all of its Macedonian territory to the new state of Yugoslavia, and had to give Dobruja back to the Romanians. Elections in March 1920 gave the Agrarians a large majority, and Stamboliski formed Bulgaria's first genuinely democratic government. Stamboliski faced huge social problems in what was still a poor country inhabited mostly by small peasants. Bulgaria was saddled with huge war reparations to Yugoslavia and Romania, and had to deal with a flood of refugees as Bulgarians were expelled from Yugoslav Macedonia. Nevertheless, Stamboliski as able to carry through many social reforms, although opposition from the Tsar, the landlords and the officers of the much-reduced but still influential army was powerful. Another bitter enemy was the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO), which favoured a war to regain Macedonia for Bulgaria. Faced with this array of enemies, Stambolinski allied himself with the Bulgarian Communist Party and opened relations with the Soviet Union. In March 1923 Stamboliski signed an agreement with Yugoslavia recognising the new border and agreeing to suppress VMRO. This triggered a nationalist reaction, and in June there was a coup in which Stamboliski was assassinated. A right wing government under Alexander Tsankov took power, backed by the Tsar, the army and the VMRO, who waged a White terror against the Agrarians and the Communists.

In the meanwhile, the diplomatic contacts between Italy and Yugoslavia proceeded and on 8th August 1923 in Rome the “Commissione Paritetica” gathered, in Rome where the president Quartieri referred the message from Mussolini where he declared the Italian ultimatum to solve the question of Fiume within the 31st August, in a manner that respected the historical *italianità* of the city, and the interests of its hinterlands. In the contrary the Italian government was about to follow a different line of conduct.

The Italian proposal discussed by the “Commissione Paritetica” gathered, in Rome were all centred on the annexation of Fiume but with the cession of the Porto Baross to the Yugoslavs or in the contrary in the establishment of an joint authority for the management of the port. The Yugoslavs refused, (asked the cession of Zara and Lagosta) and proposed the international arbitration for Fiume.

The second event was the crisis of Corfu.¹⁴⁸⁶ The crisis of Corfu, meant harder times for Italy in case of an international arbitration for Fiume. Mussolini wrote to Pašić (reminding the dangers of the international arbitration for Fiume, for the relationships of the two nations) instead of the international arbitration for Fiume, Italy could go for some concessions of economic and political nature. It was namely manifest to the Italian negotiators that also the Yugoslav delegation wanted only to liquidate “the question of Fiume”. The crisis of Corfu ended favourably for Italy and this gave to Mussolini the conviction he could impair a resolute change in the course of events for “the question of Fiume”. Depoli went on 4th of September 1923 to Mussolini, where he had to opportunity in a tense colloquium to present his view on the solution that was ultimately adopted by Mussolini. According to Depoli time worked for the Yugoslavs who with the boycott strangled the Fiuman economy. Moreover, Italian inaction spread the feeling among the Fiumani of the fundamental incapacity of Italy to solve their problems. Therefore, the solution attempted in Corfu was to be applied to Fiume.¹⁴⁸⁷ Depoli, presented his resignation declaring the necessity for an Italian governor to take the administration of the city, departing from the observation that the “Commissione Paritetica” did not came up with any conclusion. Mussolini thereby nominated the Italian General Giardino as Governor of Fiume, following Depoli’s proposal.¹⁴⁸⁸ The trick worked,¹⁴⁸⁹ paving the way for an Italian military government in Fiume. Depoli met General Giardino together with Castelli and on the train from Rome to Fiume, they illustrated the whole situation in Fiume to the new governor, providing him with the necessary instructions.¹⁴⁹⁰

¹⁴⁸⁶ Corfu Incident, international crisis from August 27 to September 27, 1923, that marked the first assertion of power in foreign affairs by Mussolini precipitated the crisis after he ordered the bombing of the Greek Island of Corfu in retaliation for the murder of General Tellini. Tellini was an Italian member of the Delimitation Commission which was attempting to delimit the boundary between Albania and Greece. Rather than deal with the crisis itself, the League Council opted to allow the Conference of Ambassadors, an organization established by the allies in 1919 to deal with problems arising out of the peace treaties, to settle the dispute. Even though Greek responsibility for the murder was never established and despite the fact that Italy had designs on Greek territory and used Corfu as a mere pretext, the Conference settled the dispute to Mussolini's satisfaction. The way in which the League Council dealt with Corfu, and future problems involving great power confrontation, became its leitmotif. See James Barros, *The Corfu Incident of 1923: Mussolini and the League of Nations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965).

¹⁴⁸⁷ Bisogna assolutamente arrivare ad una annessione di fatto, che garantisca a Fiume tutti i vantaggi delle città italiane ed alla quale la Jugoslavia non avrà da dare che lo spolverino, lieta se in cambio dell’adesione formale riuscirà ad ottenere qualche modesto vantaggio. se il Governo italiano ha avuto il coraggio di nominare un Governatore per Corfù, pur trattandosi di un’occupazione temporanea, può ben nominare un Governatore a Fiume, dove a tutto provvede l’Italia e dove i cittadini invocano l’annessione. In Depoli, Attilio. “Incontri con Facta e Mussolini”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani*, Roma, Anno IV, N.3-4 luglio-dicembre 1956, pp. 137-138.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Initially Mussolini proposed the General Tamajo, while Depoli proposed Michele Castelli. in d. p. 138-139.

¹⁴⁸⁹ The proposal of General Giardino was justified to the English envoy sir Roland Graham, as a necessary measure after Depoli’s resignation forced by the Fiuman extremists to calm the situation, who accepted the explanation.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Passati la sera stessa, nel corso del viaggio, nella carrozza letto che ci portava a Trieste, Castelli ed io fornimmo a Giardino tutte le informazioni necessarie, suggerimmo i primi provvedimenti da prendere e concordammo con lui anche la scelta delle persone che dovevano costituire il suo Consiglio di Governo. In Depoli, p. 145.

The administration of the Italian governor general Giardino paved the way for annexation in all its administrative aspects. Governor Giardino formed his government:

- Interior and public education – Chiopris
- Justice - Stiglich
- Public works, trade industry and communications - ing Bescocca
- Finances - Guido Depoli (brother of Attilio)

The Italian diplomacy now contacted the Yugoslav King Alexander directly who declared his favour for annexation to Italy.¹⁴⁹¹ The arbitration was now excluded a priori since the Swiss Federal Council refused the proposed arbitration. At this point the question was posed by the League of Nations on the 12th of September 1923 to the joint decision of the Italian and Yugoslav government to registration the Treaties of Rapallo and Santa Margherita. Therefore, Zanella tried the last card – the request of admission to the League of Nations, sent on the 24th September 1923. At this point, Zanella became an embarrassment. Nincic at a colloquium with the Italian representative Summonte declared that finally the Yugoslav government did not consider Zanella as an obstacle for reaching a deal regards the annexation of the city to Italy and declared his will to cease stop his activities in Yugoslav territory and the dissolution of the Fiuman guards still in Yugoslav territory.

Also the last action of the *Partito comunista di Fiume* was directed against the annexation of the City to Italy. The document dated 9th November 1923, is de facto the testament of the party.¹⁴⁹² The manifesto had to be signed also by the Italian PCI and by the Yugoslav *Nezavisna radnička partija Jugoslavije*.¹⁴⁹³ The slogan of the proclamation is almost entirely autonomist, with the old slogan of the “diritti aviti” of feudal memory, meaning the necessity for autonomy. Moreover, the integrity of the port was demanded.¹⁴⁹⁴ Distrust in the League of Nations was openly proclaimed, the invoked the action of the proletariat of Italy, Yugoslavia and asked for the protection by Soviet Russia.¹⁴⁹⁵

The answer provided by the Italian PCI had to prove very disappointing for the Partito comunista di Fiume.¹⁴⁹⁶ Neither the Yugoslav Communist Party did nothing to oppose the Treaty, nor it opposed

¹⁴⁹¹ Mussolini sent the General Bodrero, who knew the King Alexander. The King answered that in the case of the cession of the Delta and Porto Baross to Yugoslavia, in change of annexation of the remnant Fiuman territory he would have accepted. M, p. 128.

¹⁴⁹² The document was found at the ACS, Fondo min. interni, by the Italian historian Renzo De Felice, in De Felice Renzo, *Il Partito Comunista di Fiume e il Partito Comunista d'Italia alla vigilia degli accordi italo-jugoslavi di Roma del gennaio 1924*, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XIII, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1967, pp. 85-90)

¹⁴⁹³ The *Nezavisna radnička partija Jugoslavije*, a legal party after the ban on the KPJ, founded on January 1923 in Belgrade – after the ban „Obznana“, on any communist activity proclaimed by the Yugoslav king Alexander on 30th December 1920, up to the proclamation of the new constitution. The Central Committee of the KPJ decided to found a legal workers party for the continuation of the anti capitalist struggle. In January 1923 in Belgrade was held the “Land Conference” (*Zemaljska konferencija*) of the KPJ where the party was initiated. The party had its paper „Radnik“ (The Worker). But the government prohibited also the activity of this party and it ceased to exist in 1924.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Però ancora sempre si contesta ancora sempre si baratta ciò che è il più sacro e il più avito (!) diritto di fiume: il diritto alla sua libertà e alla sua indipendenza incontrastabile. .. l'Italia vuole annettersi la città regalando una parte del suo porto alla Jugoslavia. La Jugoslavia pretende il Porto Baross e il Delta e si oppone all'annessione della città che deve restare libera e indipendente! Il proletariato di Fiume agita ancora una volta le parole d'ordine di questa sua lotta: nessuna annessione della città! Nessuna mutilazione del suo porto! Libertà ed indipendenza per la città compreso tutto il suo sistema portuale! In Mihael Sobolevski, Luciano Giuricin, *Il Partito Comunista di Fiume, (1921-1924): Documenti-Grada*, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, Fiume: Centar za historiju radničkog pokreta i NOR-a Istre, 1982, p.188

¹⁴⁹⁵ Il proletariato internazionale non deve permettere che la classe lavoratrice di Fiume, da cinque anni martire di due imperialismi litiganti, rimanda anche per l'avvenire lo zimbello dell'imperialismo italiano e jugoslavo. In De Felice Renzo, “Il partito comunista di Fiume e il partito comunista d'Italia alla vigilia degli accordi italo-jugoslavi di Roma del gennaio 1924”, *Fiume. Rivista di studi fiumani* Anno XIII, N.1-2 gennaio-giugno 1967, pp. 85-90

¹⁴⁹⁶ Nell'attuale momento internazionale, colla situazione in corso in Germania, lanciare un appello per mobilitare gli operai di tutti i paesi ad un'azione, che non può non essere armata, per liberare Fiume e ridarle l'indipendenza cui agogna, è cosa che non potrebbe avere neppure l'inizio di una esecuzione, e non crediamo che convenga giuocare con le frasi che hanno un preciso significato insurrezionale quando si ha la certezza che non gli corrisponderà nulla di

the annexation of Fiume to Italy. In the meanwhile, the fraction of the autonomist Communists led by Stalzer went to Zanella and was widely opposed by the Partito comunista di Fiume. The Partito Comunista di Fiume is now definitely connected in its actions to the PCI, and the local section in Trieste acts as a main organizational and ideological support (as it is with the Italian annexationists and the fascists). Nevertheless, also reflecting the general mood of the population, in Fiume the Italianate party sided with the Free State of Fiume and autonomism. Remarkably, the Yugoslav Communist Party has no influence whatsoever on its development.

On 10th of October were sent the substantial basis for the agreement from the Italian government, and thereby King Alexander declared his acceptance. The final agreement - the Treaty of Rome was signed on the 27th of January 1924, by Mussolini and Pasic and Nincic.

In the last pages of his diary, dated 27th January 1924, Zanella is surprised of the power of Mussolini to impose a humiliating agreement to the Yugoslavs.¹⁴⁹⁷ What Zanella did not know was that the lobby from Susak (who, after all, was always the only Croatian stronghold in the area) now saw in the fsof a dangerous competitor for the development of their port. Even Croatia could have renounced to the possession of Fiume, once it was granted the most modern port basin of Porto Baross.

The Yugoslav parliament accepted the Treaty of Rome on February 19th and the Italian counsel of ministers on the 21st. Ratifications exchanged on the 22nd in Rome – extraordinary edition of the Gazzetta Ufficiale, with the decree that executes the annexation. The same day the Provincia del Carnaro was instituted, with Fiume as its administrative centre and governed by Giardino, who became also the first prefect.

The Rome agreement was positively saluted in Italy and in Yugoslavia as well as internationally since in this way finally the last pending issue of the Great War post war settlement appeared to be achieved. Moreover, it was planned to further defined and develop the cooperation between the two Adriatic states with the Accordi di Nettuno in 1925. at the time Italy considered to develop further its relations with Yugoslavia, but more and more Yugoslavia turned to France

As his last card Zanella tried to organise the destitution of Pašić, in accordance with the Croatian opposition. It was the last of a series of desperate actions that finally alienated the sympathies from the Serbian executive towards him.¹⁴⁹⁸

On the 24th of February Porto Baross and the Delta were evacuated by Italian troops. The Fiuman Constituent Assembly as the last remnant of the sovereignty of the Free State of Fiume, and last remnant of the history of the *corpus separatum* dissolved, without formalities, on March the 1st 1924 after Zanella sent the last formal protestation for the suppression of the Free State of Fiume.

concreto. Mihael Sobolevski, Luciano Giuricin, Il Partito Comunista di Fiume, (1921-1924): Documenti-Građa, Centro di ricerche storiche Rovigno, Fiume: Centar za historiju radničkog pokreta i NOR-a Istre, 1982, p.194.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Korosec fece al Pasic la domanda: perché firmi tu un accordo che è peggiore di quello di Trumbic, dichiarato accordo traditore degli interessi serbo croato sloveni (the reference is on the Rapallo Treaty widely opposed in Croatia and Slovenia). Pasic ripose: “le circostanze mi obbligano”. Pasic è abbattuto, triste: deve firmare a Roma nella sala della Vittoria! tutto è un’umiliazione. *Da dove* e perché tal forza di Mussolini d’imporre ciò al Pasic? qui il mistero. in Massagrande p. 172.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Massagrande pp. 224-227. from his diary emerges that zanella tried to persuade the (already marginalised) Croatian nationalist leaders Radic, Prpic, Lorkovic as well as with Leginja Korosec and Szabo, for attempting a violent action for taking Fiume.

CONCLUSION

Maria Theresa, with her sovereign decision from October the 2nd 1776, gave up the possession of Fiume, that so far belonged to the Hapsburgs, and give it to the Hungarian kingdom, with a view of fostering its trade. Since Hungary proper was distant some 500 km, according to the act, understandably, the city was annexed to Croatia whose territory began right beyond the city walls.

Although Croatia, as a kingdom, was united with Hungary and together they formed the “Lands of the Holy Crown of St Stephen”, the Fiumani protested, and with support of the Hungarian Vice Regency Council, two and a half years later, Maria Theresa (as Queen of Hungary) enacted the royal rescript on April, the 23rd 1779, with whom Fiume was annexed to Hungary directly as a *corpus separatum adnexum sacra hungaricae coronae*.

From that moment on the two kingdoms never ceased to batter on the issue whose was Fiume. The Fiumani, as a third part, gave their reading: that at first seemed to be implicit, but later grew up in an ideological system, that Fiume (or better: the *corpus separatum*) was *autonomous from both*. Given the institutional instability that characterized the whole period from 1779 up to 1848, this was more or less true.

Fiume retained the autonomous status from the surrounding territory it enjoyed with the Hapsburgs, since the function of the Governor was preserved, and who was now always drawn from the ranks of the Hungarian aristocracy. Fiume was the only city in Hungary (Croatia included) that had such an institution. The development of the port needed huge investments that only Hungary could offer and the leaning of all the local forces towards Hungary appears inevitable.

The 1848 marked an abrupt end to all this plans since from one hand it effectively excluded Hungary from the game, and on the other the Croatian occupation soon overlapped with Viennese centralism of the Bach period. Fiume was fully included in a centralised administrative state apparatus, and from the most unwelcome origin: that of Croatia, always feared and seen as an impediment for both economic development and political freedom.

Following the international difficulties of the Monarchy a progressive return to a constitutional system started in 1860, and in Fiume the popular opposition to Croatia exploded. The situation remained tense up to 1868 when the agreement of Croatia with Hungary made it clear that Fiume was not to be annexed to Croatia so far, finally sanctioned in a “provisory” agreement in 1870, that fixed the position of the city up to 1918.

The initial enthusiasm for the great investment efforts that finally ended the isolation of the port, dwindled as the Hungarian state centralization efforts progressed. Notably, fiuman politics never departed from the Hungarian political spectrum, as in Hungary politics organized in parties that accepted the *Ausgleich* and those that refuted it. During the idyll as in Hungary the leading Fiuman political party is the liberal of Deak and Tisza, with the Kossuthists in the opposition. In harder times, the leading Fiuman political party the autonomist party progressively sided with the Hungarian opposition, but when the Hungarian opposition started to side with the Croato-Serb Coalition, the strategic picture looked far worse. The leader of the time Zanella skilfully managed to cut a deal also with Supilo and the Croato-Serb Coalition, but that opened the gates for an autonomist split where a staunchly pro Hungarian current ultimately won in 1911. From that time on the fiuman political life accepted to an even tighter connection with Hungary that would have continued apace if the war had not exploded in 1914.

The Italian irredentist option, that initially formed more as a sign of frustration of the Fiumani for their political deadlock, would probably never had a chance if Italy did not win the war and came to Fiume, with its occupation forces, in November 1918.

Although the Italian irredentist option however supported by the Italian army that effectively wiped up any opposition (especially after the exceptional conditions after the D’Annunzian entrance) the autonomists remerged with new vigour, now fuelled by the workings of the Paris Peace Conference where the great powers proposed a buffer state solution for the city and the port of Fiume.

It took 6 years of intestine fights, a collapse of the economy, and a local fascist putsch in 1922 to end up with annexation to Italy in 1924. Nevertheless, the saga of autonomism and its leader Zanella survived alive and well, with a antifascist coating at first and, finally, as the only anti Titoist opposition in the city after 1945.

As for the whole nineteenth century history of the Habsburg monarchy, the relevance of a history of nineteenth century Fiume lies behind the events and processes that there took place. They raise theoretical questions as well. Moreover, the more general practical problems that late Empire faced still stay unresolved in our contemporary political practice, namely: how to combine a democratic constitutional government in a multinational state setting. The history and the extent of the successes and failures of the Habsburg monarchy of which Fiume was a part provide, I think, the best reason to investigate it today.

In doing this I attempted to overcome the lack of studies and literature on the inclusion of cities of the European Ancien régime in an “Age of Nationalism” in an Empire like the Habsburg Monarchy after Italian and German national unification. This is even more relevant for port cities in the nation-making processes - in spite of intellectual heritages like Fernand Braudel’s, which are insisting on the historical character of a relationship city-city environment.

I argue that even in a time of rapid social change the old elites adapted successfully to the threats and opportunities of their age. The discourses of nationalists developed in Hungary, Croatia and the City itself overlap neatly with the social background of their ruling classes, and the same on a smaller scale holds with Fiume.

The greater was their capacity to mobilise the people, the more institutions they were able to control, the more the ideology they developed was moderate, accommodating, constitutional, liberal-individualistic and “civic”, the less they were so, the mobilisation base was unstructured, that is without initial support and organisation the more the “face” they developed was “collectivist”, “irrational”, or “anti economic”.¹⁴⁹⁹ The traditional partitions of nationalist ideologies between “civic” and “ethnic”, or “liberal individualistic” and “collectivist” appear mere epiphenomena or by-products of what they really were: **instrumental responses to concrete political challenges that relied on different possibilities of resource mobilisation.**

As we have seen, the Croat or Hungarian national program were no less cases of “medieval particularism” than the Dalmatian or Fiuman autonomist programs, the main difference lying in the degree of success they had. The oversimplified picture of, say, two nations - the Italian and the Croatian - for the region we are investigating is an outcome of institutional selection and not a natural given. The picture, as it emerges from the historical sources, is much more complicated, indeed. It was simplified because it served specific nationalist interests. Nevertheless, we should explain how national diversity emerged, was formed and structured and, ultimately, was reduced.

The fiuman elites that were (or imagined to be) the continuators of the mediaeval free city ended up in an age of extreme nationalist polarisation in developing their own “Fiuman nationality” that justified the existence of the Free State of Fiume, envisaged by the allied powers as a “buffer state” between Italy and Yugoslavia. However the context is totally new, and his research shows that the Free State of Fiume could in no way realize the longstanding aspiration to “autonomy within a state”, as it had been previously the case. The new protagonists – European powers, Yugoslavia and Italy – represent nation-states of a new kind, and there was no more room left for any kind of negotiation.

¹⁴⁹⁹ N. Miller has the same point about the Serbs in Habsburg Croatia. His criterion of analysis of the action of the Serbian National Party in Croatia is its proximity to the institutions of power. When they started to perceive themselves as out of any Croatian state defined in civic rather than ethnic terms the possibilities of a compromises or accommodating solution disappeared. See Miller, Nicholas J. *Between Nation and State. Serbian Politics in Croatia Before the First World War*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997.

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