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# The Slovenian Minority in Italy 1918-1943 : A Study of the Policy of the Italian Government

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THE SLOVENIAN MINORITY IN ITALY 1918-1943

A STUDY OF THE POLICY OF THE

ITALIAN GOVERNMENT

by

Dushan Valentine Hmar

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of

the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

February

1951

## LIFE

Dushan Valentine Huzar was born in Maribor, Slovenia, February 18, 1922.

He was graduated from the so-called "gymnasium" of the classical type in Maribor, Slovenia, June 1940, and obtained the degree of candidatus iuris from the Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, in February 1942. Due to the circumstances of war he had to interrupt his studies. After the occupation of Rome, Italy in 1944 by the Allied Forces, he continued to study at the University of Rome, following for two years a doctor's curriculum in the Department of Economics, and thereafter had to interrupt his studies again.

During the years 1942-1943 he took part in the anti-Axis underground activity in the regions of Goritza and Trieste, and there he became thoroughly acquainted with the problem dealt with in this thesis.

During the period 1947-1949 he was employed as emigration and eligibility officer by the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, and after its discontinuance by the International Refugee Organization, both in Rome, Italy.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE INTRODUCTION

#### SLOVENIA AND SLOVENES

Slovenia is situated in that part of Europe where one branch of the Eastern Alps bends down towards the Gulf of Trieste in the Adriatic Sea, and where another branch, following approximately the river Drava, disappears into the Panonian Plain. Her borders<sup>1</sup> are more or less closely delimited by the following rivers: Socha<sup>2</sup> in the West, Drava and Mura in the North, Sotla in the East, and Kolpa and Dragonja<sup>3</sup> in the South.

Slovenia is a country of mountains and hills, of rivers and lakes, of valleys, and plateaus. But because the Alps, shortly before reaching the sea, pass into the low territory of Kras,<sup>4</sup> and that the Adriatic in the Gulf of Trieste forms the deepest penetration of the sea into the European continent from the South, Slovenia represents the only natural outlet of Central Europe

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1 Ethnic and geographic borders are being considered here.

2 The Italian denomination is Isonzo; since for four fifths of the distance it flows through Slovenian territory where the inhabitants call it Socha, this name will also be used here.

3 Pronounce Dragnya.

4 The beginning of Dinaric Alps. German: Karst.

to the Mediterranean Sea. The importance of this geographic position is strengthened by another factor: Slovenia is the only place in Europe where the three great races meet, i.e. Slavs, Germans, and Latins. Slavs in this case are represented by the Slovenes, Germans by Austrian Germans, and Latins by the Italians.<sup>5</sup> The actual geographic point of this contact is Kanal Valley<sup>6</sup> where all three races are settled together.<sup>7</sup>

Geographically, the whole of the country belongs to Central Europe. There are some scholars, however, who would place her southern part in the Balkan peninsula. As far as the northwestern limits of the Balkan peninsula are concerned, there are three theories: the first one indicates as the limit the Sava-Una river line, thus leaving the whole of Slovenia and a large part of Croatia on the right bank of the Sava<sup>8</sup> to Central Europe; the second one considers as the delimitation the Sava-Ljubljana<sup>9</sup> river line continued by the geographical division between the Alps and the Kras, and assigns in this way the southern part of Slovenia to the Balkans; the third theory follows the Sava-Kolpa division line which thus leaves the whole of Slovenia and a smaller part of Croatia on the right bank of Sava to Central Europe. This last theory

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5 Really by Friulians who consider themselves different from Italians and speak a language similar to that of Ladines in the Dolomites and of Rhaeto-Romans in Switzerland.

6 Today in the most northeastern corner of Italy.

7 Since around 1400 when the Bishop of Bamberg, feudal lord of that part of the country, sent German colonists there. Before this the point of contact was further northwest.

8 Croatia on the left bank belonging wholly to Central Europe.

9 Pronounce Ljubljana.

represents the majority opinion of geographers,<sup>10</sup> and taking into consideration the historical development as well, it is shared also by the author of this thesis.

The surface of Slovenia measures about ten thousand square miles. Approximately four-fifths of it form today the Slovenian Republic in the Yugoslav Federal State, and the rest belongs to the Free Territory of Trieste, to Italy, to Austria, and a very small part to Hungary.

Before the First World War the whole of Slovenia, with the exception of a very small part which belonged to Italy, was in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the period during the World Wars, about 65 per cent of the country lay within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later called the Kingdom of Yugoslavia; about 24 per cent lay in Italy; and as today 10 per cent in Austria, and one per cent in Hungary.

Slovenia is inhabited by Slovenes who are, in addition to the Lusatians and Casubians (slowly disappearing), the smallest of all the Slavic peoples. They count slightly over two million souls, of whom approximately one million and seven hundred thousand live today in their home country, and about three hundred thousand of whom have taken part in emigration, especially to the United States, Canada and Argentina. The Slovenian language is a distinct Slavic literary language most similar to Croatian and Slovak; it is not understandable, however, by the other Slavs without special study; moreover, the Slovenes themselves cannot understand the other Slavic languages without

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<sup>10</sup> Anton Melik, Jugoslaviija, zemljepisni, statistični in gospodarski pregled, Ljubljana, 1924, I, 3.

similar study.

Slovenes are generally referred to as belonging to the Southern Slavic group of which the other peoples are the Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Macedonians. Of the other Slavic groups, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Lusatians, and Cassubians are said to belong to the Western Slavs, and Russians, Ukrainians, and Byelo-Russians to the Eastern Slavs. Exactly when such a division came to be first used, is not quite clear. It certainly had not been utilized until after the Slovenes and Croats had been already separated from the Czechs and Slovaks by the Germans and Hungarians. The division was confirmed, however, by Czech and Russian scholars in the first half of the last century. Nevertheless, it is not easily understandable just what, exactly, the guiding spirit for such a division was. Probably it was based on the fact that the Slovenes had been definitely separated from Slovaks, and that on the other side in the Southeast they had common borders with the Croats. But a contemporary map shows that the so-called "bridge" between Slovaks and Slovenes was still clearly visible. In analyzing the various factors necessary for a clear definition, one has to note the following five points. Geographically, the territory of the Slovenes is situated between forty-five and one half and forty-seven degrees of Northern latitude, just as the central Alps and central France, and between thirteen and one-half and sixteen and one-quarter degrees of Eastern longitude, with the westernmost point in the same longitude as Berlin and with the easternmost

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11 P.J.Šafařík, Slovanský Zeměvid, Prague, 1842.

point in the same longitude as Vienna. Thus is excluded any possibility of placing it in Southern or Eastern Europe, and such location shows clearly that of all other Slavic nations, with the exception of Lusatians, only Czechs reach so far West, and that their capital Prague is situated approximately in the same longitude as the Slovenian capital, Ljubljana.<sup>12</sup> Historically, it can be seen that after the loss of independence, Slovenia belonged to the Holy Roman Empire from its beginning to its end, and that during the first centuries of their settlement the Slovenes were in direct contact with Czechs, Slovaks and probably also with Lusatians. It is interesting to note here that as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century the Germans still considered the Slovenes to be Vinidi Meridionales,<sup>13</sup> in opposition to the Vinidi Septentrionales who are Lusatians and at that time still a strong group. According to religion, one notes that the Slovenes are 97 per cent Roman Catholics and the rest Protestants, thus excluding any influence from Eastern and Southeastern Europe, where the people are in majority Greek Orthodox and in some places Mohammedan. Ethnographically, Slovenes belong to the Alpine and Pannonic type of man. With regard to their culture and civilization, they can be seen to have taken active part in and been influenced by what is generally called Western culture during the whole of their history; and thus after the World War I, together with the

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12 Pronounce Lublyana.

13 Gulielmus Grotjan, Historiae linguae sclavonicae continuatio secunda continens historiam dialecti venedicae meridionalis sive Vinidorum provinciae Austriae vicinis nimium in Carinthia, Stiria, Carniola, Iстриa et Marchia Vinidorum, Ferolini, 1729, 203

Croats, "Slovenes are the representatives of Central European civilization among the Yugo-Slavs."<sup>14</sup> For these reasons the author of this thesis rejects the affirmation that the Slovenes belong to the South Slavic group, and is inclined rather to believe that there is no such group, and that this denomination was either applied carelessly without the consideration of the necessary factors, or was created for political purposes. Since the Croats for the most part correspond to all the characteristics given for the Slovenes, the author believes that the Slavic peoples should be divided only into Western and Eastern Slavs. The Western Slavs are Poles, Slovaks, Czechs, Lusatians, Cassubians, Slovenes, and Croats, and they have in common religion and the Latin alphabet. When not independent they always belonged to the Western states or empires, and as nations they grew up in the spirit of Vienna, the Vatican, and Paris. The Eastern Slavs are Russians, Byelo-Russians, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Serbs and Macedonians, and they have in common religion and the Cyrillic alphabet. When not independent they always belonged to the Eastern states or empires, and as the nation they grew up in the spirit of Constantinople, Kiev, and St. Petersburg.

The ethnical divisional line between the Slovenes and the nations surrounding follows thusly. From Devin on the Adriatic seacoast, about seventeen miles West of Trieste, it passes the Eastern outskirts of Monfalcone and Gradisca, proceeding in the direction north through Cormons, Eastern outskirts of Cividale and Tarcento to Resia Valley; from there up to the

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<sup>14</sup> Milivoy S. Stanoyevich, "The Ethnography of the Yugo-Slavs," The Geographical Review, New York, VII, February, 1919, 96.

Kanin Mountain and down again into Kanal Valley cutting it between Lipalja Vas<sup>15</sup> and Pontebba, and climbing up again to Trogkofel in Carnian Alps; and here the first part of it ends, i.e. the border with the Italians, or better with the Friulians. From Trogkofel to Šmohor<sup>16</sup> and Dobrač,<sup>17</sup> and through southern outskirts of Villach it passes to the Southern shore of Osojsko<sup>18</sup> Lake, and from there through the mixed territory around Klagenfurt<sup>19</sup> Northeast to Djekše<sup>20</sup>, and Southeast to Labud in Drava Valley; then slightly North of the Austrian-Yugoslav border to the river Mura, and afterwards following the border to the point of triple Austro-Hungaro-Yugoslav border; then a bit further in the same direction to St. Gothard, and here the ethnic frontier with Germans ends. It continues from St. Gothard to Hodoš near the Yugoslav-Hungarian border, then following the same to the Mura river, here ending the Slovenian-Hungarian borders. The frontier between the Slovenian and Croatian Republics of the Yugoslav Federal State represents also the ethnic border between these two peoples, which is prolonged to the sea by the river Dragonja in the Free Territory of Trieste.<sup>21</sup> All this territory is

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15 Pronounce Lipalya Vaas.

16 Pronounce Šmohor; the German name for this village is Hermagor.

17 Pronounce Dobrač; the German name is Villacher Alpe.

18 Pronounce Osoysko; German denomination Ossiacher See.

19 Slovenian denomination Celovec, pronounce Tselovets.

20 Pronounce Dyekshe.

21 Reinhold Trautman, Die Slavischen Voelker and Sprachen, Eine Einfuehrung in die Slavistik, Goettingen, 1947, 63.

compactly settled by Slovenes, with the exception of the German population at Klagenfurt and in Kanal Valley, the large Italian enclave in the city of Trieste, and smaller Italian groups in the towns of Goritza,<sup>22</sup> Pirano and Capodistria. Consequently, there are today Slovenian minorities in Austria, Free Territory of Trieste, Italy and a very small one in Hungary.

When the Slovenes first arrived in this territory during the great migrations of nations, they had settled a much larger area, about twenty-seven thousand square miles. This area included, in addition to the Slovenia of today, the Austrian provinces of East Tyrol, Carinthia, Styria, parts of Upper and Lower Austria at the right bank of Danube, and the Hungarian province of Zala. The isolated settlements were at the lower Inn river and on the other side of the Danube, where there was probable contact with Southern Lusatians in the very early period. The contact with Czechs was established on the left bank of Danube from Linz to Krems, and the contact with Slovaks in Hungary between Raba river and Lake Balaton. There were also isolated settlements between the rivers Tagliamento and Torre in Northeastern Italy.<sup>23</sup> The Slovenes still inhabited the whole of this area at the end of

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22 Slovenian denomination Gorica, Italian Gorizia, German Goertz. Since the spelling Goritza was mostly used by English authors before the First World War and corresponds to the pronunciation of the Slovenian denomination, which means 'small hill,' and remains Slovenian regardless of spelling, this version will be used here.

23 Bogo Grafenauer, The National Development of the Carinthian Slovenes, Ljubljana, 1946, 5.

See also Trautman, Die Slavischen Voelker, 65, and Allen Leeper, "Germans, Avars and Slavs," The Slavonic and East European Review, London, XII, July, 1933, 125-126. For a very good map see Fran Erjavec, Slovenija in Slovenci, Ljubljana, 1940, the attached map.



the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries; afterwards German colonization pushed them Southwards, and Germanization was generally being forced upon them. The same thing happened in the Pannonian plain after the arrival of the Magyars.<sup>24</sup> During the second half of the nineteenth century the ethnic borders as mentioned before became established, but the Germanization is now still going on in Carinthia in Southern Austria.

Nothing really definite is known about the beginning of Slovenian history. It is probable that before coming into the new territory the Slovenes were living in the area around Krakow and Tarnow in today's Southern Poland. It is also probable that they already spoke a language slightly different from the other Slavic languages, because "even in the proto-Slavic habitat the germs of dialectical differentiation were present."<sup>25</sup> As far as the time of their settlement is concerned, it was believed until just recently that they had settled the land between Danube and Adriatic Sea immediately after the departure, and not until then, of the Lombards for Italy, i.e. after 568. But more recent theories are exposing the following facts: that the place names between Sava and Drava rivers and on the Danube, the etymology of which is Slavic, date back to the second century; and that according to old records the Sarmatians were expelled in the early fourth century from the plain between Drava and Danube by a rural population indentified as Wends,<sup>26</sup>

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24 Melik, Jugoslavijska, I, 159

25 Samuel Hazzard Cross, Slavic Civilization Through the Ages, ed. Leonid I. Strakhovsky, Cambridge, Mass., 1948, 177.

26 Ibid., 29-30.

i.e. Slavs, or specifically Slovenes and Slovaks. For these reasons it is probable that the Slovenian infiltration began in the first century, and quite surely between the third and the fifth centuries. The first recordings of Slovenian history which we know of to date, go only as far back as the end of the sixth century. By that time the Slovenes were firmly established within their historical borders and were fighting with their neighbors to keep these borders. Their neighbors at that time were Avars in the East, Lombards in the West and Bavarians in the North. The neighbors of the Slovenes were, of course, also the ancestors of Czechs, Slovaks and Croats, in the North and Southeast, but against them they never fought, but concluded with them, instead, occasional alliances.

The relations between the Slovenes and Avars are shrouded in the mystery of history. Nothing is known about the earliest period and all the theories dealing with it are based on pure supposition, and will remain such until some new records or traces are discovered. It is probable that until the departure of Lombards for Italy, the Slovenes and Avars were allies, and that afterwards for about fifty years the Slovenes were vassals of the Avars. What kind of vassalage this was is not clear; very likely it was just the obligation to fight with or for the Avars. There could not have been any deeper submission, since the Slovenes did actually go about fighting for the Avars, but did so without their supervision. It is recorded that the Lombardic King Argulf in 603, captured the Italian towns Cremona and Mantua "cum Sclavis, quos ei cecanus rex Avarorum in solacium miserat."<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Pauli Historia Langobardorum, IV, 28, In usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis recusa, Hannoverae Impensis Bibliopolii

Whatever the vassalage was, it ended in the beginning of the seventh century when the Slovenes liberated themselves completely and formed the first Slovenian state known in history.

The relations with the Lombards changed continuously from hostility to friendship and vice versa. The Lombards had established a special Duchy of Forum Iulii<sup>28</sup> on the Western Slovenian border which really represented a military frontier zone. Whenever the Slovenes tried to go down to settle on the Friulian plain, the Lombards pushed them back; and when the Lombards in turn tried to penetrate into Slovenian territory, the Slovenes drove them out. Shortly before 600 an alliance between the Lombards and Avars and Slovenes must have been made, because it is registered that around that year they attacked together the Histrians, an old tribe which was still living in Istria.<sup>29</sup> Shortly after, at any rate, probably between 603-611, the Slovenes had liberated themselves from the Avar vassalage. In addition to the reasons given by J. Peisker,<sup>30</sup> this independence would be proved also by the fact, that while the Slovenes were busy fighting against the Avars,

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Hahniani, 1878, 157.

28 Forum Iulii was its 'capital'. Foroiulani was the name given to its inhabitants, and from it the modern Friulians derive their name. Today the town of Cividale is on the same place.

29 Pauli Historia, IV, 24: 156

30 J. Peisker, "The Expansion of the Slavs" in H.M. Gwatkin and J.P. Whitney, eds., The Cambridge Medieval History, New York, 1926, II, 449.

and were accordingly unable to protect their Western borders, the Lombards used this occasion to wrestle from them a small piece of the Westernmost territory "regionem quae Zellia appellatur usque ad locum qui Medaria dicitur,"<sup>31</sup> and its inhabitants had to pay for some time the tribute to the Lombard duke of Forum Iulii. In 611, the Slovenes must have been already free from Avars, because in this year they attacked Istria single-handed and killed off the Roman garrisons.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, about this time they had formed their first state, about which, incidentally, very little is known. This is quite natural because the Slovenes were still somewhat primitive at that time and did not know how to write, not having as yet been exposed to the educating influences of Christianity. For the recording of events they were probably only using primitive methods, and thus history and tradition were probably passing from generation to generation in the forms of legends and folk poetry. There are six large volumes of Slovenian folk poetry collected to date, but of these only one poem originates in the pre-Christian era. Besides the losses due to mere verbal inheritance the probable reason for this paucity lies in the fact that after they had been Christianized, they were strictly forbidden to sing or recite them to their children, since most folk poetry was permeated with

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31 Pauli Historia, IV, 38; 166-167.

Note the pure Slovenian place names: Zellia, in modern Slovenian Zilja or Zila, is the river and valley in Southwestern Carinthia still today populated by Slovenes, the German expression is Gail; Medaria is a place where med is being produced, med meaning in the old Slovenian either honey or a special drink prepared with honey; this place is in East Tyrol and is called today Windisch Matrei.

32 Pauli Historia, IV, 40; 168.

the old pagan traditions, as is evident in the single poem extant today. Another reason for the dearth of records from this early historical period is that the Lombards, the Bavarians, and the Franks who date their first written recordings in that time, had no interest in the people over whom they were not ruling. Consequently, only those early deeds of the Slovenian history are recorded which tell of their battles either with or against their Western and Northwestern neighbors.

Further relations with Lombards were marked by nearly permanent hostilities. After the formation of their state, the Slovenes tried to interfere in the internal affairs of the Duchy of Forum Iulii. From time to time some unsatisfied pretender for ducal honor came to ask them for their military aid or temporary refuge. Slovenian intentions were, certainly, to occupy the duchy in order to settle some of their people on the Friulian plain; but they failed to do so. The Old Slovenian language was already quite important at that time since we read that some negotiations between Slovenes and Lombards were carried out in Slovenian.<sup>33</sup> The last two important battles were, first, that of 704, when the Slovenes killed off the Duke Ferdulfus and nearly all his soldiers: "ibi omnis nobilitas perit Forciulanorum," says the chronicler of this;<sup>34</sup> and secondly, the battle of

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33 Ibid., IV, 44; 170

34 Ibid., VI, 24; 223.

738, when they killed Duke Ratchis and defeated his army.<sup>35</sup> After these no more wars are registered since shortly thereafter the Lombard kingdom in Italy came to its end, and the character of the military frontier of the Duchy of the Forum Iulii ceased to exist. Slovenes on the other side were busy repulsing the Avars who were starting to attack them again.

The first contact with Bavarians occurred in 595, when the Slovenes were defeated by them in the Upper Drava Valley in East Tyrol.<sup>36</sup> This was the beginning of a war period which lasted approximately fifteen years. Slovenes constantly tried to go further west, and the Bavarians in turn pushed them back. Nevertheless the Slovenes won more and more battles, until finally around 610 they inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Bavarian Duke Garibald II near Liens.<sup>37</sup> After this time no relations are recorded for over one hundred years. The reason why, after this final defeat of the Bavarians, the Slovenes did not try to penetrate further West into South Tyrol, is to be found in the fact that they had lost too many soldiers; and neither they nor the Bavarians, on that account, wished to experience any further clashes. That these conflicts must have been very bloody and cruel is proved by the name the Slovenes gave the Upper Drava Valley, where all of them took place: Pusti Dol, 'desolated valley,' which today we find in the corrupt German form, Pustertal.

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35 Ibid., VI, 52; 236-237.

36 Ibid., IV, 10; 150.

37 Dr. August Jaksch, Geschichte Kaerntens bis 1355, Klagenfurt, 1928, I, 49.

The Slovenian state, formed around 610, probably included the whole of their historical territory with the possible exception of the Pannonian Slovenes, who might have been still under Avar domination, or who might have been forming a separate state, or a common state with the ancestors of the Slovaks. What relations the Slovenes had with the Kingdom of Samo is not as yet clear. According to some sources Samo was a Frankish merchant who had helped the Winidi<sup>38</sup> to liberate themselves from the Avar overlordship, and who consecutively became rex Sclavinorum,<sup>39</sup> defeated the Frankish King Dagobert, and ruled from 623<sup>40</sup> to 658.<sup>41</sup> According to other sources he was of Slovenian origin and ruled principally over Slovenes.<sup>42</sup> The sources give us only three geographic denominations upon which it is possible to speculate: (1) a place called Wogastisburc, where the Winidi defeated the Dagobert and his army - till today it was impossible to identify this place;

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<sup>38</sup> With this name Franks were designating Slovenes, Czechs, and Lusatians and various Slavic tribes living at the time in Central Germany and today extinct.

<sup>39</sup> Sclavini here means the same as Winidi.

<sup>40</sup> J. Peisker in his essay "The Expansion of the Slavs," The Cambridge Medieval History, II, 451, sustains that the liberation from the Avars did not take place A.D. 623, but already between 602-605, because in 601 the Avars were depopulated by a disease and were five times defeated by the troops of Eastern Roman Empire. Consecutively Samo should have begun to rule already at that time, and Fredegarii Chronicum would be mistaken in the date.

<sup>42</sup> Anonymus, De Conversione Bagoariorum et Carantanorum, I, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum XI, Hannoverae, 1854, 7.

<sup>41</sup> Fredegarii Scholastici Chronicum, xlvihi, Patrologia Latina, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1867, LXXI, 636-637.

(2) it is mentioned that after this victory the Winidi penetrated into the Frankish Kingdom and devastated and plundered Thuringia and other districts - this might mean that Samo's Kingdom bordered on Thuringia;

(3) it is also recorded that "etiam et Decuanus dux gentis Urbiorum, qui ex genere Solavinorum e\_rant, et ad regnum Francorum jam olim aspexerant, se ad regnum Samonis cum suis tradidit"<sup>43</sup> - these Urbii were probably identical with the Surbii or Sorbii who were Lusatians. On the basis of the last two points, some historians believe that Samo was ruling either over some now-extinct Slavic people in Central Germany, or that the center of his kingdom was Bohemia, and that Lusatian and possibly Slovenian Dukes recognized his supremacy. These historians base their theory exclusively on Fredegarii Chronicum, considering that De Conversione was written later in order to prove that Slovenia under Samo recognized Frankish overlordship, and thus would fall under the religious authority of the Bishops of Salzburg.<sup>44</sup> Other basing their judgments on De Conversione, believe that the statements of Fredegarius are false. Every historian, however, agrees that all the medieval chroniclers were extremely partial, and that for this reason it is difficult to establish the truth. The first theory, however, represents the majority opinion.

The first Slovenian Duke mentioned in history is Valuk. He ruled in the middle of the seventh century.<sup>45</sup> About this time foreigners start

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<sup>43</sup> Fredegarii Chronicum, lxviii, Patrologia, LXXI, 649.

<sup>44</sup> At the time of the struggle for supremacy between the Bishops of Salzburg, and the Slavic Apostle St. Methodius.



to call Slovenia with the name Carantania or Carantanum, and Paulus Diaconus one hundred years later argued that the right title was Carnuntum.<sup>46</sup> It is difficult to establish where this name came from. It may have come from Carnuntum, which was the old Roman fortress on the Danube. It may have come from Slovenian gora meaning 'mountain', and gorotan meaning 'mountainous country', and it may have originated from Celtic or Illyric words: carant, 'friend'; caranto, 'rock'; karvant, 'rocky'.<sup>47</sup> The Slovenian Dukes henceforth become known as the Dukes of Carantania, and the Slovenes are called Carantani. That this name was given to all Slovenes, and not only to the modern Carinthians, is proved by the fact that even the German<sup>48</sup> and Slavic<sup>49</sup> chroniclers of the late Middle Age designated them with this name. Slovenia was completely independent for about one hundred and fifty years. Because of the renewed Avar danger, the Slovenes concluded, around 740, a political and military alliance with Bavarians: Slovenes were to help Bavarians against the Franks, and Bavarians were to help the Slovenes

<sup>45</sup> Fredegarii Chronicum, lxxii, Patrologia, LXXI, 651.

<sup>46</sup> Pauli Historia, V. 22; 194.

<sup>47</sup> Jaksch, Geschichte Kaerntens, I. 4-5

<sup>48</sup> Helmoldi Presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum, I, 1, Post Johannem M. Lappenberg recognovit Bernhardus Schmeidler, Editio secunda, Scriptorum rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi, Hannoverae et Lipsiae, 1909, 6-7: Enumerating various Slavic people, he calls Slovenes Carinthians and says: "Carinthi confines sunt Bawaris, homines divino cultui dediti, nec est ulla gens honestior et in cultu Dei et sacerdotum veneratione devocior."

<sup>49</sup> Nestor calls Slovenes Horoutane, evidently under the influence

against the Avars.<sup>50</sup> Accordingly, when the Avars attacked in 743, the Bavarians came and helped the Slovenes to defeat them. Bavarians were now afraid that the Slovenes might not keep their word, and in order to have a guarantee for further alliance they requested that the son of the Slovenian Duke Borut, and the son of his brother come with them and live at the court of the Bavarian Dukes. Borut agreed and at the same time requested that both be christened and educated in the Christian spirit. Consequently, Gorazd, son of Borut, and Hotimir, son of Borut's brother, went to Bavaria, and in 743, or more likely in 744, were baptized and received first religious education in the Benedictine convent on the island of Herrenwoerth, on the Lake of Chiem.<sup>51</sup> This event and date mark the beginning of the Christianization of the Slovenes.

Shortly after, the Franks attacked the Bavarians, and the Slovenes went to their aid; but both were defeated and had to recognize Frankish overlordship. Duke Borut died in 749, and Gorazd, who had returned from Bavaria, succeeded him. He also died after three years, and was followed by Hotimir, who had returned from Bavaria as well. Hotimir was an ardent

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of the Slovenian expression Corotan. See division of the Slavic people in Franz von Miklosich, ed., Chronica Nestoris, Textum Russico-Slovenicum Versionem Latinam Glossarium, Vindobona, 1860, I, 2-3.

50 Grafenauer, Carinthian Slovenes, 7.

51 G. K., "Dodici secoli cattolici nella storia degli Sloveni, 744-1944." L'Osservatore Romano, Città del Vaticano, December 24, 1944.

Christian and wanted all the Slovenes to accept Christianity. Many Slovenes had already accepted it before he became Duke; but there were some difficulties, since not all the missionaries, who were in the beginning all foreigners, were able to speak Slovenian. For this reason Hotimir asked Virgilius, Bishop of Salzburg, under whose jurisdiction the missionary activities in Slovenia belonged, to send a bishop, whose appearance would increase the importance and necessity of religion in the eyes of those who were still pagans, and who could naturally also ordain priests. His wish was fulfilled and the first bishop was sent to Slovenia. His name was Modestus, and he was allegedly of Irish origin.<sup>52</sup> The year of his arrival is not known, but in 760 he built and consecrated the first Slovenian church of Gospa Sveta, 'Holy Lady,'<sup>53</sup> few miles North of Klagenfurt in Carinthia, since that was the probable center of the Slovenian State. Modestus died in service there and was buried under the main altar of the church, which still stands today. Thus the Slovenes were the first, or among the first, of all the Slavic people to receive and accept Christianity, which for them was mainly accomplished around 770. But everything was not accomplished with complete smoothness. Hotimir's successor, Volkun, or, as his name is recorded, Waltunc,<sup>54</sup> had to suppress sanguinary rebellions of the

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52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 De Conversione, 5, Monumenta, Scriptorum XI, 7.

anti-Christian Slovenes, who in addition to desiring to keep the old traditions, saw in the new religion a mighty weapon of the Bavarian and Frankish penetration. At this very time missionaries from Salzburg were also arriving in the country of Pannonian Slovenes, who lived between the Lake Balaton and rivers Mura and Drava and were governed by their own dukes.<sup>55</sup>

In the year 787-788, wishing to throw off the Frankish overlordship, the Bavarians rebelled. The Slovenes helped them, but both were again defeated. Charlemagne the Great then incorporated both of these countries which later were to become parts of the Holy Roman Empire. The Slovenes<sup>55</sup> were still allowed to retain their own laws and dukes, but these had to be confirmed by the Emperor. This privilege, however, lost its value sometime after 819. The last Slovenian dukes were Prvislav, Cemias, Stojmir, and Etgar. After them the dukes were nominated by the Carolingian kings, and were also always of German origin. The first duke of German blood was Helmwinus, and he was followed by Albgarus and Pabo.<sup>56</sup> The most probable cause for this change was the Slovenian-Croatian rebellion against the Carolingian realm which took place in 819. This rebellion was suppressed and as a consequence the Slovenian dukes lost their rights, and Frankish noblemen were henceforth being appointed dukes in Slovenia.

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55 Ibid., 7; 9.

56 Ibid., 10; 11.

Those who took part in the rebellion were deprived of their property, which was in most cases given to German families. From the year 822, we have a record of the first deed of donation to a German nobleman,<sup>57</sup> and this is a clear sign that the sovereignty of Slovenian dukes ceased to exist.

It is probably at this time that the famous ceremony of election and enthronement of Dukes of Carantania had its inception. One of the first German noblemen who had to go through this ceremony upon becoming the Duke of Carantania was Arnulf, around A.D. 880,<sup>58</sup> who sixteen years later was to become the Holy Roman Emperor. There are two different interpretations of this ceremony. One maintains that the whole act represents the adoption into the Slovenian race and is based on old pagan rites; the other one, supported by the majority of historians, contends that the ceremony is of an entirely constitutional nature, representing in this way one of the first acts of the democratic constitutionalism in Europe.<sup>59</sup> After giving consideration to both, the general conclusion which can be drawn is that the ceremony originated from the Slovenian statehood itself, and that the dukes of non-Slovenian blood appointed by the Holy Roman Emperor had to recognize fully the fact that they were going to rule over a Slovenian state and wholly in accord with its traditions, and only after doing so they were given the full ducal rights.

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57 Grafenauer, Carinthian Slovenes, 8.

58 Peisker, "Expansion of the Slavs," Cambridge Medieval History, II, 449.

59 A.W.A. Leeper, A History of Medieval Austria, eds. R.W. Seton-Watson and C.A. Macartney, Oxford, 1911, 99-100.

Briefly, the ceremony was as follows. The future duke, accompanied by Slovenian noblemen,<sup>60</sup> freeholders, church dignitaries, and twelve standard bearers representing various Slovenian countries, arrived at a place on the Plain of Gospa Sveta; there was the so-called ducal stone<sup>61</sup> on which a Slovenian freeholder sat and waited for him; when the duke reached this spot a solemn ceremonial dialogue in Slovenian was exchanged, during which the duke had to assure the freeholder that he would care for the country, that he would be a just judge, that he was a free man and worthy of this honor and that he would defend religion. After this the duke had to drink fresh water from the freeholder's hat, and the freeholder then slapped him lightly on the face, this meaning the right to rebellion if he did not keep his words; thereafter the duke, who till now had to be dressed as a peasant, or according to other sources as a hunter, could exchange his clothes for the ducal ones. Then he took the freeholder's place on the stone and made a solemn oath to keep his promises, pointing the sword to all the four parts of the world. After that he was consecrated in the nearby church of Gospa Sveta, and from the ducal throne, situated in the open near the ducal stone, he started to pronounce his first decisions as a ruler.<sup>62</sup>

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60 During the following centuries of German penetration nearly all Slovenian noblemen were either Germanized or lost their rights.

61 Today in the city museum of Klagenfurt, Carinthia, Austria.

62 The best contemporary account of the ceremony is in Iohannis Abbatis Victoriensis Liber Certarum Historiarum, II, vii, Edidit Fedorus Schneider, Tomus I, Libri I-III, Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi, Hannoverae et Lipsiae, 1909, 290-294. Iohannes Victoriensis wrote his book around 1343, and described the enthronement of Meynhardus which took place in 1286.

The ceremony is of a highly symbolic nature; but it is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss it in detail. It was in practice for about seven hundred years if we can consider as its beginning when the first duke of German blood was enthroned.<sup>63</sup> After other Slovenian territories were separated from Carantania and began forming special units of the Empire, this ceremony naturally was valid only for the new, smaller Duchy of Carantania where the German nobility and colonists were steadily penetrating. Nevertheless, the ceremony preserved its Slovenian form and meaning, and was last performed in full when Ernest of Hapsburg was enthroned in 1414,<sup>64</sup> although in its abbreviated form it was performed as late as 1597, when Ferdinand of Hapsburg, later Emperor Ferdinand II, was made Duke of Carantania,<sup>65</sup> or rather "Carinthia," as the country started to be called in the late Middle Ages.

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He was abbot of a monastery at Vetrinj, a village situated a few miles away from where the ceremony was performed.

Another good contemporary account is in Ottokers Oesterreichische Reichchronik, cc-cci, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Hannover, 1890, Scriptorum qui vernacula lingua usi sunt tomus V, pars I, 264-267. This chronicle originates from the very beginning of the fourteenth century.

As an example of the people sharing the state sovereignty, the ceremony is discussed in Jean Bodin's work De Republica Libri Sex, Lugduni, et venundantur Parisiis, 1576, I, 83-84.

63 Grafenauer thinks ~~thinks~~ that the ceremony was a "fundamental legal act of the government of the country" since the time of Slovenian independence, and places its origin around 750 (Carinthian Slovenes, 6).

64 "Slovenski jezik v starih časih," Novice, Ljubljana, XI, July 19, 1948, 123.

65 Leeper, Medieval Austria, 99.

When, after the Slovenian-Croatian rebellion against the Carolingian realm, the Slovenes were deprived of the right to have their own rulers, and when about a hundred years later the last part of Slovenia between Lake Balaton and the river Drava lost her independence, the Slovenes became a subjugated people. German penetration and influence began. After the Treaty of Verdun in 843, the largest part of the Slovenian lands came under the German part of the Empire. With the rise of feudalism the unpopulated and the undistributed land was given in feud almost exclusively to the German nobility, which brought along large numbers of colonists from Saxony, Franconia, and Bavaria. Many Slovenian nobles lost their lives in violent battles which took place during Magyar and the last Avar invasions, when Slovenia represented a kind of military border zone of the Empire against invaders from East. The rest of them were slowly forced to accept either full or partial Germanization and intermarriage with the German families in order to preserve their social rights. Those who refused slowly lost their rights, mostly through economic pressure, and became an impoverished rural nobility, differing only slightly from the class of freeholders, who themselves had a hard time defending their privileges. In addition to Germany's pure expansionist policy, the reason for this forced Germanization is to be found in Germany's early realization, through her experiences in various wars, rebellions, and invasions that the Slovenian territory was of high strategic importance in connecting the Balkan peninsula with the Italian peninsula, and commanding the access of Central Europe to the sea. In those feudal times, in order to have a country, it was sufficient to have its nobility. However,



it is hardly possible to consider the motives of this Germanization as nationalistic, since we cannot speak about nationalism as actually existing in that era. The motives were of a social, economic, and political nature. After the unsuccessful Slovenian rebellion, the Germanic Roman Emperors considered Slovenia a conquered country which had to be assimilated and organized in the same way as the other component parts of the State, in order to prevent any future insecurity in that important border territory. Since the German nobles-- if we may apply the expression "German" to that period of time--were naturally surer elements for carrying out the policies of Emperors than were the distant Slovenes, who due to their Slavic spirit of independence disliked any idea of subjugation, they were selected to 'pacify' and 'organize' the country. With their arrival German law started to prevail, and the old Slovenian laws and traditions began to disappear.<sup>66</sup> However, it took quite a long time before the majority of the original Slovenian nobility was completely or partially Germanized, i.e. before they had accepted the German traditions.<sup>67</sup> As late as the thirteenth century, when Ulrich von Liechtenstein was travelling through Slovenian territory, he was greeted on the border by Carinthian nobles speaking in Slovenian language.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, as we have seen, the ceremony of enthronement of the Dukes of Carinthia was still being continued. But even the common peasants retained some of their privileges, especially in court procedure (Erjavec, Slovenija in Slovenci, 27).

<sup>67</sup> An absolutely overall Germanization of nobility never did take place. It was rather a local feeling which was developed; they considered themselves neither Slovenes nor Germans, but Carinthians, Carniolians, and Styrians.

When describing Carinthia and Carniola, a chronicle of the beginning of the fourteenth century makes record of the Slovenian nobles living there.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, at the end of the thirteenth century, and probably also later, the Duke of Carinthia had the right to speak Slovenian before the Emperor and could not be forced to use any other language.<sup>70</sup> The writer of the first Slovenian grammar, in the late sixteenth century, dedicated his work to the sons of the nobles of Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola.<sup>71</sup>

During the period from the tenth to the thirteenth century, the Northern part of the original Slovenian territory was colonized mostly by Germans, for whom the extreme scarcity of population in this area was a stimulus for settlement. The Slovenes there were soon assimilated by the new population. The German feudal lords also brought their settlers to the Southern and central parts of the Slovenian territory, but these areas were more densely populated and the new colonists were mostly assimilated by the Slovenes. The Slovenian commoners were originally all freeholders living in clans. With the arrival of the Germans and the coming of feudal era, the freeholders were forced further and further into serfdom. This change took

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68 Reinhold Bechstein, ed., Ulrich's von Liechtenstein Frauendienst, Leipzig, 1888, I, 214.

69 Reimchronik, cc, Monumenta, Scriptorum vernacula lingua V, pt. I, 264.

70 Iohannis Liber, II, vii; 292.

71 Adam Bohorizh, Arcticae horulae successivae de latino-carniolana literatura, Witebergae, 1583, 19-20.

place through the intentional imposition of very high taxes and through the forged grants of land.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, the people resisted a long time before they gave in. It took, for example, the Bishops of Salzburg two hundred years before they had succeeded in imposing upon the Slovenes the practice of paying the tithes.<sup>73</sup> However, many Slovenian freeholders, although heavily taxed and in a precarious economic situation, kept on their privileges intact throughout all the time to the end of the feudal era. An author states correctly that "the story of the German penetration of the Slovene lands is not the story of an heroic conquest but of the economic encroachment of the great landowners upon a land of small freeholders."<sup>74</sup>

The last time when the whole old Slovenian territory was united was in 976, when the Emperor Otto II organized the new large Duchy of Carantania, to which belonged also the margraves of Verona and Friuli. This new duchy had a short life and soon disintegrated mainly because of rivalries among various families. In the later Middle Ages the Slovenian territory was divided into the following units: Duchy of Carinthia, Duchy of Styria,<sup>75</sup> Duchy of Carniola, County of Goritza and Gradisca, City and Territory of

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<sup>72</sup> Dragotin Lončar, The Slovenes: A Social History, trans. Anthony J. Klancar, Cleveland, Ohio, 1939, 9.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>74</sup> Bogumil Vošnjak, A Bulwark Against Germany, New York, 1919, 49.

<sup>75</sup> Styria became a Duchy in 1180, but already in 1186 it was united with the Duchy of Austria, which had been established in 1156 (Leeper, Medieval Austria, 270-273).

Trieste and Istria. Gradually all of these lands, which had been ruled by various families, came under the rule of the Hapsburgs: Styria and Carniola in 1282, Carinthia in 1355, Istria in 1374, Trieste in 1382, and Goritza and Gradisca in 1500.

The first Turkish invasion of Slovenia took place in 1408, and from then on the Turks made periodical raids for about two hundred years. The peasants, who were living unprotected outside of castles and towns, suffered the most from these raids. The feudal lords were not very much interested in protecting them, especially since the Turkish raids took in only certain areas and generally did not menace the country as a whole. The lords lived in well-protected castles which the lightly armed Turkish horsemen very seldom dared to attack. This situation, and the increasing economic burdens laid upon them by feudal lords, led the Slovenian peasants to rebellion. The first great one took place in Carinthia in 1478, and the first rebellion in which the peasants from nearly all Slovenian lands took part<sup>76</sup> occurred in 1515. In 1573 there was the great Slovenian-Croatian peasant rebellion; its leader was Matija Gubec, a Croat, and the military commander was Ilija Gregorič, a Slovene.<sup>77</sup> Afterwards the more important rebellions were: in 1627 in the County of Goritza, in 1635 in Styria and

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76 The "Slovenian peasant union" was organized during this rebellion in which forty thousand men from Carinthia, Styria and Carniola took part. They proclaimed that they were fighting for the "old rights" (Erjavec, Slovenija in Slovenci, 29).

77 In this rebellion also some smaller aristocracy joined the peasants. This time their demands were not just the betterment of their economic status, but the abolition of feudalism and the organization of a

varniola, and in 1713 in the county of Gorizia again. All these rebellions were crushed sooner or later by the nobility or by the Emperor's mercenaries mainly because of the lack of arms and military training on the side of the peasants. Nevertheless these uprisings contributed to the change in the relations between the landlord and peasant which was progressively taking place and which culminated in the abolition of serfdom proclaimed by Joseph II in 1782.

Meanwhile, the Protestant revolt, represented in Slovenia by Primož Trubar, made a great contribution to Slovenian culture; this was the formation of the modern Slovenian literary language and the printing of the first Slovenian books. The first two books were printed in 1550 and written by Trubar; they were a Catechism and an Abecedyary. In the next fifty years these were followed by forty-six other Protestant published books, among them the first Slovenian grammar in 1584, and the first translation of the whole Bible in the same year.<sup>78</sup> In addition, the first Slovenian publishing house was established as a result of the Protestant revolt; it was that of Mandelc, established in Ljubljana in 1575.<sup>79</sup> The first higher schools in Slovenia, however, were the fruit of the Catholic reform. The Jesuits established the

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Slovenian-Croatian State under the authority of the Emperor, but with the common people having share in its government (Loncar, Slovenes, 45).

<sup>78</sup> France Kidrič, Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva od zacetkov do Zoisove smrti, Ljubljana, 1929-1938, 27-54.

<sup>79</sup> Loncar, Slovenes, 33-34.

first College in Ljubljana in 1595.<sup>80</sup> This college had the right to confer Doctor's degrees. In its beginning, however, the Catholic reform did not appreciate enough the importance of the Slovenian language and published only a few books<sup>81</sup> to check the Protestant doctrines spread by the large number of Protestant publications.

In the next two hundred years Slovenian culture began to flourish. The Academy of Arts and Sciences called Academia operosorum was established in 1693 in Ljubljana. The first opera was sung in Ljubljana in 1652, and in 1701 Academia philoharmonicorum, one of the oldest philharmonic societies in Europe, was organized there.<sup>82</sup> The first Slovenian opera was composed in 1780 by Zupan and the first Slovenian play was performed in Ljubljana in 1789.<sup>83</sup> A long line of Slovenian painters and sculptors, some of them of world fame, is recorded since the thirteenth century; it runs from Johannes de Laybaco, Andrej of Ostrog, and Jernej of Loka, from the gothic period, to the period of baroque, when the painting in fresco in Slovenia culminates in names like Mislej, Grahover, Jelovšek, Bergant, Čebelj, etc. In the period of transition from baroque into modern era of painting, the

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80 Janko Polec, "Ljubljansko višje šolstvo v preteklosti in borba za slovensko univerzo," Zgodovina slovenske univerze v Ljubljani do leta 1929, ed. Dr. Milan Vidmar, Ljubljana, 1929, 3-5.

81 Kidrič, Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva, 60

82 Before this two Slovenian composers had already gained world fame; Jurij von Slatkonja, follower of the Dutch renaissance polyphony in fifteenth century, and Jakob Gallus-Petelin, one of the greatest composers in contrapuntal polyphony, in sixteenth century. Both lived mostly in Vienna (Erjavec, Slovenija in Slovenci, 62).

83 Ibid., 65.

best representative is Langus.<sup>84</sup> From 1779 there dates the first anthology of Slovenian non-religious poetry.<sup>85</sup> In 1797 the first Slovenian newspaper, Lublanske Novice, was published.<sup>86</sup>

The period of enlightenment, the French revolution, and the period of romanticism caused a complete revival of the spirit of the Slovenes from the national point of view. Another important contributing factor in this revival lay in the fact that the majority of Slovenian territory from 1809 to 1813 formed a direct, autonomous part of the French Napoleonic Empire. After the peace of Schoenbrunn, Napoleon had organized the so-called Illyrian Provinces from the following territories acquired from Austria: East Tyrol populated by Germans; Western Carinthia, Carniola, and the County of Goritsa populated by Slovenes; Trieste populated by Slovenes and Italians; Istria populated by Slovenes and Croats, and parts of the military border zone and Dalmatia populated by Croats. The capital of this new unit was Ljubljana. The French allowed a complete cultural freedom, and even encouraged the growing Slovenian nationalism. The most prominent personality in that time was Valentin Vodnik, poet, writer, journalist, professor, and priest.

After the defeat of Napoleon, all these lands were returned to Austria, but they continued, nevertheless, to form one unit under the name of Kingdom of Illyria, and, they existed as such until after the revolution

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84 Ibid., 57-59.

85 Kidrič, Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva, 196.

86 Dr. Dragotin Lončar, Politično življenje Slovencev, Ljubljana, 1921, 5.

of 1848, when the constitution was granted by the Emperor of Austria to his subjects.

At the time of the revolution of 1848 the Slovenes prepared a political program, in which three main requests were made: (1) The Kingdom of Slovenia was to be created, wherein all the Slovenes were to be united; (2) Equality of the Slovenian language in schools and offices was to be established; (3) Austria was not to enter into any German union, and Slovenia was to form a part of the Austrian, and not of the German empire.<sup>87</sup> The constituent assembly at Kromeriz, however, was disbanded, and the Emperor forced in 1849 his own constitution upon the peoples of Austria, which was followed in 1867 by the dualistic organization of the state, becoming then the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Now the Slovenian territory was once more divided into the original lands, and the Slovenes gained only some minor rights for the official use of their language.

After the Austro-Prussian-Italian war of 1866, the first part of Slovenian territory, today called Venetian Slovenia, came with its fifty thousand Slovenes within the borders of the Italian state, although Austria had actually won all the battles against the Italians, both on land and on the sea. These Slovenes constituted the first Slovenian minority in Italy.

During the period up to 1900 the Slovenian language became official in the offices and courts of the Slovenian lands of Austria, and more and more Slovenian schools were established. A large number of cultural associations, organizations, and societies was organized, and three political parties were shaped out of the various movements: the Slovenian People's Party,

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 16-17.



the Slovenian National-Progressive Party, and the Social Democratic Party. After the proposed rights of general, equal and secret election had become law in 1906, these parties were better able to represent the Slovenes in the Parliament of Vienna. In the meantime, because of the large number of schools, education was progressing; and in 1910 there were only 14.66 per cent of illiterates in Slovenia, as against 38 per cent in Hungary, and 37.60 per cent in Italy at the same time.<sup>88</sup> The arts and sciences were equal in quality and type to those of Western Europe, and in some cases the artists and scholars even created particular schools of their own. This was especially so in the case of the group comprised of Cankar, Murn, Kette, and Zupancic; this group created the so-called Slovenian Modern School in literature, which represented a special adoption of symbolism. Of the group of painters which included Vesel, Grohar, Jakopic, and Jama, one critic says: "This group might also be referred to as the Slovenian school, for the bonds of art which drew those painters together have been of an intimate and evident nature. They approached the French impressionists in their conception of nature, but their technical ability was weaker while their sensibility was stronger."<sup>89</sup>

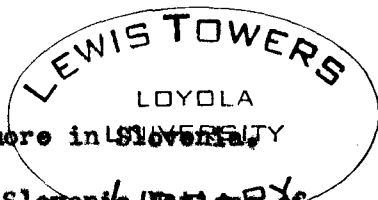
In Styria and Carinthia, however, where the Germans were in the majority, they tried to repress development of the Slovenian culture.

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88 Vosnjak, Bulwark, 265-266.

Today the illiterates do not exist any more in Slovenia.

89 Branko Popovich, "Modern Yugoslav Art," Slavonic Review of Yesterday and Today, ed. Milivoy S. Stanoyevich, New York, 1925, 378-379.



Consequently, the Slovenes were often persecuted there for political or national reasons, and generally found it more difficult to preserve or even obtain equality. This was one of the reasons why all the political parties continued to request a united Slovenia within Austria. There were also some who began to think that the Slovenian-Croatian union within the Empire would be even more efficient, and this was the prevailing idea shortly before the First World War. To such a union some Austrian Serbs would also be added. This was also the idea of Archduke Ferdinand, heir apparent to the throne, whose death was the immediate cause of the First World War. But the Serbs, the Hungarians, and the pan-Germans did not like the idea, and for this reason Ferdinand was killed at Sarajevo.

During the first years of war, the Government of Austria was completely absolutistic. For any slight reason the Slavs of the Empire were persecuted. During the first fourteen months of war, <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ Slovenia alone 469 persons were hanged or shot for alleged treason charges.<sup>90</sup> The discontent grew. But the Slovenian soldiers were nevertheless fighting well against the Italians, because they had heard the news of the secret London Pact which was quickly being disseminated throughout the Empire. On the Russian front, however, they were surrendering for the most part.

In 1917, when the Austrian parliament was again called into session, the Slovenian leader Dr. Korošec, who represented also the Croatian

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90 Lončar, Politično življenje Slovencev, 94.

and Serbian deputies in that parliament, read a declaration requesting the union of the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs of the empire into one state under the supreme authority of the emperor. The government refused this request and offered only autonomy within the frame of traditional crownlands.<sup>91</sup> The Slovenes and other Slavs did not accept and formed the opposition. In the next year a Slovenian National Council was constituted in Ljubljana, and in the beginning of October, 1918, a National Council was called in Zagreb, comprising the representatives of all the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs of the empire. Even in the last moments of Austria's life, on October 16, 1918, Emperor Charles favored that only the Austrian part of the empire be federalized according to nationalities; concerning the Hungarian part he did not wish to commit himself.<sup>92</sup> On October 29th, the National Council in Zagreb proclaimed the independent state composed of Slovenian, Croatian, and Serbian units of the former empire. On October 31, the first Slovenian National Government was formed.

It is not yet clear today why this new state joined after only one month the Kingdom of Serbia. This happened most probably because of the Italian penetration beyond the designated demarcation line. According to documents published about the discussions within the National Council in

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91 Dr. Josip Mal, Zgodovina slovenskega naroda, Najnovejša doba, Celje, 1928, 1115.

92 Lončar, Politično življenje Slovencev, 116.

Zagreb,<sup>93</sup> the Slovenes seemed to be most eager to form one state with the Kingdom of Serbia as quickly as possible, and this was quite natural since they would be the first to lose territory.

The new state, called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and about ten years later renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, was officially formed on December 1, 1918. The agreement with Italy was reached only in 1920, and this treaty created a large Slovenian, and a smaller Croatian minority in Italy. This thesis will later discuss in detail the Slovenian minority.

The new state disappointed most of its inhabitants in creating immediately a centralistic type of government; this was, however, due to the majority of Serbs in the parliament. An American traveler, in describing the situation there in the middle nineteen-twenties, wrote thusly:

The arrogance of the Serbs, their attempts to create a "Greater Serbia" instead of the federalized state to which they were committed, and the repressive measures which they have employed to gain their ends - all these have resulted, as might have been expected, in arousing the bitter resentment of the Western Yugoslavs, who feel that they are being treated as conquered people rather than co-partners.<sup>94</sup>

During the second World War the Slovenian territory, which had been in Yugoslavia, was divided between Germany and Italy. Resistance against such occupation began immediately, and after the beginning of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union, an internal civil war, sponsored by communists,

<sup>93</sup> Ferdo Šišić, Dokumenti o postanku Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1914-1919, Zagreb, 1920, 261-278.

<sup>94</sup> E. Alexander Powell, Embattled Borders, New York, 1928, 89.

was added. With the help of the Western Allies and the Soviet Union, the communists succeeded in gaining the upper hand in Yugoslavia, which after the Second World War was organized into a communist federal state after the Soviet pattern. Slovenia became one of the republics and after the peace treaty with Italy was signed, much of the territory, which had been held by Italy during the time between both wars, was united with her. About two hundred and sixty thousand Slovenes live at present outside of this republic, their numbers being divided among Austria, Free Territory of Trieste, Italy, and Hungary.

So lengthy an introduction about the Slovenes was considered necessary because in the English-speaking world little has been written and far less is known about them. The problem of Slovenian minority in Italy, such as existed specifically during the wars, belongs to the history and it is in this light that this thesis will attempt to analyze it.

## CHAPTER II

### FROM THE PACT OF LONDON TO THE TREATY OF RAPALLO

In the beginning of the First World War, Italy proclaimed her neutrality. She had been a member of the Triple Alliance, but because of the Additional Declaration which states that the treaty "cannot, as previously agreed, in any case be regarded as being directed against England,"<sup>1</sup> she felt free not to enter into the war on the side of her Allies, Germany and Austria-Hungary. But the real reasons for neutrality were that she was not prepared either economically or militarily, and that her diplomats and politicians were of the opinion that much would be gained by such a move. This was especially the plan of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sonnino, who had replaced San Giuliano, after the death of the latter on October 16, 1914. Sonnino's idea was to maintain an armed neutrality and to profit from it in the following way: first, to obtain from Austria as much territory as possible in South Tyrol, Slovenia, and Dalmatia as a reward for keeping neutrality towards the Central Powers; secondly, keeping secret, of course, this first agreement, to request from England and France further concessions in Africa and the Middle East in exchange for neutrality towards the Entente.<sup>2</sup>

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1 "The Triple Alliance of 1882," Readings in Twentieth Century European History, ed. Alexander Baltzly & A. William Salomene, New York, 1950, 30.

This deal, however, proved to be impossible because Austria-Hungary did not trust Italian diplomacy, and furthermore refused to consider her ambitious requests of territory. Nevertheless, the bargaining which thus took place in two directions was quite laborious and extensive.

On the side of the entente, it was decided that Russia had to take the initiative in contacting the Italians to propose military alliance, and the first pourparlers took place between the Russian Foreign Ministry and the Italian Ambassador in Saint Petersburg. The idea of the Russian General Staff was that Italy should attack Austria-Hungary, so that the latter would be forced to fight on two fronts and would thus soon be compelled to capitulate; hence the haste to draw Italy into the war.

On August 6, 1914, Sir Edward Grey had already proposed to St. Petersburg that Trieste should be offered to Italy because this would result in "great satisfaction among the Italian public."<sup>3</sup> On the next day he suggested that Valona and Trento<sup>4</sup> be added to the offer; and France joined these proposals on August 10, 1914.<sup>5</sup> On August 15, Krupenski, the Russian Ambassador in Rome, had a discussion with San Giuliano, asking him what the

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2 Gaetano Salvemini, "Italian Diplomacy during the World War," Foreign Affairs, New York, IV, January, 1926, 300.

3 Casa Editrice Rassegna Internazionale, L'Intervento dell'Italia nei documenti segreti dell'Intesa, Roma, 1923, 5.

4 Ibid., 6.

5 Ibid., 10-11.

Italian intentions were. The answer was that Italy would join the Entente "if the decisive moment will arrive."<sup>6</sup> And he added that besides the territorial claims the preliminary conditions would be: (1) that the negotiations were to be secret and to be carried on exclusively in London, this being the only place where discretion was safeguarded enough; (2) that the English, French, and Italian fleets were to act in the closest possible collaboration; (3) that none of the partners were to make a separate peace with any of the enemies.<sup>7</sup> On September 25, Carlotti, the Italian Ambassador in St. Petersburg, communicated the Italian territorial requests: the so-called Alps-Quarnero line, and parts of mainland and insular Dalmatia.<sup>8</sup> All these proposals were only tentative and informal, and the Italian diplomats tried to make the impression that they were not very much interested. San Giuliano shortly before his death gave the following instruction to Carlotti: "When abandoning our neutrality, we have to make it in such a way that our participation in the war shall not acquire the aspect of a sale to the highest bidder."<sup>9</sup>

When Sonnino took over, he began a policy of delay; he was evidently waiting for the first results of war in order to decide which party was stronger, and who, consequently, the probable winner would be. German

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6 Ibid., 28

7 Ibid., 29

8 Ibid., 49-51. The Alps-Quarnero line included: South Tyrol, Western Slovenia, City of Trieste, and Istria.

9 The Italian text: "Uscendo dalla nostra neutralità, noi dobbiamo



hopes went up now, and they dispatched a special ambassador, Prince von Buelow, to Rome. They offered Savoy, Nice, Corsica, and Tunis to Italy, promising to influence Austria to cede some of the territory which Italy wished to have.<sup>10</sup> Sonnino soon began to negotiate with Austria, directly, and through German mediation. Italy requested compensation according to the article VII of the Treaty of Triple Alliance, which provided that in case <sup>SOME</sup> of the signatory powers would acquire territory or concessions in the Balkans or the Middle East, thus destroying the territorial balance and the status quo, the other partner would be entitled to a compensation. Italy considered that by attacking Serbia, Austria had destroyed the balance of power in Balkans, and requested some of the Austrian territory for compensation. Burian, the Austrian Foreign Minister, refuted these charges, arguing that Italy had not evacuated the Dodecanese Islands as she had been bound by the Treaty with Turkey; and that furthermore she had meanwhile occupied Valona and some other smaller towns in Albania, thus perfectly reestablishing the balance. It took two months before article VII was overcome, and before Burian announced, under strong German pressure, that Austria was prepared to discuss her own territory as compensation. This was cabled on March 9, 1915, to Prince von Buelow, and he transmitted it to Sonnino. On March 27, Burian communicated to Avarna, the Italian Ambassador in Vienna, the following three Austrian proposals:

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fare in modo che nostra partecipazione alla guerra non abbia aspetto di una vendita al maggior offerente..." (Ibid., 51)

<sup>10</sup> Carlo Sforza, "Italy and the Yugoslav Idea," Foreign Affairs, New York, XVI, January, 1938, 327.

(1) Italy was to keep a benevolent neutrality till the end of the war; (2) free hand was to be given to Austria in the Balkans, with the exception of Albania, where the Italian influence would be recognized; (3) Austria was to cede the Southern part of South Tyrol, included the town Trento.<sup>11</sup> On April 8th, Avarna sent to Austrian Government the Italian counterproposals, and requested that an answer be given with the greatest possible haste. These proposals requested: (1) the Italian part of South Tyrol to be given to Italy; (2) most of the County of Goritza and Gradisca to be given to Italy; (3) Trieste and the towns of Capodistria and Pirano with the adjoined territory were to be allowed to form an independent state; (4) many islands in Dalmatia were to be given to Italy; (5) the territories had to be ceded immediately, and Trieste was to gain its own sovereignty immediately; (6) Valona and Sasseno in Albania were to be assigned to Italy.<sup>12</sup> On April 16, Austria replied refusing points two, three and four as absolutely unacceptable because of ethnographic, political, strategical, and economic reasons, and proposed a larger part of South Tyrol be ceded.<sup>13</sup>

In the meantime Sonnino was also bargaining with the Entente.<sup>14</sup>

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11 American Association for International Conciliation, Italy's Green Book, New York, 1915, 66-68.

12 Ibid., 72-75.

13 Ibid., 76-79.

14 "As the campaign developed and it became more and more clear to the shrewd eyes of the Italian Foreign Secretary that the German plans on the French front had failed, and that their hopes of a speedy decision in that direction were disappointed, that Russia had recovered from the reeling blow of Tannenberg and was inflicting crashing defeats on the Austrian Army and,

On March 10, Beckendorf, the Russian Ambassador in London, reported home that "Italy is offering a full alliance against any power in war, which seems to include also the United States whose attitude seems to be too uncertain."<sup>15</sup>

On March 11, the Italian Ambassador in London sent to Grey his government's proposals: Italy requested the whole of South Tyrol inhabited by the Germans and Italians, the Western part of Slovenia comprising the County of Gorizia and Gradisca, the City of Trieste, Istria, the whole mainland Dalmatia till the river Neretva, with the exception of Rijeka-Fiume, the majority of Dalmatian islands, and concessions in Albania and in Middle East, etc.<sup>16</sup> The Entente allies were rather surprised at the Italian appetite and were especially reluctant to give her what was for all practical purposes, the whole of Dalmatia. Sazonov replied expressing preparedness to agree, but only on the grounds of conceding a much smaller part of Dalmatia. Sonnino wrote to Carloti on March 21 to tell the Russians that Italy would be able to get the other things without resort to arms,<sup>17</sup> and added on March 24: "It would not be profitable for Italy to fight only to substitute in the Adriatic Sea

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above all, that Britain, to the surprise of friend and foe alike, was taking advantage of the stalemate to build up an immense army, the Italian terms were raised." Since Austria had refused he found the Western allies "more amenable to persuasion on a question of concessions which in their case would be made at the expense of an enemy country." --David Lloyd George, Memoirs of the Peace Conference, New Haven, 1939, II, 499.

15 Rassegna Internazionale, L'Intervento dell'Italia, 83.

16 Ibid., 84-87.

17 Ibid., 102-103.

This was an intentionally false statement, since we have seen that Austria was far from offering so much, and Italy even did not request

the Slavic supremacy for Austrian."<sup>18</sup> The British and French were pressing Sazonov to cede, but he answered that "the present situation of the Allies is not such as to justify their capitulation before all the Italian requests, which, also Sir Grey and Delcassé had found to be much exaggerated."<sup>19</sup> A few days later he also pointed out that "the Italian claims are in direct contradiction with the principle of nationality, and are related to the territories which often contain nothing of Italian."<sup>20</sup> On April 3, France, England, and Russia sent their proposals to Italy. They mainly accepted all the Italian requests, with the exception of mainland Dalmatia where they offered her only the land to Cape Flanka, about half of the coast-line Italy had asked for. The proposals were accompanied by the following words:

The Allies hope that as the result of this war the principle of nationality will be assured and generally accepted. However, in order to satisfy the Italian wishes they had agreed to serious deviations from this principle, and are of the opinion that if they would be forced to make further concessions, not only the principle in question would be sacrificed, but also the relations between Italy and her new neighbors would be dangerously disturbed.<sup>21</sup>

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that much from her.

18 The Italian text: "Combattere solo per sostituire nell'Adriatico la supremazia Slava all'Austriaca non sarebbe vantaggioso per l'Italia" (*Ibid.*, 111).

19 *Ibid.*, 116.

20 *Ibid.*, 126.

21 *Ibid.*, 137.

Italy accepted in principle, but still wanted continued discussion about details. Russia was still reluctant; but after the appeal of the President of France directly to the Tzar, and after continuous pressure had been exercised by the British and French Governments on Sazonov, the Russian Government finally agreed. The Tzar informed the French President that he had authorized his government "to make large concessions to the Italian requests, although these requests were very large and in several points in contradiction with the aspirations of Slavic peoples, the sacrifice of whom makes me fear dangers for the future."<sup>22</sup> The Pact was signed on April 26, and as far as Slovenia was concerned, the Pact gave to Italy over one-fifth of her territory and about three hundred thousand Slovenes; and in Istria and Dalmatia a much larger number of Croats were involved. The Entente diplomats did not feel very excited about the deal, and Benckendorf communicated to St. Petersburg that although the military necessities were first, "the imperfections of the treaty from the Slavic point of view were manifest to all, and to me, of course, more painfully than to the others."<sup>23</sup>

At the same time Sonnino continued to negotiate with Austria and Germany, but after the signature of the Pact of London which obligated Italy to enter the war on the side of the Allies, there was no use for further discussions; and on May 3 he sent a note to Austria and Germany announcing that Italy had renounced the Triple Alliance, because the other two powers

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22. Ibid., 154-155.

23. Ibid., 190.

had not observed the stipulations,<sup>24</sup> and that she had therefore reserved for herself freedom of action.<sup>25</sup>

In the subsequent war, Italian military efforts did not prove to be worth the expectations<sup>of</sup> of the Entente, in spite of her supremacy in men and material over the Austrian army on the Italian front. Some of the Allied diplomats and military men even thought that Italy was not interested in waging an efficient war, but was going through the motions, as it were, just since she had now obtained what she had asked for.<sup>26</sup> This may have been one of the reasons for the inefficiency, but there were two more important: (1) Italy was a young state without any successful military traditions; in 1866 she had been defeated badly both on land and sea by Austria, and in 1896 her army had been routed even by the primitively armed Ethiopian tribesmen near Adua; (2) furthermore, as Salvemini says, "the Pact of London had proved

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24 After Italy declared war to Central Powers on May 24, the Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph and the German Chancellor Von Bethmann-Hollweg declared that the Italian behavior was treason. Italian Prime Minister Salandra answered in a long speech on June 2, accusing Austria of refusing to consider properly the Italian territorial claims, and the Central Powers of not living up to their old promise that in case Austria would get Bosnia and Herzegovina, Italy would be allowed to take Albania or any other Turkish land in Adriatic area. These declarations and speeches are reproduced in the book of Luigi Carnovale, Why Italy Entered into the Great War, Chicago, 1917, 217-227.

25 International Conciliation, Green Book, 85-87.

26 "Sonnino, who was much the strongest man in all the successive Italian War Governments, was not specially interested in the military side of the conflict, . . . His concern was only aroused when there was some question raised to the Italian requisitions which would follow victory. How that victory was to be achieved, he left to others." -- Lloyd George, Memoirs, II, 504-505.

to be a Fountain of Youth for Austria";<sup>27</sup> it did not take long for the general contents of the Pact of London to become known in Austria where it was able to be used very efficiently for anti-Italian propoganda among the Slovenian and Croatian troops;<sup>28</sup> Slovenian and Croatian regiments were being transferred from the Russian to the Italian front, where they fought with the greatest heroism "in the belief that they were saving their national territory from foreign imperialistic designs."<sup>29</sup> All this led to the crushing defeat at Kobarid,<sup>30</sup> and the subsequent Italian retreat to Piave. The British and French rushed their divisions to the Italian front in order to stop a possible complete catastrophe.

Sonnino's policy regarding Slovenes and Croats was strictly unfriendly, and he was not willing to consider any possible developments within the Austrian Empire. This was also the official Italian policy. In October, 1917, Sonnino stated: "Among our war aims is neither the dismemberment of the enemy states nor changes in their internal systems."<sup>31</sup> After the defeat at Kobarid, the Italian Government, nevertheless, felt that something should

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27 Salvemini, "Italian Diplomacy," Foreign Affairs, IV, 304.

28 Ibid., 302.

29 R. W. Seton-Watson, Europe in the Melting Pot, London, 1919, 302.

30 Caporetto is the name which the Italians gave to this exclusively Slovenian village situated in an Alpine valley.

31 Sforza, "Italy and the Yugoslav Idea," Foreign Affairs, XVI, 333.

be done in order to avert the hostility of the Slovenian and Croatian troops, and to enlist them, instead, to start internal disorganization within the Austrian Army. But in the same time it was necessary not to commit themselves officially in order not to lose the privileges of the London Pact. A committee was organized in Rome, composed of the representatives of various political parties, and gave itself the task of convoking the representatives of the various nationalities of Austria-Hungary who wished the dismemberment of the Empire, and who issued a joint statement to this effect. An Italian deputy, Andrea Torre, was dispatched to London to meet there Dr. Trumbić, President of the Yugoslav Committee,<sup>32</sup> in order to work out a preliminary agreement. The convention took place in Rome and issued a statement in the form of an agreement which hence became known as the Pact of Rome. The various nationalities agreed that they favored the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary into independent national states. A special agreement was added between the "representatives" of the Italian people and the "representatives" of the people of the future Yugoslav State in which, among other things, was

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<sup>32</sup> This was a self-appointed committee organized by Dr. Trumbić, a deputy to the Parliament of Vienna, representing the district of Zadar, Dalmatia, and Croatia, who left Austria after the beginning of war with intention of starting abroad a movement for the union of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs of the Empire with Serbia. Out of twenty-one members this committee counted in December 1916, only five were former deputies either in Parliament of Vienna or Budapest. Out of three Slovenian members only Dr. Gustav Gregorin, deputy to the Parliament of Vienna for the district of Sežana, really represented anyone. The other two Dr. Bogumil Vošnjak and Dr. Niko Zupanič did not represent anyone but themselves. For all the members see Šišić, Dokumenti, 84-85.



stipulated future collaboration in the Adriatic Sea, a friendly arrangement of the territorial questions, and that those groups of population which would have to be included within the borders of the other partner would enjoy the full right to develop their language, culture, and economic and moral interests.<sup>33</sup> This Pact of Rome was sanctioned on April 10, 1918; the preliminary plan between Trumbić and Torre had already been agreed upon on March 7, 1918, in London. At the end of the convention of Rome, Prime Minister Orlando publicly endorsed it.<sup>34</sup> Italians hoped that the disintegration within Austria-Hungary would now take place quickly. It did so, but it is very doubtful whether this Pact contributed anything toward it; at least so far as Slovenia and Croatia were concerned. The people there were following their leaders at home, and knew little or nothing about Trumbić and the agreements. Their hope for a just territorial settlement was President Wilson, who had in the meantime already proclaimed the Fourteen Points. It is true that the Rome convention was sponsored by good-minded Italian liberals, but in its final aim, it only suited the Italian policy which was to get the Italian troops marching forward with the help of such internal disintegration of Austria-Hungary. This help was absolutely necessary, then, for the nationalistic and expansionist policy represented by Orlando and Sonnino, especially because Italian public opinion, with the Austrians then still at Piave, would have been glad enough to get out of war

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<sup>33</sup> Adriaticus, *La Question Adriatique, Recueil de documents officiels*, Paris, 1920, 24-26. The Italian "representatives" were members of the sponsoring committee; the "representatives" of Yugoslav peoples were members of the Yugoslav Committee.

with only the pre-war boundaries. After the end of the war, of course, the Italian man-of-the-street, stimulated by politicians, changed his mind and became an ardent supporter of nationalistic and expansionist policy.<sup>35</sup>

When Austria had already collapsed internally, when the Slovenes and Croats had already proclaimed their independent state on October 29, 1918, and the National Council in Zagreb had taken over the government, the Italian, with the help of British and French troops, started an offensive along the Piave line. The German troops still showed some willingness to fight, but the following events quickly decided the issue: the seventy-first Slovenian, the sixteenth and the one-hundred and sixteenth Croatian, and the thirtieth Czech regiments refused to fight against the British and French, and retreated; the seventy-eighth Croatian and three Czech regiments abandoned the front; the ninety-sixth and the one-hundred and thirty-fifth Croatian regiment and some Czech detachments made a breach to the Italians at Stino di Livenza and let them in; Slovenian and Croatian reinforcements sent to front revolted at Udine; these were the causes for Austrian retreat which resulted in general disbandment.<sup>36</sup> Slovenian and Croatian regiments

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34 Watson, Europe, 304.

35 Ray Stannard Baker, What Wilson Did at Paris, Garden City, N.Y., 1920, 76-77.

36 Henry Baerlein, The Birth of Yugoslavia, London, 1922, II, 14.

disbanded mainly in confidence of the assurances of President Wilson. The Italians began to occupy the territory, first to the London Pact line and then over it. They tried to occupy also Ljubljana, but a hurriedly composed battalion of Slovenian and Serbian volunteers, under the command of Col Švabió, stopped them about twenty-miles West of the Slovenian capital.<sup>37</sup> At the proclamation of independence from Austria, Croatian, Slovenian, and Czech sailors and officers under the command of the Slovenian naval officer, Koch,<sup>38</sup> took over the Austrian Navy at the base of Pola, and notified the Entente General Staff about it. Koch was nominated admiral by the National Council, and he put his flag on board the "Viribus Unitis," the best and the newest heavy cruiser of the former Austrian Fleet. The same night a small Italian torpedo-boat arrived in port and torpedoed her.<sup>39</sup> A few days later

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37 Edward James Woodhouse and Chase Going Woodhouse, Italy and The Jugoslavs, Boston, 1920, 173-174.

Describing this episode the author errs in his assertion that it was a battalion of the regular Serbian army. It was composed of Slovenian volunteers from Ljubljana and Serbian volunteers, who were former prisoners of war, returning home through Slovenia.

38 Sixty-five per cent of the Austro-Hungarian Navy were Croats and Slovenes, and there was an additional percentage of Czechs and other Slavs (Baerlein, The Birth, II, 25.)

39 There were only two men in the torpedo-boat, and they gave themselves up. Koch tried to establish during the interrogation, whether the Italian Naval Command in Venice, from where they were sent, already knew that the fleet no longer belonged to Austria-Hungary; but he did not succeed. The prevailing opinion, however, was that the sinking was planned with the intention of preventing any possibility of this best ship going to Yugoslavia (Ibid., 16-24).

the Italian Navy arrived and gradually took over. The use of the new flag of the National Council was strictly forbidden for any kind of ship anywhere in the Adriatic; the Austrian flag was to be used instead. The Croatian shipowners did not comply and many violent incidents occurred. Many other incidents, mostly due to the various orders of the Italian military occupation authorities, took place in the occupied areas of Slovenia and Croatia. Such was the general atmosphere, when, at Versailles, the negotiations for the final settlement began.<sup>40</sup>

Italians immediately forgot everything about the Pact of Rome, and Orlando declared that Italy did not recognize the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and furthermore that Italy "regarded the Croats and the Slovenes, that is to say, the people whose frontiers were in question, as her enemies."<sup>41</sup> He requested what was granted by the Pact of London as an established right,<sup>42</sup> and demanded also the additional Slovenian districts

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<sup>40</sup> Twice during the last year of war, Slavic officers and crews wanted to take over the Austro-Hungarian Fleet. First on February 1, 1918 when the rebellion at Kotor occurred, and its leader Ante Sesan went to Italy by plane asking for help and collaboration; and second time on October 3, when other emissaries went to Italy with the plans worked out. Both times they were arrested and imprisoned by the Italians, and not allowed any contact with their national representatives or the Allied powers. At home the attempts of their colleagues had been ruthlessly crushed. (Ibid., I, 285-288).

Sforza also confirmed that, due to the Italian Slavophobe policy, the war with Austria lasted longer ("Italy and the Yugoslav Idea," Foreign Affairs, XVI, 330).

<sup>41</sup> Lloyd George, Memoirs, II, 527.

<sup>42</sup> C.A. Hereshoff Bartlett of the New York and United States Federal Bar proved in his short study Italy and the Yugoslavs, A Question of International Law, Paris, 1919, that according to the rules of Internation-

of Postojna, Cerknica, Logatec,<sup>43</sup> and the mixed Slovenian-German district of Tarvis. The delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes insisted on the Slovenian-Italian ethnical line, with Trieste, Goritza, and Istrian coastal towns included, since the Italian enclaves in Trieste, Goritza, and Istria were not in contact with the compact Italian territory.<sup>44</sup> Wilson, whose arbitration had been sought by the Yugoslav delegation but refused by the Italians,<sup>45</sup> had worked out a different proposal with the aid of American experts: about one-half of the Slovenian territory contended would go to Italy, and the other half to Yugoslavia. Italy refused to consider this, and when later reporting before the Senate, Orlando stated: "I do not need to repeat here the reasons of historical right and national solidarity which are impressed in the heart of every Italian in such a way as to be fused with our own nature, and as to make any didactic exposition of the ethnic statistics and the geographic reliefs not only superfluous but almost insulting."<sup>46</sup> The Yugoslavs proposed a plebiscite but this was

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al law, Italy could not vindicate her sovereignty over any of the territories occupied or promised her by the London Pact.

<sup>43</sup> Pronounce Postojna, Tserknitsa, Logatetz.

<sup>44</sup> René Albrecht-Carrié, Italy at the Paris Peace Conference, New York, 1938, 93-100.

<sup>45</sup> See the text of these documents in Adriaticus, La Question, 33-34, 41.

<sup>46</sup> The Italian text: "Io non debbo ripetere qui le ragioni di diritto storico e di solidarietà nazionale, che sono scolpite nel cuore di ogni Italiano, in guisa da fondersi con la stessa nostra natura e da rendere non solo superflua, ma quasi offensiva una esposizione didascallica di statistiche etniche, di rilievi geografici." - Vittorio E. Orlando,

also turned down by Orlando and Sonnino.<sup>47</sup> Now the main friction developed between Wilson and the Italian delegation during the period known as the "Adriatic week" at Versailles. Wilson insisted on his principles, and at one time answered Orlando thusly: "I cannot make the United States accept principles contrary to those for which they took part in the war."<sup>48</sup> The main controversy was not over the Slovenian lands involved, but over Dalmatia and Rijeka-Fiume, the last of which was also included as an additional Italian claim. During the discussions the Italian delegates put on quite a "show," Orlando crying when necessary, and Sonnino making statements that these negotiations would mean not only political but also moral death to him.<sup>49</sup> The British and French tended to remain on the sideline of the dispute, although Lloyd George declared that England was for the fulfilment of the London Pact, but nothing more.<sup>50</sup> He considered that France and Britain were bound by honor to it.<sup>51</sup> Clemenceau was of the same opinion, but he once declared to Colonel House:

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Discorsi per la guerra e per la pace, Foligno, 1923, 349.

47 Adriaticus, La Question, 42-43.

48 L. Aldrovandi Marescotti, Guerra diplomatica, Ricordi e frammenti di diario 1914-1919, Milano, 1936, 238.

49 Ibid., 244-246.

50 Ibid., 237.

51 "France and Britain were in honour bound by the Treaty of London. Neither of us approved of its terms, which were in complete antagonism to all the principles upon which we were seeking to recast national boundaries. But it was a bond signed on behalf of our respective countries

And I beg you to view what Italian diplomacy is doing now. These absurd disciples of Machiavelli are replacing the traditional enemy, the white-coated Austrians whom we have destroyed for their benefit, with the valiant Serbs. It's an exchange they will live to regret. But our hands are tied. If they insist upon sticking fiery barbs into the proud flesh of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, there is nothing we can do about it; we are bound by the terms of our bond.<sup>52</sup>

No agreement was reached whatsoever, and at the end of the turbulent "Adriatic week," Wilson issued his famous Declaration on April 23, 1919,<sup>53</sup> which further complicated matters. Orlando issued a counterstatement and all the Italian political representatives left Versailles in protest, "but all the economic representatives quietly remained."<sup>54</sup> They returned again on May 6, and a long period of proposals and counter-proposals started. The Orlando-Sonnino Ministry fell in June 1919, and was followed by Nitti as Prime Minister and Tittoni as Foreign Minister. The negotiations continued and various plans were presented, but still nothing was concluded. Wilson returned to the United States but continued from there to take an active part in the issue. In January, 1920, Clemenceau, in the presence of Lloyd George and American Ambassador Wallace, gave the Yugoslav representatives

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for which they had received valuable and indispensable service; as such we were prepared to honour it." - Lloyd George, Memoirs, II, 541.

52 Stephen Bonsal, Suitors and Suppliants, The Little Nations at Versailles, New York, 1946, 101.

53 See the text in Adriaticus, La Question, 48-51.

54 Baker, What Wilson Did, 86.

a kind of ultimatum that, in case they did not accept a certain proposal, France, and Great Britain would enforce the London Pact line.<sup>55</sup> The Yugoslav delegates, however, succeeded in delaying the answer. In the meantime Clemenceau was out of the political scene, and the government in Belgrade had changed; thus the whole action went to naught. In February, 1920, the whole question resolved itself into a debate in writing between Wilson on one side and Lloyd George and Millerand on the other, with Italy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes completely out of the picture.<sup>56</sup> This was the time when the first Italian-Yugoslav contacts took place. On May 11, the first official meeting took place at Pallanza, Italy. The negotiations were interrupted, however, by the Cabinet crisis in Rome, where the Giolitti-Sforza combination became a successor to the previous government in June, 1920. The discussions were not resumed for some time, but Yugoslavia became more interested in settling the dispute for the following reasons: (1) Washington was no more interested in the question; (2) due to the end of the Versailles conference no support could be expected from London and Paris; (3) Italy was occupying all the territory in Dalmatia which according to the London Pact would go to her, but was occupying even more than was allowed in Slovenia; (4) the Serbian element in the government was inclined to make an arrangement with Italy, since this element had no

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55 Albrecht-Carrié, Italy, 274.

56 See Wilson's notes and British and French replies in Great Britain, His Majesty's Stationery Office, Correspondence Relating to the Adriatic Question, Miscellaneous No. 2, London 1920, 23-31.



direct, national interest in the disputed territory. These reasons also induced Italy to work out a proposal and to offer it to the Yugoslavs with the implication: "take it or leave it."

In a two-day session of negotiations at Rapallo, Italy proposed her plan, and her spokesmen, Giolitti, Sforza, and Bonomi implied that if the Yugoslav representatives would not accept it as such, the following would be the consequences: in Slovenia and Istria, Italy would annex everything to the London Pact line, and in Dalmatia the military occupation would continue.<sup>57</sup> The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes had no sufficient army to fight alone, and this is probably the principal reason why the delegates Vesnić, Trumbić and Stojanović promptly signed on November 12, 1920 what became known as the Treaty of Rapallo.<sup>58</sup> Very likely, however, the ultimate conditions would have been even worse if Wilson at Paris had not paved the way in favor of the Slovenes to a certain extent, and of the Croatians to a much larger extent, tempering thus some of the extreme stipulations of the Pact of London.

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57 Albrecht-Carrié, Italy, 304.

58 "Treaty of Rapallo, Italy-Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, November 12, 1920," Supplement to the American Journal of International Law, New York, XV, April, 1921, 173-177.

## CHAPTER III

### THE CEDED SLOVENIAN TERRITORY

The Treaty of Rapallo gave to Italy the following lands which are situated within the Slovenian national territory: the former County<sup>1</sup> of Goritza and Gradisca, a small part of the former Duchy of Carniola, the territory and city of Trieste, and the Slovenian part of Istria. In addition Italy received the Kanal Valley with the Treaty of St. Germain, and since 1866 she had a small Slovenian minority inhabiting Venetian Slovenia and the Valley of Resia.

The former County of Goritza and Gradisca was composed of two parts the country of Goritza was the larger part and exclusively Slovenian; the much smaller country of Gradisca was Friulian in large majority, having a mixed Italian-Friulian-Slovenian group in the area of Monfalcone, and a Slovenian group in the townships<sup>2</sup> along the Slovenian-Friulian-Italian ethnic

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1 This was not a county in the American sense, but in the old feudal sense. In this case it was a large territory, around eleven hundred square miles, which originally had been composed of two countries, that of Goritza and that of Gradisca, and joined together later when the same family received both in feud.

2 Township is used in this thesis to designate the smallest administrative unit, which in the Austrian Empire corresponded in area generally to the parish. Some authors writing about Central Europe use the expression community to designate this unit, basing it on the French expression commune. Such a use does not seem very proper, since the French commune represents a larger area and included generally more parishes. According to Webster, in England the township was an ancient unit of administration identical in area with or division of, a parish. This being the case in Central Europe, the same denomination is considered the most proper.

borderline. The divisional ethnic line in this former county had been very clear. The whole small plain between the former Austrian-Italian frontier and the foothills, with the exception of the corner in which the town of Goritza is situated, had been inhabited by Friulians and Italians; the rest of the County, a region of hills, valleys, and mountains bordering further northwest up on Italy, bordering due north on Carinthia, east on Carniola and Southeast on Istria and Trieste - all this had been inhabited by Slovenes. The capital of the County was the town of Goritza with its mixed Slovenian and Friulian population, and its small groups of German and pure Italian. The population of the County, according to the Austrian census of 1910,<sup>3</sup>

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3 The majority of authors dealing with this problem use the Austrian census of 1910, agreeing that it gives a fair picture. Those Italian authors who try to be impartial do the same; see Gaetano Salvemini, Racial Minorities under Fascism in Italy, Chicago 1934, 1.

The Italian census of 1921 is so openly false that none of the writers considers it seriously. It simply gives seventy thousand less Slovenes than the Austrian census, although in 1921 the emigration of Slovenes had not as yet started, at least not in larger numbers.

Most of the Slovenian authors also disagree with the Austrian census for two reasons: there was no question asked about nationality, but about customary language, and in the mixed areas the census was carried out mostly by Italian employees. The consequences of the second point was evident, but regarding the first point, they bring out that many Slovenes, especially in Trieste, were economically dependent upon German or Italian employers, and were forced to declare either Italian or German for their customary language.

After 1921 there was no census in Italy which took into consideration either nationality or the customary language. The figures of the Austrian census of 1910, and of the Italian of 1921, are available in nearly every book dealing with the Yugoslav-Italian relations immediately after the World War I or World War II. Besides these censuses, there are also the Catholic ecclesiastical statistics, composed by the Dioceses during the period between both World Wars, giving the population of parishes according to nationality. Since all the inhabitants of those lands are Catholics, these statistics are the most reliable. Unfortunately, they are not available in the Chicago area; the author of this thesis will nevertheless refer

had been about two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, of whom 63 per cent were Slovenes, and 36 per cent Friulians and Italians.

The part of the former Duchy of Carniola, which was incorporated into Italy, was then composed of the districts of Idrija, Senožeče, Postojna, Vipava and Ilirska Bistrica,<sup>4</sup> and counted around fifty-eight thousand inhabitants, all of them Slovenes.

The city and territory of Trieste, only slightly over thirty-six square miles, had about hundred and ninety thousand inhabitants, of whom about 60 per cent were Italians, about 32 per cent Slovenes, about 6 per cent Germans, and about 2 per cent Croats.

In the Slovenian part of Istria, which was the Northernmost part of the peninsula, over fifty-five thousand Slovenes were living on a compact territory, with the exception of the tiny coastal towns of Muggia, Isola, Capodistria, and Pirano, where according to the census returns, probably very unfair in this case, they reached only 20 per cent of the population.<sup>5</sup>

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to them in some cases, since they are partially reproduced in the following work which was available to him: Memorandum on the Problem of Triest and Northern Adriatic to the Allied Governments Concerned, Presented by the Action Committee for a Unified and Sovereign Slovenian State, Unpublished, Rome, May 31, 1946, Annex A, 10-14.

<sup>4</sup> Pronounce Idrijs, Senozeche, Postojna, Vipava and Ilirska Bistritsa.

<sup>5</sup> According to the ecclesiastical statistics at least 35 per cent of the population of these coastal towns were Slovenes (Ibid., 13).

In the Kanal Valley the majority group was German. There were, however, over fifteen hundred Slovenes representing around 28 per cent of the population, but this was probably also an unfair return as far as the Slovenes were regarded.<sup>6</sup> In the Austrian Empire the Kanal Valley was a part of Carinthia. A short and narrow valley, touching the Friulian territory on the West, it had a mixed population of Slovenes and Germans, the latter being especially strong in the small town of Tarvis. Its Western gate, before World War I, was on the Austrian-Italian frontier. After World War I, and today, its eastern gate lies on the Yugoslav-Italian frontier.

The Valley of Resia and Venetian Slovenia, called thus because it had belonged to Venice for some time before the eighteenth century, were both ceded to Italy after the Seven Weeks War in 1866. These two territories included the land between the central portion of the former Austrian-Italian borderline and the Friulian plain. It was a compactly settled Slovenian land bordering on the compactly settled Friulian land. According to the last Italian census before the World War I, there were fifty-two thousand Slovenes<sup>7</sup>

All of these lands, with the exception of Gradisca, were parts of the Slovenian national territory. According to the Austrian census of 1910, the detailed figures of the population which formed the Slovenian minority in Italy after the Treaty of Rapallo up to World War II, were as follows:

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<sup>6</sup> According to the ecclesiastical statistics 44 per cent of the inhabitants were Slovenes (Ibid., 10).

<sup>7</sup> Melik, Jugoslavijs, I, 202.

TABLE I  
THE SLOVENIAN MINORITY IN ITALY  
AFTER THE TREATY OF  
RAPALLO

<u>Territory</u>	<u>Number of Slovenes</u>
County of Goritza and Gradisca.....	154,736
Trieste.....	56,916
Istria.....	55,407
Portion of Carniola.....	58,027
Kanal Valley.....	1,562
Venetian Slovenia.....	52,003
Total..	378,651

Over twenty-one hundred square miles of these lands were compactly settled by the Slovenes, representing in this way nearly one-quarter of the whole Slovenian territory. The inhabitants living there represented 23 per cent of all the Slovenes living in the national territory, according to the Austrian census. But the true figure probably reached 25 per cent.<sup>8</sup>

There was, and still is today, a clearly recognizable ethnic division line between the Slovenes and the Italians or Friulians which runs from the Austrian border to the Gulf of Trieste as described above.<sup>9</sup>

8 Erjavec, Slovenija in Slovenci, 21.

9 Chapter I, 6.

Analyzing the nationality of the inhabitants of the townships on the Western border of which this division line runs, we see the following results.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The dates for the compilation of the table were taken from Memorandum on the Problem of Trieste, Annex A, 11-12.

TABLE II

THE PERCENTAGE OF SLOVENES IN THE TOWNSHIPS FORMING THE SLOVENIAN-FRIULIAN-ITALIAN ETHNIC DIVISION LINE

Townships from North <del>W</del> South	Italian Name	Percentage according to ecclesiastical statistics	Percentage according to the Italian census of 1921
Slovenian Name			
Resija	Resia	100	100
Gorjani	Montenars	34	16
Neme	Nimis	74	54
Ahten	Attimis	74	99
Pojda	Faedis	13	28
Terjan	Torreano	32	22
Sveti Peter	S. Pietro al Natissone	100	88
Sv. Lenart	S. Lionardo	100	100
Praprotno	Prepotto	52	43
Dolenje	Dolegna	57	28
Dobrovo	Castel Dobra	100	98
Kojsko	Quiscea	100	98
Gorica	Gorizia	50	40 <sup>a</sup>
Miren	Mirna	100	96
Opatje Selo	Oppacchia sella	100	98
Doberdob	Doberdo del Lago	100	98
Devin	Duino	100	98

<sup>a</sup> This is the percentage given by Austrian census of 1910



Where the ecclesiastical statistics give a lower percentage than the Italian census, this is not due to unfairness, but due to the different area covered, because these statistics are based on parishes, and it is not always possible to identify one or more parishes exactly with one township. In those townships which are exclusively Slovenian the ethnic line runs along their western border. Those which are mixed, are cut by the ethnic line in two parts, the Eastern of which is Slovenian, and the Western Italian.<sup>11</sup> The Kanal Valley is not mentioned here, because this is a problem of Slovenian-German ethnic delimitation.

Behind the division line there is the large Italian enclave at Trieste, and the small ones at Goritza and the four Istrian coastal towns.

Analyzing the population of Trieste, in addition to the percentages already given, it is necessary to make a further distinction; the very center of the city, an area of about two square miles, contained 76.5 per cent Italians, 16 per cent Slovenes, and 7.5 per cent Germans; the periferic parts of the city, an area of about eleven square miles, counted 46 per cent Italians, 50 per cent Slovenes, and 4 per cent Germans and others; the suburbs, an area of about twenty-three square miles, were populated by 90 per cent Slovenes, 7 per cent Italians, and 3 per cent Germans

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<sup>11</sup> This ethnic line is confirmed by all the authors. Among the Italians see the attached map in Olinto Marianelli, "The Regions of Mixed Population in Northern Italy," The Geographical Review, New York, VII, March 1919, 129-148.

A very good map is in Ant. Lazic, Ethnographical Italo-Jugoslav-German Frontier, Paris, 1919. But the best collection of maps is in Cartes sur la structure ethnique de la Marche Julienne, n.d., published in Slovenia at the time of the last Peace Conference.

and others.<sup>12</sup> All of the Slovenian writers, however, disagree with the Austrian census, listing in their reasons the following findings: the census had to be revised because it was too unfair, and during the revision, which took place only in two districts, twenty thousand more Slovenes were found; therefore, it followed that if the revision had been expanded further, still more would have been found; Italy, moreover, at that time was member of the Triple Alliance, and she and Germany continuously warned Austria to give preference in everything to the Italians in Trieste and Istria; and this is why the administration at Trieste was in Italian hands, and why, in the mixed places the census was conducted in the Italian favor; furthermore, the possibility that the Slovenes would amount to only 32 per cent would be excluded by the fact that in the election in 1911, over 38 per cent of the population voted for Slovenian candidates, etc.<sup>13</sup> Whatever was the true picture, the fact remains, that the city was completely surrounded by pure Slovenian territory, and contained itself a great mixture; even the population which was listed as Italian was of mixed origin. Marianelli notes that the Trieste Italians have 50-85 per cent of foreign admixture.<sup>14</sup>

The city of Goritza, according to the Austrian census, counted slightly over thirty thousand inhabitants, of whom 50 per cent were Italians,

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12 Memorandum on the Problem of Triest, Annex A, 7-9.

13 Francis Gabrovšek, Jugoslavia's Frontiers with Italy, New York, n.d., 26-28.

14 Marianelli, "The Regions," Geographical Review, VII, map.

40 per cent Slovenes, and 10 per cent Germans.<sup>15</sup> The majority of Italians were Friulians, and the majority of the Germans were soldiers and officers of the garrison.<sup>16</sup> The ecclesiastical statistics before 1915 found 50 per cent Slovenes, 50 per cent Italians, and no Germans, because they did not count soldiers, but only the firmly established members of parishes.<sup>17</sup> The Italians of Goritza also represented only an enclave in the Slovenian territory, but here the compact Friulian settlements started only a few miles away to the West, while Trieste was seventeen miles away from the first Italian township belonging to the compact Italian territory.

Southwest of Trieste on the Istrian coast, there were four isolated tiny towns, which, with their population of thirty thousand Italians and fifteen thousand Slovenes,<sup>18</sup> represented the last enclave in the Slovenian national territory. In that district also the Croatian-Slovenian ethnic division line had its beginning. In order to show some cultural standards<sup>19</sup>

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15 Memorandum présenté par les Slovénes du Pays de Gorice au Conseil National de Ljubljana, Comité National, Section Locale, Gorice, 1918, 5.

16 Melik, Jugoslavija, VI, 77.

17 Memorandum on the Problem of Triest, Annex A, 12.

18 According to ecclesiastical statistics (Ibid., 13).

19 One of the Italian slogans during the First World War was that the Slovenes were "a far less-cultured race than the Italians."-Virginio Gayda, Modern Austria, Her Racial and Social Problems, New York, 1915, 27.

This propaganda was especially widespread in the English-speaking countries where nobody knew anything about the Slovenes and other people of Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Italians used it just for this reason.

of the Slovenes in the ceded territory, a few examples will be listed.<sup>20</sup>

According to the census of 1910 the percentage of illiterates among the Slovenes was the following: in the County of Goritza, 14.75; in Carniola, 12.46; in Trieste, 12.86. Among the Italians at Gradisca there were 17.97 per cent illiterates, and among those of the District of Monfalcone 22.10 per cent of illiterates.<sup>21</sup>

In the town of Goritza there were three Slovenian High Schools and Junior Colleges, eleven primary and secondary schools, forty-one various societies, clubs and voluntary non-profit institutions, nine daily and weekly newspapers, and five larger banking institutions. The Archbishop of Goritza was a Slovene, and five members, i.e., one-half, of the County's Council were Slovenes. There were various publishing houses, and one of them alone published over three hundred books in the Slovenian language, in a period of less than twenty years before World War I.<sup>22</sup>

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20 There are nearly no particulars available here about Trieste and Slovenian Istria. But a detailed description of all schools, societies, clubs, institutions, etc., of the County of Goritza and of the ceded portion of Carniola is given by Andrej Gabršček in a book, very rare in U.S., Goriški Slovenci, Ljubljana 1934, II, 565-612.

21 Vošnjak, Bulwark, 217 and 266.

He also gives figures for Italy: an average of 37.60 per cent of illiterates, Southern Italy up to 85 per cent of illiterates, and the city of Rome 65 per cent of illiterates (Ibid., 265).

Between 1910 and 1915 many more Slovenian schools were opened and the percentage of illiterates became lower. In 1921 there were in the County of Goritza 6.70 per cent illiterates, in the ceded part of Carniola 7 per cent, in Trieste 6 per cent.--See the map "La Marche Julienne, pourcentage des illetrés par arrondissement, d'après le recensement italien de 1921" in the book of Fran Barbalid and Ivo Mihovilović, Proscription du slovène et du croate des écoles et des églises sous la domination italienne, 1918-1943, Zagreb, 1945.

22 Gabršček, Goriški Slovenci, II, 965-969.

In each of the one-hundred and five Slovenian townships of the County of Goritza and Gradisca, and in all of the forty-nine townships of the ceded portion of Carniola, there was at least one primary school; if the township was larger, two, three or more schools were available. Moreover, in each of these townships there was at least one educational society, one sport society, one cooperative and one banking or saving institution; generally there were many more of each in the larger places, and less only in the tiny villages with a few hundred inhabitants.<sup>23</sup>

In Trieste there was a large number of Slovenian junior colleges, high schools, newspapers, and important banks such as "Jadranska Banka," "Ljubljanska Kreditna Banka," etc. The Bishop of Trieste was a Slovene. There were also about two hundred Slovenian societies and organizations.<sup>24</sup>

In the economic field Italy acquired in these lands: the third largest mercury mine in the world at Idrija; cotton, silk, iron, paper, and the wood industry at Goritza; zinc and lead mines at Rabelj; the iron industry at Tarvis; cotton, silk, leather and the chemical industry at Monfalcone; the shipyards "Adria," the largest in the Adriatic, at Monfalcone; the large shipyards at St. Andrej, Sv. Rok, Berkovlje, and Škedenj, the suburbs of Trieste; the steel mills of the Carniolian Industrial Corporation at Trieste,<sup>25</sup> and of course coal mines, bauxite, factories and shipyards in the Croatian Istria, where about one-hundred and eighty thousand Croats had been incorporated into Italy after the Treaty of Rapallo.

<sup>23</sup>. Ibid., 569-593.

<sup>24</sup> Gabrovšek, Frontiers, 28.

<sup>25</sup> Melik, Jugoslavijska, II, 70-81.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE GRADUAL LOSS OF RIGHTS

By the Treaty of Rapallo Italy was not obligated to guarantee any minority rights to the Slovenian and Croatian minority within her borders. But Yugoslavia, on the other side, was bound by the Treaty to concede the fullest rights to the tiny Italian minority in Dalmatia,<sup>1</sup> because, as mentioned above, the Treaty had been dictated. Neither was Italy bound by any minority treaty of Versailles, as were all the smaller states, to guarantee the usual rights to her minorities,<sup>2</sup> since she was considered to be one of the great powers which were not bound to sign any such treaty.<sup>3</sup> At the peace conference, the Italian statement was: "There need be no fear that Italy will create new forms of irredentism, which is always the result of injustice and persecution, since Italy's history gives assurance in this respect."<sup>4</sup>

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1 According to the Austrian census of 1910 the number was 18,028.--Adriacus, From Trieste to Valona, Milan, 1919, 89.

2 Besides of Slovenian and Croatian, there was also a large German minority in South Tyrol.

3 Italy did not sign the minority treaties because considered herself to be too great a power to submit to such derogation to her sovereignty.--C.A.Macartney, National States & National Minorities, London, 1934, 252.

4 Ibid., 108

The only publicly given assurances were various official and semi-official statements, which, however, were quite ambiguous and obscure. The first proclamation to the Slovenes was given by a leaflet, in which, among other things, was written: "The Italian and Slovenian people are no longer enemies, no longer incited each against the other by the Germans, who exploited the struggle for their own advantage. Today it is easy to divide the work and the profit...Slovenes be sure that Italy, powerful and victorious, will care for all her citizens, of whatever nationality..."<sup>5</sup> But this leaflet was not signed by anyone. Next came the proclamation of the Commander of the Italian army in November, 1918, who said: "... while Italy intends to consolidate her spirit and her rights in this territory, the idea of the suppression of other races or tongues is far from her..."<sup>6</sup> Foreign Minister Tinnoni, when explaining the work for minority treaties at Versailles before the Italian Parliament on December 27, 1919, declared: "Italy, like the other Great Powers, has no longer legal obligation to fulfil these conditions, but in my opinion...there exists for her a great moral obligation to do so."<sup>7</sup> The King of Italy stated in his speech on January 1, 1919: "The new territory annexed to Italy places new problems before us.

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5 Mal, Zgodovina, 1161.

6 Macartney, National States, 252.

7 Ibid., 253.

Our liberal traditions will teach us how to solve these problems by respecting so far as possible local autonomous institutions and customs."<sup>8</sup> All of these and others similar statements promised nothing definite, and were, in fact, quite nebulous. Here it is interesting to observe that the King was speaking about annexation long before any direct discussions about this problem had ever started at Versailles.

The Slovenian minority gradually began to lose all their basic rights. During the first year after the Treaty of Rapallo, Slovenes still were allowed to take some part in the public life. At the first parliamentary elections on May 15, 1921, in the former County of Goritza, where the elections were conducted free from pressure or interference, four out of five seats were carried by the Slovenian candidates. In the next general elections which took place on April 6, 1924, only two Slovenian candidates succeeded in being elected; this great change resulted from the following reasons. (1) The whole region inhabited by Croats and Slovenes belonged to one single electoral district to which so many Italians were added that the Slovenes and Croats were in minority; (2) under the new election law the strongest party in the state, i.e., the Fascists, was entitled beforehand to two-thirds of the mandates available in every district, so that the other parties had to share the remaining third part among them; (3) the new electoral law furthermore demanded that every electoral badge had to be submitted in at least two electoral districts; for this reason the Slovenian

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8 Ibid.



candidates made common front with the South Tyrolese, and the badge represented the Tyrolese edelweis and the Slovenian linden tree flower;

(4) terror and unfair election tricks were used to deviate the Slovenian electorate. In the elections of March 24, 1929, the last two Slovenian deputies were lost, since under another new election law only one list of candidates was admissible and that one was compiled by the Fascist Great Council. From then on the Slovenes had no more representatives in the Italian parliament.<sup>9</sup>

For provincial administration the Extraordinary Committees were created by the decree of August 31, 1921. In the Provincial Committee of Gorizia there were five Slovenian and five Italian representatives in the beginning. In the Istrian Provincial Committee there were nominated only four Slovenes and Croats against fourteen Italians. Shortly later a special commission was nominated dealing with all the affairs connected with the new lands. In this commission only one Slovenian was nominated. A new law was issued in December 1926, creating the function of the president of the province and the rectorate, composed from four to eight members. The president and members had to be nominated by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. No Slovenian was ever nominated for any of these functions. In this way Slovenes were prohibited from participating even in the provincial administration.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Dr. Lavo Čermelj, La Minorité slave en Italie, Les Slovènes et Croates de la Marche Julienne, Ljubljana, 1938, 22-23.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 25-26.

During the first postwar years the commissioners were appointed for the administration of townships. The first township elections took place in January, 1922. In the district of Goritza the elections were conducted fairly, and the Slovenes won all the seats in the sixty-four townships, four-fifths of the seats in twenty-seven townships, and a minority of seats in the remaining eleven townships. In the town itself of Goritza, the Slovenes in the coalition with the Italian moderate party scored 1595 votes against 1091 of the Italian National Block. But in Trieste and Istria the Slovenes were prevented by force by fully armed, Fascists and D'Annunzio's legionnaires,<sup>11</sup> from even going to the polls to vote. In the district of Goritza the Slovenian supremacy similarly did not last long. Several councils were dissolved and Italian commissioners appointed. New elections were never held. By the decree of February 4, 1926, by the Law of June 25, 1926, and by the decree of September 3, 1926,<sup>12</sup> the autonomy of the townships was destroyed: the mayor had to be nominated by the Minister of Interior, and the members of the township council had to be appointed by the president of the province. The mayors appointed were always Italians, the members of council not always. But for all the practical purposes the mayor himself, together with the secretary who also was an Italian, conducted all the affairs without convening council members, especially where they were not Italians. Thus also in the smallest administrative units, Slovenes had no more word to say.

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11 Ibid., 28.

12 Ibid., 29.

As soon as the Italian troops occupied these lands, all the private Slovenian primary schools everywhere, and even three primary public schools in Goritza were closed. At the same time 119 Slovenian and Croatian primary public schools were abolished in Istria. All these prohibitions were carried out by the military occupation authorities without any government decree. Over four hundred public schools still remained open; but in the scholastic year 1919-1920, the Italian language was made a compulsory course which was taught everywhere exclusively by Italians, who, for the most part, did not understand the language of their pupils, who in turn did not understand the language of their teachers. The School Reform of October 1, 1923, brought an end to Slovenian schools. The Article 17 of this Reform decreed:

As from the beginning of the scholastic year, 1923-1924, Italian will be the language of instruction in all first classes of the primary schools where a non-Italian language has hitherto been in use. In the years following, the same proceeding shall be applied to succeeding classes, so that within a number of years equal to the number of classes Italian will be the sole language of instruction in all the primary schools. Provision will be made for instruction in the second language.<sup>13</sup>

The only provision made was the native tongue might be taken as the second language if the parents would make a written application for such instruction. The written application was often refused, however, by the school authorities or not even attended to. By a new decree as of November 22, 1925, even this slight provision was totally abolished; and since the scholastic year

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<sup>13</sup> As cited in Italy and the Yugoslav Minority Within Her Borders, Ljubljana, 1931, 11.

1928-1929, when the last Slovenian classes were abolished by the gradual measures established by the Reform of 1923, not one Slovenian public primary school remained in existence.<sup>14</sup> In the place of the numerous Slovenian private schools which had been closed immediately after the Italian military occupation of the territory, only one Slovenian elementary school had been permitted to open at the beginning of the scholastic year 1920-1921, and this one was in the city of Trieste. This one was attended by over one thousand boys and girls after the other schools had been closed. An official order was issued in the autumn of 1930 that also this school had to close down immediately.<sup>15</sup> According to the Reform of 1923 all the Slovenian high schools and junior colleges had been closed, as well some immediately and some progressively as in the case of the primary schools. Many primary schools had been forced to close before the deadline, so that by 1926 the majority of all the Slovenian schools had disappeared; and by 1928 every single Slovenian public school of every type had vanished. Moreover, the only single private school reopened since the war was abolished in 1930.

Although the official authorities acted benevolently indifferent to the continuous physical and verbal attacks being carried on against Slovenian organizations by private Italian individuals and organizations, nevertheless, the Slovenes succeeded in reorganizing after the war over four hundred reading, general educational, choral, musical, and sports clubs and

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14. Barbalis and Mihovilović, Proscription, 12.

15. Il Piccolo di Trieste, September 26, 1930.

societies. After the first period of violence exercised by private groups, there was a truce. Those organizations which were officially allowed, started to flourish. But they had now to contend with new difficulties coming from local authorities. Thus in the Province of Goritza, no public entertainment such as a concert or dramatic performance was permitted by the authorities to take place, unless the opening number consisted of an Italian song or recitation, regardless of the fact that the Slovenian audiences could not understand Italian. At Postojna the Slovenian teachers had been forbidden to conduct choral societies since 1923 under the pretext that teaching outside of the school was derogatory to the prestige and dignity of the scholastic profession.<sup>16</sup> In September 1926, the Commissioner of Police in Goritza declared that in the future all Slovenian dramatic performances were prohibited, because "Italian fellow-citizens felt themselves insulted, because the performances were given in a foreign language unknown to them."<sup>17</sup> By the decree of June 4, 1924, issued by the Prefect of Udine, whose jurisdiction at that time embraced also the province of Goritza, thirty-two Slovenian Catholic educational societies were closed, on the plea that "under their statutes they pursued the object of spreading Christian culture among the Slovenian populace."<sup>18</sup> Not only were Italian citizens of Italy thereby excluded from taking part in the activities of these Slovenian societies, but a distinction was now being made between the

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16 Italy and the Yugoslav Minority, 8.

17 Čermelj, La Minorité, 82.

18 Italy and the Yugoslav Minority, 9.

Slovenes of Italy and the rest of the citizens, a distinction contrary to the Italian constitution, which did not recognize such a discrimination.<sup>19</sup> In the period between 1923-1926, many societies were dissolved under various pretexts by the local authorities. The new Law on Associations was issued on November 26, 1925, placing all associations under strict police control; according to another Law of August 6, 1926, permissions for all scientific, cultural, sport or other public manifestations, had to be obtained from the Provincial Commission one month before. By the Law of November 6, 1926, all clubs and societies were permitted to carry on only internal activities. According to the new Police Law, the Prefect<sup>20</sup> was also authorized to order the dissolution of any society, club, organization or institution "if its activities in any way represent a contravention of the national State order."<sup>21</sup> In the meantime, the private Italian, especially Fascist, hostility had been renewed, and a typical example of these feelings is given by the writing of the newspaper, Il Popolo di Trieste, in June, 1927: "Slav teachers, Slav priests, Slav cultural societies and the rest of it are anachronisms and anomalies in a province that has been annexed nine years ago..."<sup>22</sup> In the second half of 1927 all Slovenian reading, general educational, dramatic, gymnastic, choral, sports, and similar societies, associations, organizations,

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19 Ibid.

20 Italy divided the new territories into Provinces. In the beginning the former County of Goritza belonged to the Province of Udine. Later on, the Provinces of Goritza, Trieste, Pola, and Fiume were established, and some Slovenes were also within the Province of Udine. The president of the provincial administration was called Prefect, in Italian, Prefetto.

21 Cermelj, La Minorité, 81-82.

22 IMd., 83

and clubs were dissolved by the Prefects, who applied for this purpose the above-mentioned article of the Police Law.<sup>23</sup>

During the first period after the war, the Slovenian newspapers could freely express their views, i.e., without interference by any censorship. But for the balance, their editorial offices and printing works were often attacked by Nationalist or Fascist-sponsored Italian mobs. When the Fascist Party took over power in 1922, the freedom of the press was at first not nationally curtailed. But the local authorities were of different opinion. On October 19, 1923, an order by the Prefect was issued for the territory of Goritza, in pursuance of which the Slovenian papers in this district were compelled to publish side by side with the Slovenian original text a literal Italian translation of it, equally long and in the same type. A few days later the Prefect of Trieste issued a similar order. But not long afterwards these decrees were repealed by central government authorities. Thereupon the Prefects started to file charges against the editors, and consecutively numerous confiscations took place. The Prefects had the right to confiscate according to the Law of July 15, 1923. This Law had established that the Prefects were authorized to admonish in writing the responsible editor; and this was usually done after several confiscations. After two admonitions in writing, the Prefect had the right to deprive the editor in question of his status of responsible editor. and this entailed the immediate

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23 Italy and the Jugoslav Minority, 9-10.

24 Čermelj, La Minorité, 93.

extinction of the paper. The Prefect was not bound to recognize a new editor.<sup>24</sup> The first Slovenian newspaper which disappeared in consequence of this practice was the weekly Novice<sup>25</sup> of Trieste, in 1927. The next year the same happened to the largest Slovenian daily in Italy, Edinost of Trieste, which had celebrated its fifty years' jubilee a few days earlier. A month later, Goriška Straža of Goritza was prohibited, and in the same time also the economic paper, Gospodarski List, of Goritza. The comic paper Čuk na palci of Goritza had had to cease its publications before this for the same reasons. Under a new decree of February 26, 1928, it was made compulsory that as of January 1, 1929, all editors should be registered in the official Register of Journalists, failing which their paper or periodical was not permitted to appear any more. All the Slovenian editors sent in their applications for registration but all were refused.<sup>26</sup> Consequently all the nine Slovenian papers still existing had to cease publication in the beginning of 1929. Upon the intervention, however, of the Slovenian Deputy to Italian Parliament, Dr. Besednjak, the Government allowed two Slovenian and one Croatian newspaper to be published in Goritza directly under his editorship. But all of these papers, too, had to cease their publication in autumn of 1930. There was no formal prohibition issued, but confiscation

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25 Pronounce this and the following four denominations: Novitise (meaning News), Edinost (Unity), Gorishka Strazha (The Guard of Goritza), Gospodarski List (Economic Paper), and Chook na paltsi (Owlet on the stick).

26 Ibid., 95-96.



followed after confiscation, and the Prefect of Goritza finally stated that he would confiscate any further issue as it appeared.<sup>27</sup>

The situation with the Slovenian publishing companies was similar. After the Treaty of Rapallo only three survived, organized as co-operatives: Goriška Matica and Mohorjeva družba in Goritza, and Luč<sup>28</sup> in Trieste. The printing was done in various places, but mostly by the Slovenian Catholic printing shop in Goritza. In spite of the preliminary censorship, at the close of 1928, more than one-hundred and fifty thousand copies of various books published by the above mentioned companies, were confiscated. In the confiscation and the persecution of the company's agents two methods were used. In April, 1934, the Ministry for Internal Affairs issued a decree whereby preventive censorship was established in the following way; the printer - and under an amendment of December 23, 1934, also the editor and publisher - had to submit three copies of each book, fully printed, to the Prefect, and had to wait with the distribution until written permission was received. Often this distribution was not allowed, and thereupon all the copies were confiscated, each occurrence spelling considerable economic loss for the small publishing companies. In December, 1934, the Slovenian Catholic printing shop of Goritza was deprived of its license on the basis of the

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 97. See also Salvemini, Racial Minorities, II.

<sup>28</sup> Pronounce the preceding three: Goriška Matitza (The Foundation of Goritza), Mohoryeva drushba (The Society of St. Hermagor), Looh (Light).

Law of Public Safety, for the reason that it printed Slovenian books.<sup>29</sup> Afterwards these companies occasionally published some small book of insignificant value; but for all practical purposes this was the time when the publishing and the distribution of Slovenian books can be spoken of as having ceased.

According to the order issued by the occupational authorities on April 15, 1919, present State employees of all categories could, upon application, temporarily retain their posts. But the competent authorities had the discretionary power to refuse these applications. This power they used in the case of Slovenian employees to a certain extent, however, many Slovenes remained to keep their position. After the annexation, first to be confirmed in their positions were the judges and the staffs of the courts; this took place in June, 1921, without any discrimination. On February 18, 1923, a decree was also issued for the other State employees, changing their temporary positions into permanent ones, "unless revoked by the competent authorities within three months of the coming into force of this decree."<sup>30</sup> This three-months term was extended twice, and a very large number of Slovenian employees was discharged, generally with the motivation that they could offer no guarantee for the loyal discharge of their duties.

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<sup>29</sup> Čermelj has a very thorough description of the numbers of confiscation. The number of confiscations given to 1928 may sound high, but it is necessary to bear in mind that in the Slovenian lands incorporated by Italy after Rapallo, in the first years after the war, when there was still relative freedom, about two hundred thousand books in Slovenian language were published and sold yearly (Čermelj, La Minorite, 99-105).

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 70.

These regulations were applied also to judges and court employees by a similar decree of September 14, 1923, which further specified that they could be discharged "on account of sickness, incapability, insufficient command of Italian, or any other reason..."<sup>31</sup> The membership in a Slovenian cultural society was generally deemed as a sufficient reason for dismissal. The majority of the Slovenian judges and court employees was discharged in the first months of the next year by the special commission which was created at the Ministry of Justice to carry out this decree. During the year 1924, a new combing was made on the basis of these same decrees: a very small number of Slovenian employees was retained and transferred to the provinces in the interior of Italy. In this way, only four years after the Treaty of Rapallo was signed, all the Slovenian government officials and employees were dismissed from their posts at home. The same happened in the local administrative bodies, where after the mayors were nominated by the Ministry of Interior, all the Slovenian secretaries and clerks, and even township physicians and veterinary surgeons were discharged, and their positions given to the Italian immigrants from distant parts of Italy, who did not even know the language of the people over whom they were to administer.<sup>32</sup>

Nearly two hundred Slovenian teachers lost their job after the private schools had been closed. After the School Reform mentioned above,

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31 Ibid.

32 When it was urged on an Italian doctor that his patients could no longer explain their symptoms to him, he replied: "Nor can the cow explain its symptoms to the veterinary surgeon." - A.J.P. Taylor, Trieste, New York, 1945, 13.

still more than eight hundred were teaching. According to the decree of November 22, 1925 those who had not passed their professional study in the Italian language had to qualify for instruction in Italian by passing a special examination. Those who failed to pass lost their position. Many did fail because the examination was intentionally very severe. Only one month later on December 24, a Law was promulgated giving to the Government a completely free hand in regard to all civil servants. This Law was used by the Minister of Education to discharge nearly all of the Slovenian teachers in the beginning of 1926. Only about fifty remained but were transferred into the provinces situated far away from their home.<sup>33</sup>

By an order of March 5, 1919, the Governor of the occupied territory permitted the Slovenian language to continue to be used in the courts. But in practice it was already impossible to use it anymore because of the demands of the States Attorney in Trieste, who insisted that all charges be drawn up only in Italian; hence, the cases which came up before the Criminal Court at Trieste had to be tried in Italian. The other tribunals in Trieste and those in Istria soon followed this example. In 1921 the Court of Appeal in Rome issued an order decreeing that all the appeals addressed to it should be written in Italian, and refused an appeal addressed to the District Court at Capodistria drawn up in the Slovenian language. On March 4, 1922, several Italian judges in Trieste decided in conference not to permit any more applications in Slovenian, and to forbid the use of

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33 Barbalic and Mihovilovic, Proscription, 12-14.

this language at the hearings. In April, 1922, the Provincial Court of Trieste issued an order to the effect that the use of the Slovenian language in the courts and the court offices in Trieste was abolished, and that any kind of the court procedure had to be carried out exclusively in Italian.<sup>34</sup> The Provincial Court of Goritza issued a similar order in October the same year.<sup>35</sup> Finally a decree was issued by the Government on October 15, 1925, the first article of which reads:

In all civil and criminal causes brought up before the Courts of the Kingdom, no language but Italian may be employed. The filing of petitions, acts, appeals, and other documents drawn up in any language but Italian will be considered as not having been done, nor can it affect the date of a summons. Reports, expert opinions, proposals, finding, and all other documents and decisions in any way connected with civil or criminal legal procedure and drawn up in any language but Italian are null and void. Persons who do not understand Italian may not be entered in the register of jurors.<sup>36</sup>

With the disappearance of Slovenian employees the Slovenian language disappeared also from all the other State, Provincial, and local offices. In March, 1925, the Prefect of the whole annexed territory, which at that time formed a single province, informed all mayors and all registrar's offices that in virtue of a Ministerial Order the use of local languages was forbidden.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Il Piccolo di Trieste, May 1, 1922.

<sup>35</sup> Il Piccolo di Trieste, November 2, 1922.

<sup>36</sup> Čermelj, La Minorità, 61.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 63.

On March 29, 1923, a Provincial order was issued that even letters with the addresses written in Slovenian not be forwarded by postal offices.<sup>38</sup> The various Provincial orders at the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923, ordered that the inscriptions at public resorts, notices, signboards, price lists, bills, the inscriptions on town halls, offices, institutions, the street and place names, etc., all must be in Italian.<sup>39</sup>

By the decree of January 20, 1921, a special commission was established at the Central Office for the new provinces, the task of which was to select the proper Italian denominations for the places in the annexed territory.<sup>40</sup> By the decree of March 28, 1923, all the Slovenian place names were replaced by the Italian denominations.<sup>41</sup>

The first local authority which refused to register newborn infants under Slovenian baptismal names was the office of Municipal Registrar at Trieste. If the parents protested and were not willing to change the already given name, the registrar simply entered the newborn child under some Italian name. In this procedure the Registrar's Office took the legal stand on the provision of the Old Law of Registration, whereby parents were forbidden to give their children "ridiculous," "immoral," or "offensive" Christian names. When a Slovenian party took action against such a procedure, the Court of Appeal of Trieste always approved the Registrar's procedure. On March 8, 1928, a special Law was promulgated, by which the registrar was not only authorized

38 Gabršček, Goriški Slovenci, II, 599.

39 Čermelj, La Minorité, 65-66.

40 Il Piccolo di Trieste, January 25, 1921.

41 Salvemini, Racial Minorities, 7.

to prevent the registration of the Slovenian baptismal names, but was also empowered to alter Slovenian names retrospectively.<sup>42</sup>

On April 7, 1927, the validity of the decree for the change of family names which hitherto was valid only for South Tyrol, was extended to Slovenian and Croatian minorities.<sup>43</sup> According to Article Two of this decree the change of name from the original into the Italian form was voluntary. But according to the Article One all the names of Italian or Latin origin,<sup>44</sup> which had been translated into other languages or corrupted by foreign spelling, had to resume their original form. Since the Slovenes were not inclined to change their names voluntarily, the Italian authorities and the Fascists invented a theory according to which the majority of Slovenian, Croatian and German names had been originally Italian. Special commissions were established to "trace" the origins of the names,<sup>45</sup> and the long lists of comparative Italian and Slovenian family names were published

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 10.

See also Peter Pavlovič, Nabi onstran meje, Ljubljana, 1933, 54.

<sup>43</sup> Il Piccolo di Trieste, April 9, 1927.

<sup>44</sup> The decree was originally destined only for Trentino, the Southern part of South Tyrol, where an Italian majority existed, which for a long time lived under the Austrian Empire, and where at that time some people for opportunist reasons altered their family names.

<sup>45</sup> They were "sustaining" that the Slovenian and Croatian names had been recently changed from the Italian ones, but they completely forgot that centuries-old records existed in Trieste and Goritza, where the names were registered in their original Slovenian form.

by newspapers, in order to show the "derivation;"<sup>46</sup> a special book was also published for this purpose.<sup>47</sup> And finally many Slovenes found in their mail in the morning a decree sent by the Prefect, according to which their name was no more their name, but from that moment on they were to call themselves by another name.<sup>48</sup>

The first economic blow to the Slovenian economy was made in 1921 when all the claims for compensation for war damages,<sup>49</sup> drawn in Slovenian language, were declared null and void. These claims had been filed in 1919, and in 1921 the majority of people had forgotten or lost the necessary information to renew their claims, and consequently they were left without compensation.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> How artificial was this "derivation" was proved by the fact that generally two or more brothers living in different places never received the same new Italianized name (Čermelj, La Minorité, 117).

<sup>47</sup> The book was written by the Provincial Councillor Pizzagalli and its title is: Per l'italianità dei cognomi nella Provincia di Trieste. It is not available here.

<sup>48</sup> In Trieste alone, fifty thousand family names were transformed in a few years after the decree had been published.--- Salvemini, Racial Minorities, 9.

<sup>49</sup> Here it is necessary to recall that the Goritza and Gradisca regions, and especially the territory on both sides of the Socha river, for over two years represented the eastern Austrian-Italian frontline, and at the end of the war nearly all the buildings along this line were completely destroyed by artillery fire, mines, bombs, etc.

<sup>50</sup> L.P.Mair, The Protection of Minorities, London, 1928, 212.



Due to the pressure exercised by the Government authorities and the Fascist party, the Administrative Board of the Slovenian Cooperative Federation in Trieste in late 1927 had to hand over the entire Federation to a Government Commissioner. The same happened to the Slovenian Co-operative Federation in Goritza, with the difference that here the Administrative Board was dissolved by the decree of the Prefect in January 13, 1928. All together the Government took over 323 different co-operatives, taking from the hands of the Slovenes in this way their last common financial strength.<sup>51</sup> An even more dangerous move, this time against individual Slovenian property, was made when, by the decree of January 7, 1937, a State-sponsored institution "The Agrarian Reconstruction Institute for Immoveable Property in the Three Venetias" received the right to "demand the transfer of immoveable property (land or houses), no matter to whom it belongs, if this seems suited for the purposes which the Institute pursues..."<sup>52</sup> This Institute, established in 1931, was known for forcing Slovenian proprietors into auction by first applying certain economic pressure in some way, and then afterwards buying their land and giving it to the Italian immigrants.<sup>53</sup>

Reviewing briefly we see that the gradual loss of the rights of the Slovenian minority was accomplished mainly before the end of the first decade after the Treaty of Rapallo.

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51 Pavlovič, Naši onstran meje, 10.

52 E. Reut-Nicolussi, "The Germans of South Tyrol," The Slavonic and East European Review, London, XVI, January 1938, 383.

53 Čermelj, La Minorité, 181-182.

## CHAPTER V

### DIRECT PERSECUTION AND RESISTANCE

As far as any policy toward a minority is concerned, if the intentional abolition of national rights through the use of legislative power is looked upon as an indirect persecution, then the use of police or other auxiliary methods to repress violently everything pertaining to a particular national group and to keep that group too terrified for reprisal - this may be regarded as direct persecution.

In the case of the Slovenian minority in Italy, it is possible to distinguish between two periods; the pre-Fascist and the Fascist.

The pre-Fascist period, or the period of the Italian "democratic" government till October, 1922, is characterized by two different things: the persecution carried out by governmental authorities, and the persecution carried out by seemingly irresponsible elements, tolerated, and in many cases encouraged by the official representatives.

One of the first orders issued by the military authorities immediately after occupation, was that of November 29, 1918, declaring that "every offence against the interests of the military and political situation created by the occupation in the Julian March, and every insult to the

symbols and persons who represent these interests..."<sup>1</sup> will be severely punished, the offender being liable to as much as six years imprisonment. The best comprehensive description of how this order was carried out is given by Čermelj who himself lived through those events:

On the strength of this Order, Slovenes and Croats were arrested by hundreds and made to languish in military prisons for months together before they were brought to trial. For the smallest incident some twenty persons or more might be arrested in one village and hauled off to prison. The peasants were incarcerated for not understanding the speech of the Gendarmes. Parish priests, school teachers and other Slovenes and Croats of social standing were transported in fetters to Trieste where they were led in chains on foot through the town to the jail.<sup>2</sup>

This order remained in force until the end of 1920. Some fourteen days before this order was issued, a notice had been published in all Slovenian localities to the effect that all the persons who had served in the Austrian Army and in the meantime had returned to their homes should report themselves to the local military authorities. All those who reported were declared prisoners of war and taken away to various concentration camps. About a month later they were released, after "having been treated with extreme brutality."<sup>3</sup> and some of them had to go to serve immediately in the Italian Army, and the rest received special identity cards with the designation, "prisoner of war," written in.<sup>4</sup> In February, 1919, the Italians began to arrest all leading

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1 Čermelj, La Minorité, 209.

2 Ibid.

3 La Province de Gorice et l'occupation italienne, Ljubljana, 1919, 14.

4 Ibid.

Slovenian personalities and to deport them to Sardinia or to various places in Southern Italy, regardless whether or not they had served in the Austrian Army; they were sent merely for "national" reasons. About one thousand persons were deported and interned, among them twenty-one priests, forty-five government officials, nine female school teachers, thirty-six male school teachers, large number of lawyers, public notaries, judges, and physicians, etc.<sup>5</sup> The end of 1919 brought the gradual release of the persons interned, but all were sent home through the jail in Trieste, where they were again detained a few months before being freed.

The persecution carried out by private elements began immediately after the occupation, and, until the end was tolerated by the authorities. In the pre-Fascist period, nationalist elements, D'Annunzio's legionnaires, Fascists already organized as a party, and occasionally soldiers on their own initiative, were the main groups responsible for these private excesses. In the Fascist period all these elements merged into the Fascist party, the militia of which represented an auxiliary military and police force. This force was responsible for the persecution of this period which was carried out either quite openly, or at times in more disguised ways, but always explicitly directed or backed by the government authorities. During the pre-Fascist period the government authorities had only implicitly sanctioned such actions by continually failing to notice the persecution.

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5 Čermelj, La Minorite, 210.

Some of the numerous actions undertaken by the "irresponsible" elements during the pre-Fascist period will be listed here.

First of all, there were two attacks on the Slovenian National Club at Trieste. This Club was a large building constructed by the Slovenes of Trieste in 1904, and it accommodated the following: the Slovenian Savings Bank, the Slovenian Library, the Slovenian Students' Union, the Slovenian Alpine Society, the School of Music, the Relief for Workers, a small theatre, an hotel with restaurant and cafe, the offices of several Slovenian Lawyers and a few private flats. The first attack took place on August 19, 1919. At noon when only one female caretaker was present a group of a hundred and fifty Italians, among them some twenty soldiers and officers, broke into the Slovenian Library and other rooms, tore down Slovenian inscriptions everywhere, smashed lamps, destroyed pictures, demolished furniture, smashed doors, tore up papers, and threw out of the windows a great many books which other Italians waiting on the street set afire. When the gendarmes arrived, they limited themselves to watching the fire and encircling the building so that no one could enter it. When the mob inside finished with its job, its members were allowed, without any hindrance from the police, to leave the building. Not only was no one arrested, but they proceeded and destroyed in a similar way, with gendarmes even guarding them from attack, the editorial offices and the printing shop of the Slovenian newspaper, Edinost, and the offices of the Slovenian Commercial and Industrial Co-operative Society, both situated in the vicinity. After they had finished, an army captain, who was one of the leaders of the gang, reported to the captain of

the gendarmes who had arrived on the scene: "Everything accomplished, everything in order."<sup>6</sup> A French observer who saw this and similar acts expressed his thoughts in the following way:

The censorship in force in the Entente countries is more than kind to Italy in preventing the revelation of news calculated to raise the veil which is carefully cast over the events taking place at this moment in the regions occupied by the Italians. Thanks to the censor, the world is unable to judge of the "blessings" dispensed by the Italian occupation in the name of those who fought "for the right and the freedom of people."

.....  
 The Italian Nationalists apparently consider that the Slovenes, the natives of the country, constitute an insult to the "Italian character" of the town by the mere fact of their existence. Trieste must be Italian, and, as a corollary, the Slovenes must disappear. As in the eyes of these Nationalists, the Italian authorities do not display sufficient activity in "purifying" the town, they take it upon themselves to act independently.<sup>7</sup>

The second attack against the Slovenian Club occurred on July 13, 1920. This time the building as a whole was attacked by a large mob supported by the Guardie Regie,<sup>8</sup> late in the evening. Inside the building were only staffs and guests in the hotel and restaurant, and those people living in private flats. The building was attacked first with small arms as though it were a fortress. The mob then stormed the building, drenching everything

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6 Leo d'Orfer, The Anti-Slovene Pogrom at Trieste, Courbevoie, Seine, 1919, 4-6.

7 Ibid., 4.

8 Italian Royal Constabulary.

with petrol and setting it afire. Immediately the gang retreated leaving the whole building in flames. The attempts of the people inside to escape were futile, because two of the entrances were in flames, and the third one was blocked by the Italian armed crowd and the Guardie Regie, who threatened to kill everyone trying to come out; they even fired at every face that appeared at the windows or doors. When the fire brigade arrived, the firemen were prevented by force from extinguishing the conflagration. They were only allowed to protect the neighboring buildings. Some of the persons imprisoned in the building, however, took advantage of the moment when the armed demonstrators were busy with the firemen, and escaped; but these were followed, and the men among them arrested by the Guardie Regie. But many persons perished in the flames, some of whom were Americans who had arrived in Trieste the day before by steamer. How many people perished will never be known, because the Italian authorities kept absolute silence concerning any possible evidence.<sup>9</sup> The gendarmes who had arrived on the spot had "looked the other way."<sup>10</sup> No Italians were arrested, but, strangely enough, a few Slovenes were being accused of attacking the demonstrators with rifle shots and bombs, an accusation so evidently false that all of them were released without delay. Nevertheless these arrests were used by the Italian

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9 Čermelj, La Minorité, 188.

10 Salvemini, Racial Minorities, 4.

press later on as an excuse for the burning of the club. After the fire was well in progress in the National Club, other Slovenian places were attacked. At the tenth anniversary of this event, glorified by the Fascists throughout Italy, a Trieste newspaper thus reported the attacks which had taken place that same night:

The anger of the people then turned against the various centers of the Slavophile propaganda. In the historical day were destroyed and demolished the offices of the Slovenian lawyer Kimovec, the inn Lenek, the office of Lawyer Okretič, cafe "Commerce," the Slovenian General Savings Bank, the Adriatic Bank, the offices of the newspaper, "Edinost," the Croatian Savings Bank, the shoemaker's shop Stantio, and at the end, the crowd put the Italian flag on the seat of the Yugoslav Delegation, at Piazza Venezia No. 1.

.....  
The National Club burned all the night. Thousands attended this event... Peasants, and men from the upper class, women and children, cheered to Italy and to the final Italianization of Trieste.<sup>11</sup>

The man who led these attacks was Francesco Giunta who later on became one of the principal leaders of Fascism in Italy. All the damages were estimated at about one million dollars.

Other smaller Slovenian National Clubs were burned during the next year in places near Trieste: on September 9, 1921, at Rojan; on November 12, 1921, at Sv. Ivan; on December 12, 1921, at Barkovlje;<sup>12</sup> and also many Slovenian private houses.<sup>13</sup>

11 Il Piccolo di Trieste, July 13, 1930.

12 Pronounce Royan, Sveti Eevan, Barkovlye.

13 La Minorité Yougoslave en Italie, Mémoire présenté à la Commission des minorités par l'Association Yougoslave pour la Société des Nations, Geneve, 1927, 8-9.



Countless anti-Slovenian and anti-Croatian pogroms and incidents took place at the occasion of the elections for parliament in May, 1921, and for administration of townships in January, 1922. These persecutions took place not so much in the former County of Gorizia, where the elections were more or less fairly conducted, as in Trieste and Istria, where every means was used to prevent the Slovenes and Croats from going to the polls and voting for their candidates. The burning of houses, and sometimes of whole villages, the killing and wounding of voters, beatings, arrests, replacement of voting tickets, etc. occurred. In these actions the Fascist and Nationalist gangs were openly aided in some cases by the gendarmes, and at least unhampered in other cases. Pope Benedict XV himself raised his voice against these terroristic acts.<sup>14</sup>

The case of the war memorial on Mt. Krn in the Julian Alps gave opportunity for the last large anti-Slovenian pogrom in the pre-Fascist era. On June 16, 1922, a war memorial was unveiled on the summit of Krn, in memory of the Italian Alpine troops who were killed when the mountain was stormed in June, 1915. A week later it was reported that the memorial had been destroyed and that the police had already arrested three suspected persons. The entire Fascist, and Nationalist press, and some of the moderate Italian press opened a venomous campaign against the Slovenian minority, especially against the Slovenian population in the villages situated near Mt. Krn, of which the largest was Kobarid. Fascist, Nationalist, and other

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<sup>14</sup> Čermelj has a detailed description of these acts (La Minorite, 196-206).

gangs invaded those villages. In Kobarid they destroyed the monument of the Slovenian composer Volarič<sup>V</sup>, looted the inns, tore down Slovenian shop signs and notice boards, then burned them in the middle of the place. They also burned the lime tree, a traditional Slovenian symbolic tree, growing in the middle of all the old villages and smaller towns. In the nearby village, Dreznica<sup>V</sup>, they burned the vicarage and an inn, and sought to kill the vicar and the mayor, but these both left in time. In the village of Staro Selo they scattered the congregation assembled in the church for divine service, and looted the premises of the cultural society, "Svoboda." The vicar of the church died shortly afterwards from the shock of this violent interruption of the mass. Another man died in Kobarid after he had been beaten and compelled to drink one pint of castor oil. The inhabitants of the village Libušnje<sup>V</sup><sup>15</sup> had to promise solemnly that they would rebuild the memorial on their own expenses. All this outrage lasted from June 22, to July 16, 1922, during which the various gangs arrived and left, each having fulfilled their revengeful intentions. Finally on August 24, 1922, a technical commission, created for this purpose on the insistence of Slovenian representatives, submitted its report with the finding that only lightning could have destroyed the memorial. In spite of that, in December of the same year, seven Slovenian boys who had been arrested as the suspected culprits were brought before the Tribunal in Goritza, and five of them were

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15 Pronounce Libooshnye.

sentenced from seven and a half to fifteen months imprisonment, and given fines; only two, aged twelve and thirteen years, were acquitted.<sup>16</sup>

The period of Fascist Government at first brought a new Police Law on November 6, 1926. This Law was promulgated in order to suppress anti-Fascism in the whole of Italy, but its provisions were carried out with particular zeal and severity with regard to Slovenian and other minorities, since here the persecution of anti-Fascism coincided with the persecution of a hated nationality. Besides the obligation for everyone to possess an identity card, the new law established a series of extremely severe measures to be adopted towards "suspects" or "persons dangerous to the state."<sup>17</sup> Three progressive steps were taken against such "offenders." The first step was reprimand: the chief of police warned the suspected person "to behave better," otherwise further steps would have to be taken. The second step was warning or admonition: this was pronounced by a special commission composed of the prefect of the province, the State attorney, the chief of police, the commander of gendarmerie, and a superior officer of the Fascist militia. Any person penalized in this way was not to be seen out of doors during the hours between sunrise and sunset; he was not to enter any public resort without special permission; he was to avoid all contacts with "suspected" persons; he was not to change his address without special

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16 Čermelj, La Minorité, 192-195.

17 If anybody denounced a Slovene as being anti-Italian or something similar, the Slovene in question immediately became a "suspect" or a "dangerous person" without closer consideration of the reliability of the source.

permission; he was to report to the police at stated times; and finally the police could enter his apartment at any time of the night in order to verify his being at home. The third step was internment: it was pronounced by the same commission as that which gave the warning; the term of internment was usually from one to five years. The Slovenian internees were mostly sent to various villages in Southern Italy, and to small islands of Lipari, Ponza, and Ventotene in the Tyrrhenian Sea. The internment was inflicted as punishment for acts which could not normally render their author liable to prosecution under any existing criminal law. In the case of Slovenes, any slight denunciation of the person in question as an agent for "Slovenian propaganda" was sufficient reason for internment.<sup>18</sup>

By the Law for Defense of the State of November 25, 1925, the Tribunale Speciale per la difesa dello Stato<sup>19</sup> was created, with its headquarters in Rome. At that time the death penalty was also re-introduced. The Tribunal had authority throughout the whole of Italy, and it dealt with the offences against the security of the state as established by the Law for Defense.<sup>20</sup> It was composed of six members, five officers of the superior

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18 Italy and the Yugoslav Minority, 30-32.

19 The Special Tribunal for the Defense of the State.

20 Some of these offences were: the destruction of public or private buildings, the burning of explosives or poisonous matter, the causing of railway accidents, and any other acts that might have caused a disaster, affecting the state; the instigation, inciting, or extolling of such acts; the attempt to revive in any form whatsoever such societies, organizations or parties which had been dissolved by the authorities; the spreading of untrue, or exaggerated reports about the internal situation in Italy; or to injure the prestige or interests of Italy abroad (Cermelj, La Minorité),<sup>230</sup>.

rank of the Fascist militia, and a general of the regular army or of the militia as chairman. Its functions were to have come to an end in December, 1931, but it was prolonged for another five years;<sup>21</sup> and in 1936, it was extended again for five more years.

Although the enactment of the Law for the Defense of the State was not particularly prompted by an aversion to the Slovenian minority in Italy, and although the wording of it does not imply that it was specifically intended for Slovenes or other minorities, yet in its application the Slovenes suffered relatively more than any others,<sup>22</sup> considering the testimony of public data alone.<sup>23</sup> Up to 1935, about a hundred and fifty Slovenes were sentenced by the Special Tribunal, and about 2,750 others. The aggregate length of the sentences passed upon Slovenes amounted to more than 1,600 years of imprisonment, or proportionally, to more than ten years imprisonment for each Slovene. The aggregate length of the penalties inflicted upon the others amounted to more than 15,300, or proportionally, the others received "only" five years per person. Furthermore, of the nine persons who were sentenced to death by this tribunal, five were Slovenes.

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21 The reasons given by Mussolini for this prolongation included also the alleged "criminal" activities in Slovenian lands. He stated that the motives for this extension "must be sought also in the fact that in some of our frontier regions there exist centers of criminal infection which are ignited and fed from beyond the frontier. These must be destroyed as energetically and speedily as possible," (Ibid., 233).

22 Others were members of Croatian and German minorities, and Italian anti-Fascists, who were almost exclusively Socialists & Communists.

23 In the beginning all the trials were reported under large headlines by the Italian newspaper. Later on, the reports became smaller and rarer. The data here mentioned are taken from Čermelj, La Minorité, 238.

The newspapers stimulated the demands that severe actions be taken in regard to the Slovenes. Stampa, on June 3, 1931, wrote that there was no Slovenian problem in Julian March, but "there exists merely the problem of policing the country."<sup>24</sup> Who the objects of such measures were, we can learn from Lavoro d'Italia, which, on August 31, 1928, published an article regarding the situation in Julian March, giving the following advice: "Repression ought to be harsh and ruthless even among those whose daily action lends itself even in the slightest degree to suspicion."<sup>25</sup>

The trial before the Special Tribunal was always preceded by preliminary detention, during which the preliminary examination took place. There were cases where as long as one year elapsed before the arrested person was brought before the Tribunal or released if there was no proof against him. During all this time those arrested suffered the most horrible tortures. These were inflicted upon them by regular police, jailers, and Fascist secret police called OVRA<sup>26</sup>; and these tortures were in no way "backward" in comparison with those used by the Nazi Gestapo or with those of the Soviet secret police under the various designations GPU, NKVD and MVD.<sup>27</sup>

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24 As cited in Salvemini, Racial Minorities, 21.

25 Ibid.

26 An abbreviation for Opera Volontaria Repressione Antifascista, meaning "The Voluntary Organization for the Repression of Anti-fascism."

27 During his stay in those lands the author of this thesis spoke with several persons who went through these tortures inflicted by the Italian Police, jailers, and OVRA, and obtained quite a clear picture.

Among the numerous trials which took place from the time of the establishment of the Special Tribunal up to the beginning of the Second World War, the most typical, and the greatest according to the penalties inflicted and the number of persons accused, was the trial held in Trieste from September 1, to September 5, 1930. In order to make a deeper impression the Special Tribunal, which regularly was seated in Rome, moved upon this occasion to Trieste. During the six previous months, fifty-two Slovenes had been arrested, mainly as suspects after the bombing of the Fascist newspaper, Il Popolo di Trieste which had taken place on February 10, 1930.<sup>28</sup> In addition to this accusation, these suspects were also charged with offences summarized in the following statement:

Italian citizens of Slovenian language from Julian March had already for a long time, with aid received from the other side of the frontier, exercised anti-Italian activity, by secret distribution of the Slovenian press, by the burning of Italian schools, by assassinations of Italian citizens of foreign birth who were loyal to Italy, by terroristic attacks against persons, and military, and public buildings, by spying against Italy, and by other criminal acts, all accomplished with anti-Italian intentions.<sup>29</sup>

Under the Law of the Defense of the State nearly all of these accusations could merit the death penalty. The defendants were divided into two groups, the first of which was tried in September, 1930 in Trieste, and the second

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<sup>28</sup> One of the editors was killed, and three employees were wounded at that occasion. The killed editor was Neri, a leading Trieste Fascist.

<sup>29</sup> Il Piccolo di Trieste, August 24, 1930.

over one year later, in Rome. During the trial at Trieste troops were called out, several warships were brought to anchor in the harbor, the local Fascist legion was mobilized, and the frontier guards along the Yugoslav-Italian were reinforced. This aspect of bravado was increased by the fact that although the trial had only ended on September 5, the four resulting executions took place on the very next day, i.e., the same day on which Yugoslavia was marching in solemn military parade marking the birthday of the heir to the throne, and the consecration of new army banners.

It was never established in this trial that the defendants were guilty of the bombing; they answered, strangely enough, little more than "yes."<sup>30</sup> These "confessions" were probably influenced by the tortures through which they had passed. The foreign newspapers were convinced that the defendants were innocent. Národní Listy of Prague wrote on September 6, 1930, that the bombing was the work of a former Fascist who had been expelled from the party at Trieste and who had threatened long before that he would take violent revenge.<sup>31</sup> Le Populaire of Paris wrote on September 4, 1930, that the bombing and other acts of violence of which the defendants were accused, had been carried out secretly by Fascists in order that certain repressive measures against the Slovenes could be effected.<sup>32</sup>

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30 Il Piccolo di Trieste, September 2, 1930.

31 As cited in J. Goričar, ed., Bazovica, 6. IX. 1930, Odmevi tržaškega procesa v inozemskem časopisju, Maribor, 1931, 21.

32 Ibid., 14.



That the group of the arrested persons was not responsible for the bombing could also be sustained by the fact that Svoboda, a clandestine Slovenian paper, in an article about the bombing, on March 1, 1930, said: "Whoever the hand was..., it was just."<sup>33</sup> The public opinion in Slovenia at that time was that the bombing had been carried out either by Fascists or by Italian Communists.

The defense attorneys for this trial were officially selected from among the members of the Fascist party, and were not allowed to look through the voluminous documentary material until two days before the trial. The Court was strictly guarded. Only those persons having admission tickets were allowed to enter, and these were difficult to obtain. Relatives of the accused who applied for the tickets were arrested. Hundreds of Slovenes in Trieste were put in jail for reasons of "police precaution." The trial was presided over by Cristini, a thirty-three-year old general of the Fascist militia, and it was attended by the representatives of civil and military authorities in gala uniform.<sup>34</sup>

The officially appointed defense attorneys actually attacked the defendants instead of defending them. One of them, Zennaro, said in his "defense" speech:

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<sup>33</sup> As cited by Il Piccolo of September 1, 1930.

<sup>34</sup> Italy and the Yugoslav Minority, 41.

All the defendants, nearly all the defendants, confirm their [own] guilt, thus there is no need to look for proofs and to hear the witnesses, since what the defendants stated is the proof of their guilt....And all this is due to the fact, that they are Slovenes,...of inferior race in comparison to ours, and of poor intelligence, also, when they are engaged in politics; they always remain peasants and idiots.<sup>35</sup>

Further on, he declared that in his opinion the death sentence was inevitable in the case of two of his clients; all this, however, did not prevent him from accepting thirty thousand lire<sup>36</sup> from the parents of the young men whom he "defended." When a Belgian lawyer, who was present at the trial, asked him about his extraordinary conduct, Zennaro excused himself with the words: "Such were my orders."<sup>37</sup>

Four of the defendants, Ferdinand Bidovec, aged twenty-two, Fran Marušič, aged twenty-four, Zvonimir Miloš, aged twenty-seven, and Alojz Valenčič, aged thirty-three, were condemned to death. Twelve others, among them a mother of two children, received a total aggregate of 157 years incarceration, with penalties ranging individually from two and one-half years to thirty years.<sup>38</sup> The military Commanding Officer of Trieste who held jurisdiction in this case, refused to forward the appeals for mercy on behalf of the men condemned to death, and all four were executed before dawn

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35 Il Piccolo di Trieste, September 4, 1930.

36 About one thousand dollars at that time.

37 Italy and the Yugoslav Minority, 42.

38 Il Piccolo di Trieste, September 5, 1930.

on September 6, 1930. The mortal remains of the executed men were interred at some unknown spot, so that nobody could lay flowers upon their graves.<sup>39</sup> The Manchester Guardian wrote on September 8, 1930, that there were surely other reasons than just a regular judicial procedure for such a hurried execution, among which one probable one was that many protests and demands concerning this trial had poured into the League of Nations.<sup>40</sup> The process, the sentence, and the execution had many echoes in the European press, and especially did the Czech papers bitterly attack Italy. Národní Listy of Prague wrote on September 7, 1930:

Italy not only does not recognize the rights to her minorities, but Italy is rudely exterminating them. And the world is silent, the world does not know about it, the world does not want to know about it. The League of Nations is silent, the Minorities' Conference is silent. Does the League of Nations exist only for the reason that the big would rule, and the small should only obey?  
 .....

But Italy should not forget one thing: with the blood of national martyrs the way to freedom is marked. The voice of the blood, spread at Trieste and Pola, is stronger than the yelling of the Fascist troops. And this blood calls for revenge which will arrive...

We bow in the deepest admiration before the memory of our brothers assassinated yesterday. They fell in the sacred battle for the rights of their nation. Others will take their place. They will revenge them and will win.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> See the reports of various European newspapers in Gorioar, Basovica, 57-64.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 25.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 23-24.

The Arbeiter Zeitung of Vienna wrote on September 10, 1930, that the process had nothing to do with Law, but it was just one episode of the battle between well-armed Italian Fascism and disarmed Slovenian patriots.<sup>42</sup>

The Berliner Borsen Courier pointed out that the persons who had burned the Slovenian National Club in 1920 were decorated for the tenth anniversary of that event, and that the Italians who committed crimes "for national reasons" against the Slovenian minority were never punished; in this way Italy herself by such policies had sanctioned her citizens' right to commit acts of violence for national reasons, and hence it is only logical that the Slovenes should also resort to such acts, presuming, of course, that they had been guilty at all.<sup>43</sup>

Lidové Listy of Prague, declared on September 14, 1930, that Italy was able to rule over her foreign population only by using terror, and that with such a behavior she made a large breach between the Slavic and Italian world.<sup>44</sup>

Der Suedtiroler of Innsbruck warned on September 15, 1930; "No nation can suppress violently the rights of the other nation and remain unpunished, no regime can create the hate of the oppressed people without consequences. The life of the Slovenes in Italy is a real hell."<sup>45</sup>

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42 Ibid., 47.

43 Ibid., 55.

44 Ibid., 67.

45 Ibid., 74.

The second part of this trial took place in Rome in December, 1931. Thirty Slovenes, who had spent eighteen months in prison waiting for their trial, were accused of spreading anti-Italian propaganda, of the distributing of Slovenian books, and of the organizing of secret societies, all in order "to defend Slovenian national conscience and to check Italianization by means of oral and written propaganda."<sup>46</sup> They were not accused of any acts of violence. Sixteen were condemned to a total of 102 years of incarceration, receiving individual penalties from two and one-half years to twenty years. Fourteen were acquitted and released after eighteen months of unjust preliminary detention.<sup>47</sup>

Several other trials took place in the years before and after this trial, for similar reasons, and with similar outcome as far as the penalties were concerned. The persons sentenced were in most cases absolutely innocent or "guilty" only of such things as anti-Italian and anti-Fascist propaganda, distribution of Slovenian books and newspapers received from the other side of the border, or clandestinely published in Italy, etc.; in short words they were guilty of what could be called "Irredentism." The Italian authorities, for political purposes, considered Slovenes responsible for all the acts of violence which took place in the lands inhabited by Slovenes. To these acts a political color could be added, of course, so that the

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<sup>46</sup> Il Piccolo di Trieste, December 5, 1931.

<sup>47</sup> Il Piccolo di Trieste, December 6, 1931.

Fascists could carry out repressive measures and organize spectacular trials.<sup>48</sup> They wanted to keep the Slovenian minority in a continuous state of fear in order to prevent any really organized resistance and underground movement, so that an easier Italianization of Slovenian children could be effected. These children had already been forced to join<sup>49</sup> Italian organizations since their kindergarten age, and had been made to use only the Italian language in their conversation.<sup>50</sup>

The resistance which was the result of the persecution, either direct or indirect, started early, but, for the time being it remained necessarily more passive than active. Above all else it was hoped that soon everything would be over, and that the necessary thing now was to survive, and to check the forced Italianization of children as much as possible.

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<sup>48</sup> One of the typical trials in which everyone was innocent, a fact which had been confirmed even by the Italian authorities, in private, but which was denied publicly for pure political purposes, was the trial of the thirteen young Slovenian men from Kal, who were accused of the assassination of an Italian revenue guard. Nothing was proved against them; nevertheless, seven were condemned to thirty years, and six to twenty years. For the process and sentence see Il Piccolo di Trieste, February 23-24, 1932.

It so happens that the author of this thesis knows the circumstances of this trial very well, and he also interviewed five of the persons implicated, after they had been released due to an amnesty after they had spent nearly ten years in prison. The truth was very simple and was known by those remote from the place where the guard had been murdered. The guard was shot to death by one of his own colleagues, who was half drunk, in a quarrel over a woman. The Italian authorities built up a whole story, trying to show that the attack had been one of the acts of the Slovenian terrorists.

<sup>49</sup> If they did not join the parents were penalized.

<sup>50</sup> Pavlovič, Naši onstran meje, 47-48.

After all the Slovenian officials, employees, professors, teachers had been thrown out of the offices and schools, after the journalists and writers were prohibited from doing any work, and after the same happened to the majority of physicians and lawyers, the only of intellectuals who still remained in their posts, although heavily handicapped as we shall see later, were Slovenian Catholic priests. In addition to their regular spiritual tasks, nearly all of these priests sacrificed themselves in order to give the children some Slovenian education. Secretly they organized classes where they taught the school children how to write and read correctly in Slovenian. For this reason they were closely watched by the Police, but only very seldom could anything be proved against them, since it was easy to disguise this teaching under general religious instruction. This religious instruction was carried out after 1928, within vicarages and churches, because the Italian authorities had ordered in that year that the priests either give religious instruction in school in Italian, or leave the school altogether. The priests preferred to do the latter, and hence started to give religious instructions in Slovenian at their homes or in the churches, for here they were not bound by any orders of the state authorities. The children were also continuously encouraged at home by their parents to read Slovenian books, of which every Slovenian family possessed a little collection since Austrian times. Some books and newspapers were also smuggled in from the frontier, but in very small quantities, since it was difficult to transport them over the mountains; for on the other side at the legal crossings, the Italian border authorities paid more attention to Slovenian books

and newspapers<sup>51</sup> than to any real possible contraband, forcing travelers to throw away even any Slovenian newspapers used for wrappings.<sup>52</sup>

Another aspect of Slovenian resistance was the organization of secret groups among young people. There were many such groups, and the main purpose of each of them was the development and promulgation of Slovenian culture and Slovenian national propaganda; all of which was, of course, anti-Italian.<sup>53</sup> Occasionally, however, there were also some "action" groups organized which promoted acts of terrorism against various centers of Italianization, as, for example, against ultra-Fascist schools, institutions, etc. There were also sporadic attacks against the military objects, these probably being sponsored by various foreign espionage services, and using Slovenian young men for such purposes who in these acts sought some sort of patriotic achievement. All of these Slovenian acts of violence before the beginning of the second World War, took place almost exclusively during the years of the strongest persecution, i.e., from 1927 to 1935, and were far from reaching the scale of guerilla warfare, as has been claimed

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51 Although there was no official prohibition for importation.

52 Confirmed in the personal experience of the author of this thesis.

53 All of these groups published clandestine papers, like Borba, "Fight," Svoboda, "Liberty," Primorski glas, "Voice of the Coastland," and pamphlets, leaflets, etc. Some of these were brought before the judges in the second part of the trial mentioned before. See Il Piccolo di Trieste, August 25, 1930.



by Salvemini.<sup>54</sup> An organization or a kind of representative underground union was developed, where all the groups of different political opinions collaborated;<sup>55</sup> this union was called simply, "Organization," and its partial discovery was the only real evidence the Italian police had discovered at the second great trial described above.<sup>56</sup> This organization held secret meetings in the woods near the remote villages, or in secret places in towns. Its purpose was to preserve the Slovenian character of the country and to fight against Italianization by means of propaganda, without ever actually engaging in terroristic acts. It also kept contacts with the Slovenes in Yugoslavia. Generally in every village or part of town there was

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<sup>54</sup> Salvemini claims that there was out and out guerilla warfare going on, and affirms on the basis of the dates published by Fascists, that during the first four months of 1931 alone there was fifteen assassinations, thirty armed attacks, and eighteen schools, institutes, or ammunition factories burned; but he forgets completely that here all the Fascist actions are included, and also those perpetrated by common criminals (Racial Minorities, 20.).

<sup>55</sup> With the exception of Communists. They had their party organized secretly with the Italian Communists. The only Slovenes who had joined the Communist movement at that time were some of those who were working in Trieste shipyards and factories.

<sup>56</sup> What was found by the police is described in lengthy articles in Il Piccolo di Trieste, August 24-31, 1930.

Here it is necessary to point out that the Italian authorities had overemphasized whatever they found in order to warrant more severe repressive measures. All of the trials which took place, the accounts of which are available either in the Italian newspapers, or in other sources, represented the processing and condemnation of hostages, rather than of persons who were active or passive promoters of the anti-Italian propaganda, and of acts of violence. It seems that the right person was never arrested in the event anything had happened. The Italians felt that there was just a periodical need to show who was the lord in the country. Consequently, someone was always being arrested, and had to suffer unjustly the penalties inflicted to give example and warning to the whole Slovenian community.

a kind of representative of this organization, who distributed books, newspapers, pamphlets, and other propagandistic material, all received from the center of the organization which was in Goritzza and Trieste. This organization as such, with a slight variation of leaders and groups participating, existed till the beginning of the Second World War. Even today not much is known about it, because some of the leading members died before they were able to write their memoirs; others live in circumstances where either they cannot write about this matter at all, or they could not write about it impartially, and hence prefer not to write at all.

A negative aspect of the Slovenian opposition against the Italian persecution was ~~the~~ emigration. All the intellectuals who were thrown out of jobs, many young men who did not want to serve in the Italian army, and many other people who were tired of violence at home and preferred to live in freedom and peace abroad - all these left their native land. Those who emigrated to Yugoslavia did so illegally for the most part, since Italy tried to prevent emigration to that country fearing the development of Irredentism so close to the frontier. Those who emigrated overseas were allowed to do so without much difficulty. Il Secolo of Milan reported on January 1, 1931, that the Slovenes of the frontier zone were emigrating to Argentina and Brazil, and that the policy of Italy was not to keep them back, as their departure made it possible to settle Italians in those regions.<sup>57</sup> It is not possible to ascertain exactly how many emigrated during the whole period between the both World Wars, but on the basis of the dates available,

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<sup>57</sup> Gabrovsek, *Frontiers*, 37.

the number of those who emigrated, or rather escaped, to Yugoslavia, has been estimated to be at least seventy thousand, and of those who emigrated to Argentina, Brazil, the United States, Egypt, Belgium, France, etc., over thirty thousand.<sup>58</sup>

The majority of those who emigrated to Yugoslavia, settled down in Slovenian lands of the Yugoslav State, but quite a large number went also to Croatia and Serbia. Immediately they organized their own societies and clubs, the number of which by 1934 was thirty-six, and they were distributed in the following way: in Slovenian lands of the Yugoslav State, twenty; in Croatia, ten; and in Serbia, six.<sup>59</sup> Those in Croatia were mixed Slovenian and Croatian, and of those in Serbia, some were mixed Slovenian and Croatian, and some were only Slovenian. These clubs and societies were actually organized for cultural, social, and relief purposes, but naturally also represented varying degrees of Slovenian Irredentism.

A special aspect of the persecution against the Slovenian minority was the persecution against the Church, i.e., against the Slovenian priests, and against the use of the Slovenian language in the Church. This persecution was carried out by the police authorities directly, or by Fascists and Nationalists, who, by intentionally creating various incidents, caused police intervention. In such cases the police generally sided with the Fascists

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58 Ibid., 36.

59 Gabršček, Coriški Slovenci, II, 595-596.

or Nationalists, and found some motive in order to be able to adopt repressive measures against the Slovenian priest, or members of the parish.

All the Slovenian territory occupied by Italy after the armistice with Austria, and later annexed after the Treaty of Rapallo, together with that region which had been under Italy since 1866, formed two full ecclesiastical provinces, and parts of three others: the Archdiocese of Goritza and the Diocese of Trieste and Capodistria, the whole territory of which came within the borders of Italy; the Kanal Valley of the Diocese of Gurk-Krka in Carinthia, and the portion of Carniola of the Diocese of Ljubljana, for both of which the Archbishop of Goritza was appointed Apostolic Administrator; and Venetian Slovenia, which had been part of Italy since 1866, and had already been a part of the Diocese of Udine. In 1925 a new Diocese of Fiume-Rijeka was created, and a few Slovenian parishes were transferred under its jurisdiction. At the end of the First World War, three bishops in the territory occupied by Italy were Slovenes: Archbishop of Goritza Monsignor Frano Sedej, Bishop of Trieste-Capodistria Monsignor Andrej Karlin, and Monsignor Anton Mahnič, Bishop of Krk, which was a Croatian Diocese comprising the islands of the Gulf of Quarnero, and some of the Croatian Coastland; the seat of this Diocese was in the town Krk, on the island of the same name, which had also been occupied by the Italian troops until the Treaty of Rapallo, and then evacuated since it was not ceded to Italy.

The first attack was carried out against Monsignor Karlin of Trieste. His palace was invaded on December 19, 1918, by an Italian mob, and the diocesan court and his private apartment were ransacked and

devastated. The Italian authorities requested him to leave in order that further "incidents" could be avoided. On the advise of the Vatican, he left and went to the Lavantine Diocese in the Yugoslav part of Slovenia, of which he was nominated Bishop shortly afterwards.<sup>60</sup> When he was interviewed and asked why all this happened, he answered: "My sole offence was that I am a Slovenian, and have never concealed this fact."<sup>61</sup>

Another sensation was caused by the arrest of Monsignor Mahnić, Bishop of Krk. He had refused to comply with the order of Italian Admiral Cagni to abolish the use of the ecclesiastical Old Slavic Language,<sup>62</sup> furthermore, he had intervened on behalf of one of his Croatian priests, whom the Italians kept in confinement in his own home; and lastly, he had addressed a memorandum to the Paris Peace Conference about the conduct of the Italian occupation authorities. On April 4, 1919, he was tricked into going on an Italian warship, promised a passage to another port on the Yugoslav side of Adriatic, but was taken instead to Ancona, and from there escorted to Rome, where, on the request of the Italian authorities, he had to live in confinement in a convent. He was not allowed to return to Krk until the next year in February, and even then was not permitted to stay, but compelled

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<sup>60</sup> Fran Barbaljić, "The Yugoslavs of Italy," The Slavonic and East European Review, London, XV, July 1936, 181.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 192.

<sup>62</sup> The Holy Liturgy in the Old Slavic language was allowed by the Holy See in many parishes in Istria, and Croatian Coastland, and was finally confirmed by a decree of the Congregation of Rites in 1906. This was a remainder of the Holy Liturgy in the Slavic language as it was established by the Slavic Apostles Konstantin & Methodius in ninth century and confirmed by the Roman.

to leave for Yugoslavia, where he died a few months later in Zagreb, exhausted spiritually and physically.<sup>63</sup>

The case of Monsignor Sedej, Archbishop of Goritza was similar, only that he was able to keep on longer because was more fully backed by the Vatican, his Archdiocese being almost exclusively Slovenian. The Italians opened a campaign against him right from the beginning. In February, 1919, La Voce dell'Isonzo, a local Italian newspaper began the press campaign against him, advising him to pack up and leave. One day in January, 1920, he was stoned by an Italian Nationalist gang on a public square in Goritza and wounded. In May, 1921, a great inscription "Death to Sedej" was put on the facade of his palace.<sup>64</sup> He remained, knowing that legally, Italian authorities could not do anything to him, especially because there were then no diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Italian State. The situation changed after the Treaty of Lateran, and especially after the so-called second reconciliation of 1931. Sedej was now advised to resign many times by the Apostolic Visitor Monsignor Luca Passeto, who often came to the Archdiocese of Goritza. Sedej always refused, and furthermore protested against Article Twenty-Two of the Concordate between the Holy See and Italy.<sup>65</sup>

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63 Barbalić and Mihovilović, Proscription, 18.

64 Barbalić, "Jugoslavs of Italy," Slavonic Review, XV, 182.

65 The Article was worded thusly: "Priests who are not Italian citizens, cannot be given a parish in Italy. Moreover the holders of dioceses and parishes must be able to speak Italian. In case of necessity they may be given coadjutors or vicars, who can speak Italian and the local languages, so

Finally, in October 1931 he resigned, very probably on the explicit order received from above.<sup>66</sup> Shortly afterwards he died.

No more Slovenian bishops were appointed. In Trieste, after the forced departure of Karlin, Monsignor Bartolomassi was nominated Bishop. He was a former Army Bishop, and later was to become Chief Chaplain of the Fascist Militia. In spite of this, during his short stay at Trieste he tried to be fair towards the Slovenes.<sup>67</sup> After him Monsignor Fogar, a Friulian, became Bishop of Trieste. He defended and fought for the Slovenian rights in the Church, which Fascists and Italian authorities wanted to have abolished by all means. He was the one who stopped a general prohibition, planned by the Italian authorities in 1936, of the use of Slovenian language in sermons and songs within the Church, and this is the probable reason why he had to resign immediately afterwards, since the Italian Government exercised a strong pressure in these matters, with the Vatican.<sup>68</sup>

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that they can minister to the spiritual needs of their parishioners in their native language, in accordance with the rules of the Church."—Čermelj, La Minorité, 136.

66 Salvemini, Racial Minorities, 29.

67 At the occasion of the persecution carried out during the elections of 1921, he wrote a strong protest in his official magazine Acta curiae episcopalis tergestino-justinopolitanæ on March 21, 1921. Besides this he sent a report to Pope Benedict XV, who replied with a long letter to be read in all the churches of the Diocese of Trieste, and where he severely condemned all political violence...—Barbalić and Mihovilović, Proscription, 20. See also the memorandum La Minorité Yougoslave, 6.

68 Barbalić and Mihovilović, Proscription, 23.

After him the Archbishop of Goritza was nominated Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese Trieste-Capodistria; later Monsignor Santin, former Bishop of Rijeka-Fiume, was made Bishop. He was a known Slavophobe, and while in Rijeka-Fiume he forbade the use of Old Slavic in Liturgy, in those parishes where it had been practiced, on the basis of the fresh instructions received from the Congregation of Rites. He banned also the use of Slovenian and Croatian in parts of the Holy Mass and in the administration of the Sacraments, a practice hitherto generally allowed and formerly confirmed by the Holy See. Those priests who would not comply were to be suspended "a divinis ipso facto."<sup>69</sup>

After the resignation of Monsignor Sedej, Monsignor Sirotti was nominated Apostolic Administrator for the Archdiocese of Goritza. His former name was Sirotić, and he was a Croatian renegade from Istria. He requested the Slovenian alumni of the seminary in Goritza to use only the Italian language either in private, or in Church and in public; he appointed Italian priests in purely Slovenian parishes; and he requested the Slovenian priests to deliver their sermons in Italian in the Churches where only Slovenes were attending, etc.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>70</sup> Pavlović, Naši onstran meje, 58-59.



In July, 1934, all the Slovenian parish priests received a circular from the Goritza police authorities with the following regulations:

Ecclesiastical functions, celebrations, processions and religious exercises which take place outside the premises intended for divine services will be permitted only on condition that all hymns are sung in Italian or Latin.

The display of Church banners, standards, and other banners with inscriptions in any language but Italian or Latin is prohibited.

The present Slovenian inscriptions on Church banners must be replaced by Italian or Latin text by September 1 of the current year. The parish priest will be held responsible for eventual disregard of these regulations within his jurisdiction.<sup>71</sup>

Although this constituted an illegal interference with the rights of the Church, Monsignor Siretti did not protest, but published the extract of this order in his official gazette.<sup>72</sup> In autumn 1934, Monsignor Margotti was appointed Archbishop of Goritza. He did not change the line of policy started by Monsignor Siretti but rather strengthened it. What his ideas were is possible to estimate from the following passage of his pastoral letter read on the Sunday before Ash Wednesday in 1937; he declared that

Fascism . . . had taken the rein and conduct of our nation in order to save it and give it actual victory and the peace, and this by a providential, political, and social order; and that Fascism did not neglect the moral and spiritual renewal of the Italian people. If today religion is respected, and the name of Our Lord is no longer blasphemed in Italy, . . . if a certain immoral press is no longer circulating in the public, if the holiness of holidays is observed, if all delinquency condemned by the divine law is pursued also by the laws of our country, if the Church is free in exercising its Apostolic

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71 Barbalic and Mihovilovic, Proscription, 22.

72 Ibid.

mission, if the Roman Question is fortunately resolved,; if the two powers, civil and ecclesiastical are united by a useful concordance, do we not owe to that movement, strong and generous as it is, the great plans and noble ideas that its initiator and chief [i.e. Mussolini] had carried across so many difficulties, until the great development that he has reached to this day, until the henceforth perfect realization of his wide and courageous program, until the re-establishment of the empire in Italy. . . .<sup>73</sup>

The general persecution against the Slovenian and Croatian priests began immediately after the occupation, especially in Trieste and Istria. First it was carried out against all those priests and members of the religious orders who were not born in the country. These were ruthlessly expelled from their parishes and convents, and if they did not leave Italy<sup>74</sup> immediately they were imprisoned or interned. The members of religious orders had to pack in a few hours - in several cases they were beaten, tortured, and humiliated - and were accompanied by the gendarmes to the train which took them out of the country, or directly to the frontier.<sup>75</sup> Italian monks were sent from inside Italy to replace them; but these knew neither Slovenian nor the Croatian language. When the Italian Franciscan Father Bolognini took over the convent at Pirano, and was asked by the deposed Croatian Father Guardian who would in future confess the Slovenian and Croatian parishioners, he received this reply: "They will be deprived of the sacraments, until they will learn Italian."<sup>76</sup>

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73 Čermelj, La Minorite, 155.

74 Although in the period of occupation, i.e., 1918-1920, it was not known yet how the new borders would run.

75 Barbalic and Mihovilovic, Proscription, 18.

76 Barbalic, "Jugoslavs of Italy," Slavonic Review, XV, 183.

After the period of occupation was over, and especially during the Fascist period, Slovenian priests were persecuted by the police and by Fascist gangs mostly because of the use of the Slovenian language in Church, or because they were giving religious instruction to children in the same tongue. Since the authorities could not interfere directly within the jurisdiction of the Church they used press campaigns and incidents created by Fascists and Nationalists, and they usually gave as reason that they were working for the preservation of public order. If the Bishop did not happen to be well disposed towards the Slovenian clergy, as in the case of the Monsignors Margotti, Santin, and Siretti, he would not protest to the authorities, or did not protest strongly enough, and the priests had to suffer consequences which generally included imprisonment, deportation, and internment. From the following table, compiled on the basis of the dates furnished by Barbalic,<sup>77</sup> a clear picture of the situation is seen:

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<sup>77</sup> Proscription, 18.

TABLE III

PERSECUTION OF SLOVENIAN AND CROATIAN CATHOLIC  
PRIESTS IN ITALY 1918 - 1931

<u>Type of persecution</u>	<u>Number of Priests</u>
Expelled .....	185
Interned .....	35
Imprisoned .....	23
Interned and after expelled .....	8
Imprisoned and after expelled .....	9
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Total	260
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If we keep in mind that the number of all the Slovenian and Croatian priests in the beginning was over six hundred and twenty, the picture becomes clearer. The intention of the Italian authorities was to drive out of their parishes as many priests as possible, hoping that their replacements would be native-born Italian priests, and after the Treaty of Lateran this was very often the case. By driving out these Slovenian and Croatian priests, the Italian authorities thus hoped to achieve their aim which was to remove entirely all Slovenian and Croatian languages from the Church, and replace them with the Italian. This desire grew stronger especially after these languages had been banned by the government authorities from all other important places, this is, public offices, schools, etc. With the help, or the benevolent neutrality, of some Italian ecclesiastical authorities, in many cases the Italian authorities achieved this aim.

The reaction of the Slovenian people turned against the Vatican. They accused the Holy See of purposely allowing such conditions in the Church to exist. People started to desert churches, and to lose faith. Of those who emigrated to Yugoslavia many left the Catholic Church, and joined the Greek Orthodox.<sup>78</sup> Others, especially young people, became atheists. Now, too, the Communist party, working both among the emigrees, and among those staying at home, collected converts largely where it had never sown. The people began to identify the Holy See with Rome, the seat of the Italian Government. Gabrovšek, who himself is a Catholic priest, explained this situation in the following words:

This subject is a painful one, upon which it is not easy to write. But in the interest of truth one more fact must be stated. Resistance against Rome grew to such proportions that the priests no longer dared to mention the Pope in the Churches. A Catholic priest, on receiving periodical religious literature for distribution, would tear out all the pages on which Rome was mentioned, because otherwise the readers would have cursed Rome and cancelled subscriptions. In their suffering the people had forgotten how to distinguish between the one Rome and the other. . . .<sup>79</sup>

After the Treaty of friendship was signed in 1937 between Yugoslavia and Italy, the persecution carried out against the Slovenes did not stop completely, but nevertheless, it diminished for some time. Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister, also had promised at that occasion, that so far as it was not in opposition to existing laws, the use of the Slovenian and

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78 See memoranda attached in Appendix I and Appendix II.

79 Frontiers, 45.

Croatian would be allowed in the ceremonies of the Divine service; he stated, moreover, that the opening of the school courses in Slovenian and Croatian would be facilitated; that one or more newspapers in Slovenian language would be permitted to be published; and that some cultural organizations and manifestations would be allowed.<sup>80</sup> But this promise, made unofficially, was never kept.

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<sup>80</sup> Čermelj, La Minorité, 267.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE WAR PERIOD: 1940 - 1943

When Italy attacked France in June, 1940, and thus involved herself in the Second World War, many Slovenes were drafted and served in her army in Africa and in Italy itself.<sup>1</sup> They naturally were not trusted and were therefore distributed widely among the various units, mostly auxiliary units such as transportation groups, airfield personnel, etc. Quite a number, however, were also sent to the front line in North Africa, especially those who had previously been required to fight in Ethiopia, and who were transferred to Lybia just before Italy's entry into the war. There they were supposed to fight against the British, but they did not comply. At the first chance they crossed the lines and surrendered to the British, declaring they were Slovenes and not Italians, and that they did not want to have anything in common with the Italians. These desertions were made in isolated groups, since the Slovenes were never kept together in one unit; nor were they allowed too much freedom of action.<sup>2</sup> In the beginning the

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1 This short chapter is based on the personal recollection of the author of this thesis, who happened to live in those lands in 1942-1943. There is no source material for this period available, and therefore only a few secondary references will be given.

2 Although their names were Italianized, the Slovenian soldiers, as well as the members of other minorities, had in their military records the special designation allogeno, "pertaining to a foreign group" or, alloglotto, "pertaining to a foreign language group," and the soldiers with this designation, although Italian citizens, were especially watched.

British did not realize what was occurring, nor did they seem to care; but later they decided to keep the Slovenians separated from the other prisoners of war, and assigned them a status similar to that of the displaced persons. The younger among them volunteered for the British Army, and soon two Slovenian Battalions were organized in the Middle East.<sup>3</sup>

In the meantime Germany had attacked and conquered Yugoslavia and made an agreement with Italy about the division of the Slovenian part of Yugoslavia. Germany took the northern and larger portion, and Italy took the Southern and smaller portion with the Slovenian capital, Ljubljana. The part thus given to Italy was Lower and Inner Carniola, with 336,000 Slovenes. The Italians annexed this part in the beginning of May, 1941 and gave it the name "The Province of Ljubljana." This annexation of course was unilateral, and not valid in relation to International Law, according to which this portion of Slovenia was to be considered a territory occupied in war by a hostile power. Therefore, its inhabitants could not be regarded as an increase of the Slovenian minority in Italy, but were considered as simply living under the temporary military occupation.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Gabrovsek in his study Frontiers, 141, speaks about only one such battalion, which is not correct. There were two battalions, comprised up to 80 per cent, of the Slovenes from Italy, many of whom also joined the Yugoslav Navy which had a few small units at Malta.

<sup>4</sup> This Italian occupation, which lasted twenty-nine months, proved to be disastrous for the Slovenes. Besides the enormous economic damage, during this period alone there were one thousand Slovenes killed as hostages, two thousand five hundred Slovenian civilians killed for repressive measures against guerillas, eighty-four Slovenes died of torture in prison, one hundred and three were burned or assassinated in other ways, nine hundred guerillas were captured and afterwards killed, and thirty-five thousand Slovenes were sent to the Italian concentration camps, where seven thousand



For this reason this part of Slovenia will not be dealt with in this thesis. The important thing which arose out of this occupation was that the "Province of Ljubljana" had a common border with a part of the Slovenian lands incorporated by Italy after the Treaty of Rapallo, and this fact was of great significance in the life of the Slovenian minority in Italy.

Shortly before the war with Yugoslavia, which started on April 6, 1941, Italian authorities arrested every remaining Slovenian intellectual in Goritza and Trieste, most of whom were physicians and lawyers, and many of whom had just returned from prison or internment. Many other Slovenes from other places were also apprehended. Shortly after the German Army broke the resistance of the very poorly armed, and even more poorly commanded regular Yugoslav Army, and after the further dismemberment of Slovenia had been agreed upon, the majority of the arrested people were released. Some of them, however, were retained and interned.

In order to prevent possible contacts between the Slovenes of the "Province of Ljubljana" and the Slovenian minority in Italy, the Italian authorities strictly limited all movement between the two, keeping the former Yugoslav-Italian frontier closed, and establishing special permits for crossing it, which in the beginning were issued only to the Italian officials and to a few merchants. Besides this, a few months after the

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died of sickness and undernourishment. All this was done by the Italians in their effort to "pacify" the country. In relation to the number of inhabitants this small part of Slovenia suffered more than any other country, especially due to the fact that after the Italian occupation ended, there was a twenty-months-long German occupation.—Giuseppe Piemontese, Vingt neuf mois d'occupation italienne de la "Province de Ljubljana," Ljubljana, 1946, 6.

occupation took place, the Italian authorities also closed the city limits of Ljubljana with barbed wire, and fortified the line with bunkers and machine-gun nests, and nobody could go in or out without a special permit. Thus Ljubljana, which contained one-third of all the inhabitants of the "Province of Ljubljana" and also at least two permanent divisions of the Italian soldiers,<sup>5</sup> not counting Italian police and officials, found freedom of action very difficult, especially in contacting Slovenes outside the city.

In order to frighten the Slovenes of Italy, and to make them desist from any "conspiracy" they might have in mind in collaboration with the Slovenes of Ljubljana, the Special Tribunal organized another spectacular trial in December, 1941, greater than any previous one. Immediately after the arrival of the Italians at Ljubljana, many Slovenes who had escaped from Italy before, were now arrested, together with a new large group from Trieste and Gorizia. The defendants were divided into three groups: terrorists, communists, and intellectuals or nationalists. They were accused of conspiracy against Italy, of sabotage, espionage, rebellion, secret departure from the country with the intention to do conspiratorial work, etc. As usual, nothing was proved against them; nevertheless, fifty-six were condemned all together. Nine were condemned to death, of which Viktor Bobek, Ivan Ivančič, Simon Kos, Ivan Vadrjal, and Jožef Tomazič were executed,

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<sup>5</sup> The number of the Italian soldiers, police, and Fascist militia generally amounted in the Province of Ljubljana" to one-hundred thousand men, i.e., one soldier for three inhabitants, included children and women.

and Leopold Čermelj,<sup>6</sup> Anton Ščulka, Franc Kanc, and Teodor Sardoč pardoned in the last moment, their sentence being commuted to life imprisonment. The other forty-seven received altogether 978 years imprisonment, and among these twenty-three received a penalty of thirty years imprisonment each.<sup>7</sup>

Although Germany and Italy were allies, none of them particularly liked the agreement concerning Slovenia. Italy considered it a humiliation, because the terms were simply announced to the Italian Foreign Minister without previous consultation, and were, of course, not satisfactory for Italy who expected to get some of the rich coal mines situated close by, Northeast of Ljubljana. Germany did not like the agreement either because she wanted the whole of Yugoslav Slovenia in order to come nearer to the Port of Trieste which she wished to be able to occupy quickly in case of emergency.<sup>8</sup> To make the Slovenian minority in Italy friendly towards Germany for any eventuality, some of the few Germans who still lived in Trieste and other places, were organized into a Nazi network, and given instructions to spread among the Slovenes there the belief that Hitler would liberate them soon from the Italian yoke.

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<sup>6</sup> This was Dr. Čermelj, author of the book La Minorité slave en Italie.

<sup>7</sup> Il Lavoro Fascista, Rome, December 4-11, 1941.

<sup>8</sup> The Germans did not trust the Italian military efficiency, and considered the Italian army incapable of any defense, if an Allied landing should take place there. Moreover, Germany had plans of her own for Italy, and probably contemplated taking action against her, since in spite of the agreement reached previously about South Tyrol, never forgot this question. Moreover, Germany wanted to have Trieste under the direct German influence, thus continuing her old policy of Drang nach Adria. German officers who arrived to Slovenia at the time of occupation openly declared that after the Soviet Union would be defeated, there would be a little "affair" to settle

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After this victory was over other adversaries he would turn against Italy, they were to say, and then the Slovenes, together with Trieste, would be separated from Italy, and would have autonomous status within the German Reich. This propaganda was given some credit by the Slovenes, not only before the German attack on Yugoslavia, but after as well. It was so effective that in some places in the Socha Valley, and, of course, in larger towns like Goritza and Trieste, the Germans secretly nominated the future district leaders, who were, whenever possible, Germans, but in a few places, Slovenes. They had no special task, but just to wait to take over the civilian administration in the moment when the Germany army would come in. As a matter of fact, at the time when the German troops marched into Yugoslav Slovenia, some Slovenes of Italy for some illogical reason, expected that Germany would also take over the parts of Slovenia which had come under Italy since the Treaty of Rapallo.

To countercheck this German propaganda, against which officially the Italian authorities were unable to undertake any measures, the Italians wanted to make some concessions to the Slovenian minority. In the second half of 1941, they allowed the importation of some Slovenian newspapers and books from the "Province of Ljubljana;"<sup>9</sup> they facilitated the issue of

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9 The "Province of Ljubljana" had an autonomous status; hence, insofar as the official languages here were both Italian and Slovenian, the Slovenian schools were allowed to continue, Slovenian publications were allowed to circulate under Italian censorship, and the inhabitants were exempted from military service.

permits needed to go to Ljubljana and back; and the Fascists received orders not to continue beating and persecuting Slovenes who were talking Slovenian in the streets, the shops, the inns, etc. In<sup>a</sup> short time the Slovenian press <sup>was</sup> once more flourishing, and the Slovenian language was again heard at every corner in Goritza and Trieste.

This change was of short life, however; it lasted only a few months. As soon as the first guerillas sprang up, the importation of the press was abolished and the use of the Slovenian was again prohibited everywhere. The gendarmes, the police, and the members of Fascist militia distributed to all shopkeepers and innkeepers, and posted in all possible public places, signboards with the inscription: "Here only Italian may be spoken." These were distributed also in the remotest villages in the mountains. The Fascists and police once again lay in wait for those who would yet dare to talk Slovenian; these were first beaten, and then arrested. The result was either internment or release after weeks of detention. This occurred in spite of the fact that most people so ordered, especially in villages, could not speak in Italian.

When the guerillas spread from the "Province of Ljubljana" to the Slovenian lands which had been annexed to Italy since the Treaty of Rapallo, similar repressive measures as like in Ljubljana were carried out against the Slovenian population. Here these measures did not assume such large proportions because the male inhabitants here had been for the most part drafted into the Italian army, because they were, actually, Italian citizens. Nevertheless, according to incomplete reports of that time, two thousand eight hundred men were interned, 197 persons killed as hostages, and nineteen

villages burned as repressive measures till 1943.<sup>10</sup> The whole territory had been proclaimed the war zone, like it was the "Province of Ljubljana," and the military authorities were given carte blanche. Mussolini himself went to Goritza, where he gave a speech in a public square on July 31, 1942, and where he said among other things:

I have given orders to change our methods, and you will have noted that during the last week these methods have been radically changed. The population should remember that the Roman law is inflexible. I order the application of this law. Those who refuse to lay down their arms and give up their mad dreams should know that they will be completely annihilated and that their properties will literally be razed to the ground.<sup>11</sup>

In the first months of 1943, in order to check the further spread of underground movements, the Italian military authorities mobilized all the valid Slovenian male population from the lands belonging to Italy since the First World War. Men from seventeen to forty-five years of age who had hitherto not yet been mobilized were drafted. This mobilization was carried out by force, with the gendarmes and soldiers coming early in the morning, before dawn, and taking all the males away from their homes. Nevertheless, many succeeded in escaping, either having foreseen such plan beforehand, or afterwards slipping away on the trip to the interior of Italy where they were being taken. Those who escaped went to the mountains and joined the guerillas. The rest were sent to the island of Sardinia, or to various places in Italy, like L'Aquila, Livorno, Pisa, Arezzo, Pistoria, and Trani, etc. They were not attached to the regular military units, but formed in so-called Battaglioni.

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10 Gabrovšek, Frontiers, 53.

11 Ibid., 49.

Speciali;<sup>12</sup> they were disarmed, watched by the Italian soldiers and gendarmes and had to work in forests, and salterns, removing ruins in the bombed cities, etc. By the end of the spring of 1943, also almost all other Slovenes previously in the regular units of the Italian army, had been transferred to these battalions. The status of the Slovenes in this unit for all the practical purposes was identical to that of prisoners of war, or civilian internees.

In the meantime, a special police office, Commissariato Speciale,<sup>13</sup> was established by the Italians in Trieste. Its task was the repression of the underground movement in the territory around Trieste, in Istria, and in the County of Goritza. It was a kind of combined, secret political police and counter-intelligence agency. Since the abilities of its collaborators were very limited, it specialized itself in mass arrests of innocent people, especially women. By savage tortures, they tried to obtain information from these people, merely to show some "results" to higher authorities, and to keep the population terrorized. Very few persons were released alive from the hands of the people of this office, who had a special prison for their purposes. Those victims who were released had to sign a statement that they would not disclose to anybody what happened to them. If they should thus tell of their tortures, they would immediately be re-arrested, and would afterwards disappear forever.

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12 Special Battalions, what in this case represented labor battalions.

13 Special Commissariat.



After the Italian capitulation of September 8, 1943, all the Slovenian lands which were annexed by Italy according to the Treaty of Rapallo, came under the authority of the German military occupation, and formed a part of the German military zone called Adriatic Coastland. After the end of the Second World War, and after the Peace Treaty between the Allies and Italy, the larger part of these lands was given to the Yugoslav Federal Republic, and was included into Slovenian Republic. The smaller parts of these lands, Kanal Valley, Valley of Resia, Venetian Slovenia, and the territory around the town of Goritza, remained in Italy, where today there is a new, but much smaller Slovenian minority. Slovenes and Italians are also cohabitants in the newly created cushion state, the Free Territory of Trieste, which still today is under military occupation: the so-called Zone A, with the City of Trieste included, is occupied by British and American troops, and Zone B, including small coastal towns in Istria, is occupied by the troops of the Yugoslav Federal Republic.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE CONCLUSION

There were two elements involved as to why, after the First World War, a large number of Slovenes came under the control of Italy, and thereafter constituted the Slovenian minority within the borders of that state. First, there was the Italian policy of expansion, coinciding with the so-called Irredentism of the Trieste Italians. Secondly, there existed a prevailing disregard for the Slovenian desire for national unification.

Analyzing the first reason, we see that the Italian policy, after the unification had been achieved in 1870, had undergone a change as far as Trieste was concerned. The most prominent personalities during the struggle for Italian unification were Mazzini and Cavour, who both still considered that Trieste was not an Italian territory.<sup>1</sup> The Italian statesman Lamarmora,

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<sup>1</sup> Mazzini wrote: "Open a pair of compasses, place one point on Parma, point the other on the estuary of the River Var and design a semi-circle in the direction of the Alps. The same point which designed the semi-circle falls on the Isonzo [Socha] estuary, thus describing the frontier God gave you [i.e. to Italians]. Up to this frontier your language is spoken and understood. Beyond this, you have no right."--- As cited in Gabrovsek, Frontiers, 9-10.

Cavour declared: "We must avoid to occupy Trieste. Istria, and Dalmatia. These regions are populated by South Slavs and it would be improper to deprive this part of Europe of its natural outlet to the Mediterranean."--- As cited in Angelo Vivante, Adriatic Irredentism, Extract, Ljubljana, 1945, 5-6.

who was Prime Minister from 1861 to 1866, was of the same opinion.<sup>2</sup> Even Sommino, who during the First World War became the greatest promoter and advocate of the Italian policy of expansion, wrote in 1880, when he was still a young man: "Trieste is the most suitable port for the German commerce. Its population is mixed, the same as the entire population of our eastern frontier [here he evidently had in mind Venetian Slovenia]. To claim Trieste would be tantamount to violating the nationalist principle."<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless about this time Italy started to show her desire to acquire Trieste, and the Irredentist formula "Trieste and Trento" was being promoted. The first Irredentist societies were organized in 1877-1878, and were soon backed by the government. The Italians of Trieste, however, remained divided: about half of them were for the incorporation of Trieste into Italy, and the other half against it.<sup>4</sup> Irredentism had two origins. (1) One originated with a part of Trieste Italians whose nationalism however had not awakened before the time of the proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy;<sup>5</sup> these thereafter began to be afraid of the rising spirit of Slovenian nationalism in the same city, fearing that if the city would not be able to join Italy in a very short time, its Italian inhabitants would soon be Slovenized, especially because of their mixed origin

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2 He declared in a speech before the Italian Senate: "Trieste is surrounded by the Slovenian and the German peoples who have nothing in common with the Italians, save commerce. If Trieste belonged to Italy it would entail plenty of difficulties and dangers for our government," (Ibid., 6).

3 Ibid., 8.

4 Ibid., 7.

5 Vošnjak, Bulwark, 255.

and continuous intermarriage.<sup>6</sup> (2) The other source of Irredentism lay in the Italian government itself, which sponsored the movement, using secret or open methods, to coincide with the different stages of its relations with Austria-Hungary. In sponsoring Irredentism in Trieste, Italy used the nationality argument just as an excuse, knowing very well the mixed ethnic composition of Trieste itself, and that the Slovenian element was growing rapidly in spite of the fact that the Italians from Italy were emigrating to the city en masse, encouraged by Italian authorities, and invited and helped by Italian Nationalists in Trieste.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> See the proclamations sent by the Trieste Italian Irredentists to Italy, showing the Slovenian "danger," in Carnovale, Why Italy Entered, 188-195.

The Italian historian Guglielmo Ferrero admitted at the end of the First World War that if the territory requested by Italy would not be annexed, "within fifty years every memory of Italy will fade from those lands." -- As cited in Lothrop Stoddard, "Adria, The Troubled Sea," The Century, New York, XCVIII, May 1919, 138.

<sup>7</sup> In their propaganda work during and after the First World War, the Italians generally claimed that Austria artificially populated Trieste with Slovenes. They claimed this knowing that few Western countries knew anything about Trieste. There was really a very great immigration directed towards Trieste because the city was rapidly increasing in importance as the main port of Central Europe. But according to the census of 1910, among the seventy thousand immigrants at Trieste, there were thirty thousand Italian citizens, about nine thousand other foreign citizens, and about thirty-one thousand persons immigrated from the various parts of the Austrian empire. Among the latter not all were Slovenes, which would be the more natural thing since Trieste is situated within the Slovenian national territory, but many were Croats, Czechs, Germans, Hungarians, etc., and these represented at least one third of the last number given.-- The statistical dates are taken from Memorandum on the Problem of Triest, Annex A, 8.

Irredentism suited Italy, since as soon as she had achieved unification, she started to look around for the possibility of expansion. In addition to coveting North and East Africa, she also looked toward the old Venetian trade route through the Adriatic Sea to Levant. But in the Adriatic there still existed the Austrian Empire which had inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Italian fleet in 1866 in the naval battle off the island Vis. This meant that the Eastern coast of the Adriatic, which was much better from the strategical point of view than the Western, should either be in possession of Italy's friend, or in her own possession. The latter solution was preferable, because in addition to the security thus afforded, there would be also great economic and political advantages, and the Adriatic would become virtually an Italian lake. One of the very reasons why Italy concluded the Triple Alliance was that she would have a friend in the Adriatic until a better opportunity would arise. Such an opportunity arose with the beginning of the First World War. In the negotiations preceding the Pact of London, Italy showed her cards for the first time. The Pact of London represented the threshold of the Italian policy of expansion towards Central and Southeastern Europe.

In dealing with the second reason for the annexation of a large part of Slovenia by Italy, we have to go back to the time of the Slovenian national awakening which took place during the period of romanticism. By 1848 the Slovenes had worked out their national program, and among other points presented to the Emperor, there had been the request for the unification of all the Slovenian lands into one unit within the Austrian empire.

Here Trieste was to have been included, preserving, however, its autonomous status because of its mixed population and its importance as a port for the whole empire. This request for the unification, however, had not been granted, and the Slovenes merely continued to belong to various administrative units. Nevertheless, especially after 1860, the Slovenes, as in the case of the other peoples of the Austrian part of the empire,<sup>8</sup> were freely allowed to develop their culture and national life. As in Trieste and in the other sections, everything Slovenian began to flourish; and the Slovenes no longer considered themselves just the inhabitants of Trieste using the Slovenian language, but acquired a distinct national consciousness. Here the first clashes began with those Italians whose aim was Trieste's incorporation into Italy. This friction grew greater because the Italians also planned that a part of purely Slovenian territory would go to Italy - that part which separated Trieste from the Italian populated lands. Italian Irredentist propaganda began to be especially strong after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, and after the plans to enlarge the Austrian Navy were made.<sup>9</sup> An even stronger Austria in the Adriatic would be fatal for the Italian plans. In their propaganda spread abroad, and especially in the United States, the Italians carefully avoided the fact that the Slovenes also inhabited Trieste

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8 After the so-called "Diploma of October 1860" which was a kind of new constitution.

9 J. Leyland, "The New Adriatic State," Slevonic Nations, 336.

and that furthermore the city was completely surrounded by Slovenian territory. They only tried to show how the Italian element was endangered by Austria, and that somewhere in the mountains there existed some kind of barbarian Slavs who were helping Austria in her "persecution" of the Italians in Trieste.<sup>10</sup> During his negotiations for the London Pact Sonnino used similar affirmations. The British, French, and even Russians did not seem to know very much about it. Whatever their knowledge was, they did not consider the problem of Slovenian unity as such, but considered the Slovenes and Croats only under the vague term of Southern Slavs, from whose territory something could be taken away without much trouble, especially since the territory thus given to Italy would neither be French nor British. Russia, on her part, never showed much interest for those Slavic peoples who were Catholics by religion. Thus, with the Pact of London, the Slovenian territory became but a commodity on the diplomatic market. The picture did not change much during the negotiations at Versailles, where only Wilson seemed to realize that the Slovenes were a separate nation wishing to live together, and "was impressed by the fact that the Slovenes were going to be divided among three states whereas before they were at least under one."<sup>11</sup>

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10 Carnovale, Why Italy Entered, Gayda, Modern Austria, and Adriacus, From Trieste, are full of such and similar statements.

11 Albrecht-Carrié, Italy, 191.

After the epilogue, which was the Treaty of Rapallo, Italy received 24 per cent of all the Slovenian national territory, which included 25 per cent of all the Slovenes, who are one of the smallest peoples in Europe. If Slovenia had been united within her ethnic borders, with Trieste either included or left as a free city, Italy would have lost only about 0.37 per cent of the Italians, who were for the most part even of doubtful national origin, and only a few square miles of the territory settled by these Italians, which furthermore could not be considered as a part of the Italian national territory.

The policy of Italianization which followed was a premeditated policy and not a casual one invented by Fascists. As early as 1919 an Italian wrote:

It becomes evident that once our rule has been established over those regions, and the populations become reassured as to their fate, when the few perturbing elements have been removed and the schools and clergy reformed, our ultra-liberal systems of government doing the rest, the bulk of the people will at least resign themselves to their fate and abandon all agitation against us.<sup>12</sup>

This statement sounds farcical today; it conveys nothing but irony. The persecution, direct and indirect, directly aiming at Italianization of the ceded Slovenian territory, had its origin already in the pre-Fascist period, as we have seen. This persecution was merely continued, and perhaps hastened, by the Fascists. It coincided with the Italian policy

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12 Adriacus, From Trieste, 111.

13 Charles Beard and G. Radin, The Balkan Pivot: Yugoslavia, New York, 1929, 309.



of expansion after the First World War which also enlarged upon by the Fascists. The treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania were the steps of this policy, which meant Italian economic and political penetration in those countries, and in the case of Albania a military penetration as well.<sup>13</sup> After 1927 Albania became a virtual Italian protectorate.<sup>14</sup> The Italian intention was encirclement of Yugoslavia, and in the case of Austria and Hungary also a barrier for any eventual German penetration in the direction of the Adriatic and the Balkans. The Nationalist policy started by Orlando and Sonnino had for its aim the creation of Italy as a Great Power, and as such continued by Mussolini, whose idea was even to renew the old Roman Empire, and who presumptuously proclaimed the whole Mediterranean as an Italian Lake. Fascism was not a resentment against the Versailles Treaty as is sometimes claimed by various authors who knowingly or not, often try thus to excuse all its deeds, and to lessen the responsibility of a certain part of the Italian people. Fascism was just a great megalomany, as far as its foreign policy was concerned. Italy could never become a really Great Power because she lacked raw materials completely; she also had no adequate war industry and no sufficient military force; moreover, her territory was small and extremely vulnerable.

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14 A good study of the Italian penetration into Albania at the time of the treaties of 1926 and 1927, is Hamilton Fish Armstrong's "Italy, Yugoslavia and Lilliputia," Foreign Affairs, New York VI, January 1928, 191-202.

Italy wanted to assimilate the Slovenian minority for the following reasons: (1) to increase the number of Italians; (2) to enlarge the square mileage of Italian territory; (3) to guarantee to Trieste an immediate Italian hinterland; (4) to prevent any change of frontier in the events a future war should find Italy on the losing side; (5) to facilitate the assimilation of further portions of Slovenian territory if Italy should get them, because it would then be easier to swallow these other smaller sections one by one. The violent haste shown, especially by the Fascists, in this policy of assimilation, reveals the intention of Italianizing the Slovenes within one generation, since within one generation they hoped to achieve their goal in Central and Southeastern Europe, which was the Italian penetration to the Danube and the complete domination, direct or indirect, of the Balkan Peninsula. But in these countries they were seen met by Nazi Germany, who swept away everything the Italians had obtained in Austria, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, and who for a short time also exercised full influence in Yugoslavia. With this change, although Italy and Germany were becoming allied countries, there came another factor threatening Italy's plan to assimilate the Slovenes, namely, Germany herself. The Italians knew very well the old dictum of Bismarck: "He who touches Trieste touches the point of the German sword."<sup>15</sup> They also knew well that the Slovenes in Italy, especially after what they had experienced there, would prefer to welcome anyone who would promise to liberate them from the Italians.

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<sup>15</sup> Gabrovšek, Frontiers, 64.

The inevitable consequence of the Italian policy of assimilation, and of the methods used<sup>16</sup> in its execution, was that a great feeling of bitterness and hate was created in the hearts of the Slovenian people for anything Italian, and that the Slovenes even more stubbornly resisted any Italianization; so that at the end of Italian domination over those lands the percentage between the Slovenes and Italians remained the same, except that the Italians succeeded in slightly increasing their balance in Trieste and some larger towns by extensive importation of other of their countrymen. Another consequence of this Italian policy was that many Slovenes began to consider that the Vatican did not want to help the Slovenian minority in her difficult position, and that she furthermore did not even prevent the persecution of Slovenian priests. Such thinking was seized upon and stimulated, of course, by the various anti-religious organization, especially the Communists. This is why many intellectuals and even peasants who remained in, or escaped from those lands, turned away from the Catholic Church, and became an easy prey of the Communist party which was working secretly in Yugoslavia. Hence it is not just by chance that many leading Slovenian Communists in today's Yugoslavia, persons like Kardelj, Kidric, Bebler, Vilfan, etc., originate from the lands which had been annexed by Italy after the Treaty of Rapallo.

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16 Taylor, in his study, says that the Italian rule over the Slovenes there "had no parallel in Europe until the worst days of the Nazi dictatorship" (Trieste, 12).

Looking back for one hundred years, it would be possible to sustain that if at the time of the Revolution of 1848, or shortly thereafter, the Hapsburgs had created a united Slovenia within the empire as the Slovenes had requested, there would have been no problem of the Italian Irredentism of Trieste later on. Within a few decades, Trieste would have become a prevalently Slovenian city with a cosmopolitan character of a great port, and consequently could never have been used for the policy of Italian expansion.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, such a united Slovenia would have represented a firmly established part of the Central European community, and the Slovenes would never have become just a commodity on the diplomatic market as they became during the First World War, and as they still are today. There would have been no question of any separation of Slovenia from the Austrian Commonwealth at the end of the First World War, even if Austria had been involved at all in the war; she had merely to organize every group into a commonwealth of nations, as they had requested at the time. If Slovenia had not separated herself from Austria, she would never have cut herself out of the Central European community, which she did in 1918, by joining the entirely new combination of the Yugoslav state. This Yugoslav state forms a kind of pattern of different nationalities, religions, cultures, all in contrast

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<sup>17</sup> The city of Budapest was a similar case: in 1815 there were sixty-two thousand Germans, and thirty-nine thousand Hungarians; in 1880, after Hungary received autonomy and Budapest became her Hungarian capital, there were two hundred thousand Hungarians and only one-hundred and twenty thousand Germans. Later the percentage of Germans fell still lower.-- Gabrovšek, Frontiers, 29.

to one another; it extends from Central Europe almost to the doors of Asia. If Slovenia had not withdrawn from Central Europe where she belongs from the point of view of geographic, religious, historical, cultural, ethnographic, and economic unity, she would today be able to hold a more adequate position among the European peoples. If the Hapsburgs in 1848 - the year which has proved the turning point of Central European history - had known better how to organize their Empire, there would probably be today no Eastern Communist-dominated group of nations for Slovenia to belong to.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### I. PRIMARY SOURCES

#### A. DOCUMENTS

Adriaticus, La Question Adriatique, Recueil de documents officiels, Paris, 1920.

This is a good although not complete collection of documents dealing with the question of Yugoslav-Italian frontier as it presented itself at the end of the World War I. It contains nearly all the memoranda, proposals and counterproposals which had been presented at Versailles Peace Conference with regard to this problem.

Albrecht-Carrié, René, "Italy and Her Allies, June 1919," The American Historical Review, New York, XLVI, July 1941, 837-843.

A hitherto unpublished document reproduced in French with the necessary explanation. The document is a note presented at Versailles in connection with the Yugoslav-Italian boundary question.

Great Britain, His Majesty's Stationery Office, Correspondence Relating to the Adriatic Question, Miscellaneous No.2 (1920), London, 1920.

An incomplete official British publication. It contains less documents than the collection published by Adriaticus.

Italy's Green Book, edited by American Association for International Conciliation, New York, 1915.

This is a private publication of the official Italian papers which were originally published by the Italian Government shortly after Italy had entered into World War I. The papers show only the negotiations between Germany and Austria-Hungary on one side, and Italy on the other side, during the years 1914-1915. They are arranged in such a way as to show that it was Austria's fault that Italy entered into the war.

La Minorité Yougoslave en Italie, Memoire présenté à la Commission des minorités par l'Association Yougoslave pour la Société des Nations, Imprimé

comme manuscrit, Genève, 1927.

This memorandum shows in general lines the persecution suffered by Slovenes and Croats in Italy till 1927.

L'Intervento dell'Italia nei documenti segreti dell'Intesa, edited by Casa Editrice Rassegna Internazionale, Roma, 1923.

The documents reproduced in this collection are taken from the Russian Archives which were opened by the Bolsheviki. These documents are especially precious because they represent the only documentary material on the bargaining which took place between Entente Powers and Italy during 1914-1915 and which ended with the Pact of London.

Memorandum addressed to the Pope Pius XI by the Slovenian and Croatian clergy of the lands annexed by Italy; no special title; dated Goritiae, Februarii 1928; unpublished till now; the original text reproduced in the Appendix I of this thesis.

In this memorandum the Slovenian and Croatian clergy asks Holy Father for his help against the Fascist persecution. It points out the behavior of the adversaries of the Catholic Church who try to convince the people that the Holy See is pro-Italian and anti-Slavic. In the text, the word Slavic is used in order to designate Slovenes and Croats.

Memorandum addressed to the Pope Pius XI by the clergy of the Lavantine Diocesis in Slovenia; no special title; dated: Maribor, die 1. Februarii 1933; unpublished; the original text reproduced in the Appendix II of this thesis.

This memorandum is similar in contents as the preceding one, only shorter. The Lavantine Diocesis is situated in the northern part of Slovenia, at that time, as well as today, within the borders of the Yugoslav State.

Memorandum on the Problem of Triest and Northern Adriatic to the Allied Government Concerned, Presented by the Action Committee for a Unified and Sovereign Slovenian State; unpublished; Rome, May 31, 1946.

Memorandum shows the necessity that a Slovenian State should be established in the hinterland of Trieste, with this city included, and that it should be organized in the same way as Switzerland in order to save all the troubles in this corner of Europe for the present and for the future. It contains many statistical data. A copy of the original of this memorandum is in possession of the author of this thesis.

Memorandum présenté par les Slovènes du Pays de Gorice au Conseil National de Ljubljana, Comité National, Section Locale, Gorice, 1918.

This memorandum requests that the former County of Goritza should be

united with the rest of Slovenia, and proposes how the boundary with Italy should run. It contains statistical data.

Orlando, Vittorio E., Discorsi per la guerra e per la pace, Foligno, 1923.

Collection of Orlando's speeches from the time when he was Prime Minister and immediately afterwards. There is much demagoguery and Mediterranean color in them. Orlando, and his Foreign Minister Sonnino, were responsible for the extreme nationalistic and imperialistic orientation of the Italian foreign policy during and after World War I. In this they were the immediate predecessors of Fascism.

Piemontese, Giuseppe, Vingt neuf mois d'occupation italienne de la "Province de Ljubljana," Extrait edition francaise, Ljubljana, 1946.

A serie of documents of the Italian occupation authorities, seized by Slovenian partisans at the time of the Italian capitulation. Many of them are reproduced as photocopies, others are just translated in French. These documents show the sanguinary repressive measures which were ordered by the Italian military commanders against the Slovenian population of the so-called "Province of Ljubljana." Two of them also show that Italian contemplated to send all the inhabitants into concentration camps, and to replace the population with Italians.

Šišić, Ferdo, Dokumenti o postanku Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, 1914-1919, Zagreb, 1920.

This is a very incomplete Croatian collection of documents showing how the Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs had been formed.

"Treaty of Rapallo, Italy - Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, November 12, 1920," Supplement to the American Journal of International Law, New York, XV, April 1921, 173-177.

The text of the Treaty without commentary.

"The Triple Alliance of 1882," Readings in Twentieth Century European History, edited by Alexander Baltzly and A. William Salomone, New York, 1950, 29-30.

The text of the Treaty.



## B. MEMOIRS AND DIARIES

Aldrovandi Marescotti, L., Guerra diplomatica, Ricordi e Frammenti di diario 1914-1919, Milano, 1938.

Memoirs and parts of diary of an Italian delegate to the Versailles Peace Conference. He was secretary of Orlando and participated also at many war-time meetings between Entente and Italians. Highly pro-Italian in the interpretation but the record of conversations and negotiations seems to be genuine.

Aldrovandi Marescotti, L., Nuovi ricordi e frammenti di diario, Milano, 1938.

This is a kind of second volume to Guerra diplomatica of the same author. Although in size almost equal not so valuable for research purposes.

Baker, Ray Stannard, What Wilson Did at Paris, Garden City, N.Y., 1920.

Baker was one of the secretaries of the American Delegation at Versailles. The book is written in the form of memoirs, but its probable purpose was to diminish domestic criticism against Wilson by showing what a hard time he had at the Peace Conference.

Bonsal, Stephen, Suitors and Suppliants, The Little Nations at Versailles, New York, 1946.

The diary of, at the time, Major Bonsal, aide to Col. House. It was actually written during his stay in Paris. It is enlarged into a book by impressions and further reminiscences. It offers a good picture of the difficult position of the small nations whose only hope was Wilson.

Gabraček, Andrej, Goriški Slovenci, Narodne, kulturne, politične in gospodarske ortice, Vol. II, Ljubljana, 1934.

The translation of the title of this Slovenian book would read: Slovenes of Goritz, Notes on their national life, culture, politics, and economy. This second volume comprises the period from 1901 to 1923, and mentions also a few events which took place afterwards. It is written in the form of memoirs. Before the World War I, the author was the owner of a large publishing house in Goritz, and also was one of the prominent personalities of the Slovenian national life there. After the Italian occupation he had to escape.

Lloyd George, David, Memoirs of the Peace Conference, Vol. II, New Haven, 1939.

In this second volume of his memoirs Lloyd George deals with the Yugoslav-Italian boundary dispute, reconstructing many conversations which took

place among Wilson, Clemenceau, Orlando and himself about this problem. He stresses that Great Britain was bound in honor to the London Pact line but, however, not a step beyond it.

Orfer, Leo De, The Anti-Slovene Pogrom at Trieste, Courbevoie, Seine, 1919.

A short report written by a Frenchman who was present when the Italians the building of the Slovenian National Club at Trieste.

#### C. MISCELLANEOUS

Anonymous, De Conversione Bagoariorum et Carantanorum, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum XI, Hannoverae, 1854.

A chronicle originating from the ninth century and probably written in a monastery near Iuvavum, i.e., today's Salzburg. The book is dealing with the Christianization of Bavarians, and Carinthians, i.e. Slovenes, and is also mentioning some of the early Slovenian rulers.

Bechstein, Reinhold, ed., Ulrich's von Liechtenstein Frauendienst, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1888.

A collection of poems of Ulrich von Liechtenstein from thirteenth century. Among the other things the poet is describing his journey to Carinthia, where he was greeted in Slovenian by the local nobility. A few Slovenian words, used at this occasion, are reproduced by the author. Only this part was used for the purposes of the thesis.

Bohorizh, Adam, Arcticae horulae successivae de latino-carniolana literatura, Witebergae, 1583.

This is the first Slovenian grammar, published and printed by Slovenian Protestants. It contains a long introduction stressing the necessity of the study of Slovenian language, and it appeals especially to young noblemen of Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola inviting them to learn the language grammatically.

✓ Cermelj, Dr. Lavo, La Minorité slave en Italie, Les Sloènes et Croates de la Marche Julienne, Ljubljana, 1938.

This book should normally be listed among the secondary sources. But because much of the documentary material is reproduced in it, and because for its compilations exclusively the primary material had been used, and, furthermore due to the fact that its author was in such a close contact with the Slovenian minority in Italy that the book could almost be listed among the memoirs, it is but fair that in this thesis it is counted among the primary sources. It gives a detailed picture of the persecutions

suffered by Slovenes and Croats in Italy from the beginning to the time of its publication. Till now, this book represents the best study in the field.

Cartes sur la structure ethnique de la Marche Julienne; no data given whatsoever. From the introduction it is possible to speculate that it was published by some official institution in Slovenia at the time of the last Peace Conference, i.e., between 1946-1947.

Maps are excellent and unparalleled by any other maps published till now. They are based on all the censuses, and on all the important factors, such as schools, churches, associations, etc.

Fredegarii Scholastici Cronicum, Patrologia Latina, Tomus LXXI, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1867.

A medieval chronicle dealing mainly with the Frankish history of the seventh and eighth century. It brings out also some events from the history of those Slavic peoples who were in immediate contact with Franks, Bavarians, etc. It is the only medieval chronicle which explains something more about the Kingdom of Samo, but unfortunately does not give the exact location of this kingdom. It mentions Valuk, one of the early Slovenian Dukes.

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This chronicle was written in the twelfth century by Helmoldus of Bosau, a priest. It deals especially with the ancestors of Poles, and with those Slavic tribes who lived in today's Germany. It mentions shortly also Slovenes and only this part was used for the thesis.

Iohannis Abbatis Victoriensis Liber certarum historiarum, Edidit Fedorus Schneider, Tomus I, Libri I-III, Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi, Hannoverae et Lipsiae, 1909.

This book was written by Iohannes Victoriensis, abbot of the monastery of Vetrinj, Carinthia, between 1343 and 1347. It covers the history of the Holy Roman Empire since Charles the Great to 1343 giving special attention to Austrian lands. Besides of the other references to the early Slovenian history, it contains a good description of the enthronement of the Dukes of Carinthia.

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A map composed on the basis of the Austrian census of 1910. The Slovenian ethnical limits presented correctly.

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This well known chronicle of the early Russian history was used for the purposes of this thesis only so far as it gives the description of the various Slavic peoples as they were distributed in Europe in the Middle Ages.

Ottokars Oesterreichische Reimchronik, edited by Joseph Seemüller, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum qui vernacula lingua usi sunt tomi V, pars I, Hannover, 1890.

It originates from the first decade of the fourteenth century. For this thesis only those parts were used which deal with the enthronement of the Dukes of Carinthia, and with the Slovenian nobility there.

Paul's Historia Langobardorum, In usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicae recusa, Hannoverae Impensis Bibliopolii Hamiani, 1878.

This is the well known Paul the Deacon's History of Lombards. It covers the period from the end of the sixth century to the middle of the eighth century. Paul the Deacon was probably from Forum Iulii, "capital" of the Lombard duchy of the same name. This chronicle is of the utmost importance for the study of the early Slovenian history because it is the only one which brings into light some events which took place around 600 and which represent the earliest registered deeds of the Old Slovenes.

Šafařík, P. J., Slovanský Zeměvid, Prague, 1842.

This is a map showing the distribution of the Slavic peoples in the Austrian Empire, Balkans, Northern and Eastern Europe at the time when it was published.

## II. SECONDARY SOURCES

### A. BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

Adriacus, From Trieste to Valona, Milan, 1919.

Behind the pseudonym there is probably some high Italian official of that time. His statements sound exactly like Sonnino's. The book deals with the Italian requests for the Slovenian and Croatian territory. It avoids carefully to mention Slovenes giving them instead the general name Slavs. It breaks this rule, however, when talking about the Austrian war effort; in this connection the author accuses Slovenes that they were most faithful to Austria, and were fighting against the Italians until the last moment;

therefore they should be punished by losing some of their territory; furthermore those territories should be given to Italy because of her "historic rights" originating in the time of the Old Rome, and because of the fact that the Italians have a much "higher" culture.

Albrecht-Carrié, René, Italy at the Paris Peace Conference, New York, 1938.

A thorough and impartial study. Many documents are reproduced in appendices, and an extensive bibliography is added. Here and there appear some incorrect statements of minor importance. It is difficult however to present the matter in a completely impartial way, not knowing the people and the lands in question, and not having in this way the first hand information which can only be acquired on the spot.

Baerlein, Henry, The Birth of Yugoslavia, in two volumes, London, 1922.

In this work there are many details useful to the student interested in the war and post-war Yugoslav-Italian relations. The objectivity, as far as the relations among the peoples composing Yugoslavia are concerned, suffers due to the fact that the book is enthusiastically pro-Serbian.

Barbalić, Fran, and Mihovilović, Ivo, Proscription du slovene et du croate des écoles et des églises sous la domination italienne 1918-1943, Zagreb, 1945.

It contains many statistical data and very good maps.

Bartlett, Hereshoff C. A., Italy and the Yugoslavs, A Question of International Law, Paris, 1919.

Bartlett in this pamphlet proves that Italy according to the International Law has no right to anyone of the requested territories.

Beard, Charles A., and Radin, George, The Balkan Pivot: Yugoslavia, New York, 1929.

A very superficial study of the government, administration, and foreign policy of Yugoslavia until 1928.

Berger, Ivan, Trst - žarišče Evrope, Barberton, Ohio, 1949.

A survey of the Slovenian national problem. The author advocates the necessity of the creation of a Slovenian State in the form of a kind of Adriatic Switzerland.

Bodin, Jean, De republica libri sex, Lugduni, et venundantur Parisiis, 1586.

This work deals with the theory of the sovereignty. Among the other things it explains that maiestas is coming from people, and gives as an example the rites of the enthronement of the Dukes of Carinthia. Only this part

was used for the purposes of this thesis.

Carnovale, Luigi, Why Italy entered into the Great War, Chicago, 1917.

A large book with no value for the historical research, with the exception of documents reproduced. It contains pure propaganda, and as far as Slovenian and Croatian lands are concerned, it is based on the falsification of historical facts.

Cross, Samuel Hazzard, Slavic Civilization Through the Ages, edited with a forward by Leonid I. Strakhovskiy, Cambridge, Mass., 1948.

A good study, treating especially well the early and medieval history. It is a pity that Cross died too soon and was unable to write a larger work.

Currey, Muriel, Italian Foreign Policy 1918-1932, Strand, England, n.d.

Defending official Fascist foreign policy. The conclusion sounds like an official statement of Mussolini.

Erjavec, Fran, Slovenija in Slovenci, Ljubljana, 1940.

A good, but too short, survey of Slovenian history and culture. It contains many tables, figures, and maps.

Gabrovsek, Francis, Jugoslavia's Frontiers with Italy, New York, n.d.

As it is possible to guess from various statements contained within, this pamphlet was written shortly before the end of the World War II. It analyzes the Slovenian-Italian ethnic boundary, and it surveys briefly the life of the Slovenian minority in Italy. It devotes also considerable space to the problem of Trieste.

Gayda, Virginio, Modern Austria, Her Racial and Social Problems, With A Study of Italia Irredenta, New York, 1915.

The author falsifies historical and political facts in order to make a favorable impression for Italy in regard to her relations with Austria and in order to justify the Italian territorial requests. The author later on became one of the leading journalists and ideologists of Fascism.

Grafenauer, Bogo, The National Development of the Carinthian Slovenes, Ljubljana, 1946.

This study is especially important for the understanding of the early Slovenian history, and of the German penetration into Slovenian territory through the centuries by the means of colonization and assimilation.

Grotjan, Guilielmus, Historiae linguae sclavonicae continuatio secunda continens historiam dialecti venedicae meridionalis sive Vinidorum provinciae Austriae vicinis nimium in Carinthia, Stiria, Carniola, Istria et Marchia Vinidorum, Berolini, 1729.

A study of the language of Vinidi, as described in the title, i.e. of Slovenes.

Italy and the Yugoslav Minority Within Her Borders, published by the Minorities Institute, Ljubljana, 1931.

A pamphlet dealing briefly with the persecution of Slovenes and Croats in Italy.

Jaksch, Dr. August, Geschichte Kaerntens bis 1355, in two volumes, Klagenfurt, 1928.

The author is describing, from the German point of view, the history of the old Carantania from the beginning to 1355 when it came under the rule of Hapsburgs. He avoids Slovenes carefully wherever possible in order to make impression that the Slovenes were never of any importance there. He diminishes the importance of the enthronement of the Dukes to the minimum, and between one thing and another leaves out the fact that Carantania, later called Carinthia, came into history as a Slovenian state.

Jankovic, Marijan, Velika borba malega naroda, Barberton, Ohio, 1948.

A pamphlet ~~xx~~ advising the creation of an independent Slovenian state, and basing this idea on the geopolitical and historical factors.

Kidrič, France, Zgodovina slovenskega slovstva od začetkov do Zoisove smrti, Ljubljana, 1929-1938.

So far the best Slovenian book dealing with the history of Slovenian language and literature. It covers the period until around 1800. It is most unfortunate that the author died before he had the opportunity to finish the work by bringing it up to date, so much more because the time after 1800 is the most important period in the development of Slovenian literature.

Leeper, A.W.A., A History of Medieval Austria, edited by R.W. Seton-Watson and C.A. Macartney, Oxford, England, 1941.

This is a good compilation. It contains many references, but it is based predominantly on German sources. It does not bring out anything new; it is nevertheless important because there are no books from this field published in English.

Lončar, Dr. Dragotin, Politično življenje Slovencev, Ljubljana, 1921.

It covers the political life of Slovenes from 1797 to 1919. Too short, superficial, and not completely impartial.

Lončar, Dragotin, The Slovenes: A Social History, translated by Anthony J. Klancar, Cleveland, Ohio, 1939.

A translation of a study published in Ljubljana in 1911. Good enough as an outline from where to engage in further study, this for the period until 1900. For the ten years following, it is too superficial even as an outline.

La Province de Gorice et l'occupation italienne, Ljubljana, 1919.

A pamphlet describing the first months of the Italian occupation of the Province of Goritza.

Macartney, O.A., National States and National Minorities, London, 1934.

A thorough study of minorities in Europe, about their origin, the position after Versailles, and about the possible solutions of the problem.

Macartney, O.A., The Danubian Basin, Pamphlets on World Affairs, No. 10, New York, 1939.

Analyzing the international situation in the Central Europe between the two World Wars. The author proposes that the Danubian countries should form one unit which could be free from any German, French, or Italian interference.

Mair, L. P., The Protection of Minorities, London, 1928.

The author describes the working and the scope of the Minorities Treaties. Refers also to those minorities who were not protected by any treaty, like for example the Slovenian minority in Italy.

Mal, Dr. Josip, Zgodovina slovenskega naroda, Najnovejša doba, Celje, 1928.

The work covers the Slovenian history of the nineteenth and twentieth century until the time of the publication of the book. It is written for easy reading not for research. Nevertheless it runs into twelve hundred pages and is sufficiently complete.

Melik, Anton, Jugoslavija, zemljepisni, statistični in gospodarski pregled, in two volumes, Ljubljana, 1923-1924.

A good work dealing with Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia separately. It is mainly a study of geography but it goes also into historical aspects.



Moodie, A. E., The Italo-Yugoslav Boundary, A Study in Political Geography, London, 1945.

A good analysis in general, and the correct definition of the Slovenian-Italian ethnic division line in particular. Some of the historical references are not always correct, probably because they are not based on primary material.

Pavlovič, Peter, Naši onstran meje, Ljubljana, 1933.

A book describing the difficult position of the Slovenian minorities in Italy, Austria, and Hungary. It is rather a popular edition with many pictures, etc.

Powell, E. Alexander, Embattled Borders, Eastern Europe from the Balkans to the Baltic, New York, 1928.

Only partially reliable for historical purposes due to one-sided representation of facts, and due to many mistakes in details. The author was evidently influenced by some people whom he had met during his journey. As a whole the book is written very naively, nevertheless here and there some bright statements come into the sun.

Salvemini, Gaetano, Racial Minorities under Fascism in Italy, Chicago, 1934.

A pamphlet giving a brief survey of the Slovenian, Croatian, and German minorities in Italy, and their difficult position. It is generally a good study; it tries however to make only Fascist party responsible for all the persecutions avoiding to mention what was the behavior of the pre-Fascist officials.

Savic, Vladislav R., South Eastern Europe, The Main Problem of the Present World Struggle, New York, 1918.

Savic was head of the Press Bureau of the Serbian Foreign Office. The book presents the "necessity" of Southern Slavs to unite into one state from a completely Pan-Serbian point of view. The author speaks about one Serbo-Croatian "nation", emphasizes everything Serbian, and mentions Slovenes occasionally as a "tribe" and their language as a "dialect" of Serbo-Croatian. An unreliable book for any purpose.

Schifferrer, Carlo, Venezia Giulia, Study of a Map of the Italo-Yugoslav Borders, Rome, 1946.

This is a clever study which under the assertion of impartiality tries to advocate that the Italian boundary of 1920 should be again recognized to Italy. Schifferrer bases his analysis on the following theory: many people, especially in the more populated areas, speak both languages, and, the country belongs to towns and not viceversa. But he seems to forget that the

Slovenes learned Italian only after World War I, with the exception of those living in the cities of Trieste and Gorizia, and that the owner of the land is owner of the country. The study is very elaborated but it further loses its value because it bases almost exclusively on the unreliable Italian census of 1921.

Seton-Watson, Hugh, Eastern Europe Between the Wars 1918-1941, Cambridge, England, 1946.

The enormous material is selected fairly well, and the book gives a good comprehensive grasp which would be more beneficial if there would be no occasional errors in details. In spite of his assertion in the Preface, the author is not always impartial; from time to time he seems to be enraged against the Catholic clergy without giving any particular reason.

Seton-Watson, R. W., Europe in the Melting Pot, London, 1919.

The author takes the standpoint of nationalities oppressed until World War I by Germans and Hungarians, and describes the new situation arising. He gives sufficient comprehensive background for the controversies among various small nations. Details are not always correct.

Taylor, A. J. P., Trieste, New York, 1945.

This pamphlet gives the main characteristics of the Slovenian people, surveys shortly the persecutions suffered by Slovenes in Italy, and supports the Yugoslav request that all the Slovenian national territory should be given to Yugoslavia.

Trautman, Reinhold, Die Slavischen Voelker und Sprachen, Eine Einfuehrung in die Slavistik, Goettingen, 1947.

A very good comprehensive and introductory work written with the usual German thoroughness. In spite of limited space it gives enough general information.

Villari, Luigi, The Expansion of Italy, London, n.d.

A Fascist explanation of the Italian policy. False data, false assertions, etc. as usual in Fascist written and inspired books.

Vivante, Angelo, Adriatic Irredentism, Extract, Ljubljana, 1945.

Extract of the book of the same title, originally published in Florence, Italy, in 1912, and written by Vivante, an Italian from Trieste, who was opposed to territorial acquisitions of Italy on the expense of Slovenes, and who advocated that Trieste should belong to the same state as Slovenia, and should serve Central Europe as a port.

Vošnjak, Bogumil, A Bulwark against Germany, The Fight of the Slovenes the Western Branch of the Yugoslavs for National Existence, New York, 1919.

This book gives more facts about the Slovenian history than any other book written in English up to date. The very last period, before World War I, is somehow misinterpreted due to the author's enthusiastic pro-Yugoslav conviction.

Woodhouse, Edward James, and Woodhouse, Chase Going, Italy and the Yugoslavs, Boston, 1920.

A fairly good account on the formation of Yugoslavia and her controversy with Italy.

#### B. NEWSPAPERS AND ARTICLES IN NEWSPAPERS

G. K., "Dodici secoli cattolici nella storia degli Sloveni, 744-1944," L'Osservatore Romano, Città del Vaticano, December 24, 1944.

Goričar, J., ed., Bazovica, 6. IX. 1930., Odmevi tržaškega procesa v inozemskem časopisju, Maribor, 1931.

This is a collection of articles reproduced from various European newspapers which published them in September 1930, when one of the political anti-Slovenian trials took place in Trieste and when four Slovenes were executed near the village of Bazovica.

Il Piccolo di Trieste, 1921-1937.

Il Lavoro Fascista, Rome, Italy, 1941.

"Slovenski jezik v starih časih," Novice, Ljubljana, VI, July 19, 1848.

#### C. ARTICLES IN BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, "Italy, Yugoslavia and Lilliputia," Foreign Affairs, New York, VI, January, 1928, 191-202.

Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, "Yugoslavia Today," Foreign Affairs, New York, I, March, 1923, 82-104.

Barbalić, Fran, "The Yugoslavs of Italy," The Slavonic and East European Review, London, XV, July, 1936, 177-190.

- Haines, O. Grove, "Trieste - A Storm Center of Europe," Foreign Policy Reports, New York, XXII, April 1, 1946, 14-23.
- Leeper, Allen, "Germans, Avars and Slavs," The Slavonic and East European Review, London, XII, July, 1933, 117-132.
- Leyland, L., "The New Adriatic State," in Slavonic Nations of Yesterday and Today, edited by Milivoj S. Stanoyevich, New York, 1925, 334-340.
- Marianelli, Olinto, "The Regions of Mixed Population in Northern Italy," The Geographical Review, New York, VII, March, 1919, 129-148.
- Miller, David Hunter, "The Adriatic Negotiations at Paris," The Atlantic Monthly, Boston, CXXVIII, August, 1921, 267-277.
- Pasvolsky, Leo, "The Italo-Yugoslav Controversy," The Review, New York, I, June 21, 1919, 120-121.
- Peisker, J., "The Expansion of the Slavs," in The Cambridge Medieval History, edited by H. M. Gwatkin and J. P. Whitney, Vol. II, New York, 1926, 418-458.
- Polec, Janko, "Ljubljanske višje šolstvo v preteklosti in borba za slovensko univerzo," in Zgodovina slovenske univerze v Ljubljani do leta 1929, edited by Dr. Milan Vidmar, Ljubljana, 1929, 1-79.
- Popevich, Branko, "Modern Yugoslav Art," in Slavonic Nations of Yesterday and Today, edited by Milivoj S. Stanoyevich, New York, 1925, 376-383.
- Reut-Nicoluasi, E., "The Germans of South Tyrol," The Slavonic and East European Review, London, XVI, January, 1938, 370-385.
- Salvemini, Gaetano, "Italian Diplomacy during the World War," Foreign Affairs, New York, IV, January, 1926, 294-310.
- Seymour, Charles, "The Struggle for the Adriatic," The Yale Review, New Haven, Conn., IX, April, 1920, 462-481.
- Sforza, Carlo, "Italy and the Yugoslav Idea," Foreign Affairs, New York, XVI, January, 1938, 323-338.
- Stanoyevich, Milivoj S., "The Ethnography of the Yugo-Slavs," The Geographical Review, New York, VII, February, 1919, 91-97.
- Stoddard, Lothrop, "Adria, The Troubled Sea," The Century, New York, XXVIII, May, 1919, 135-139.
- Stoddard, Lothrop, "The World as It Is, The Controversy between the Italians

and the Yugoslavs," The World's Work, Garden City, N. Y., XXXVII,  
March, 1919, 581-586.

APPENDIX I

MEMORANDUM ADDRESSED TO THE POPE PIUS XI BY  
THE SLOVENIAN AND CROATIAN CLERGY OF THE  
LANDS ANNEXED BY ITALY<sup>1</sup>

Summo Pontifici S. S. Pio PP. XI

Olerus Slavus Litoralis Illyrici

Goritiae MCMXXVIII

Beatissime Pater!

Notitiam accepimus de litteris Eminentissimi Patris Cardinalis a Secretis Status datas di 24 septembris a. el., quae responsum continent ad nostrum supplicem libellum, nuper Sanctitati Vestrae oblatum. Litteras Eminentissimi Cardinalis ut verba Sanctitatis Vestrae, immo potius ut verba ipsius Christi, supremi Pastoris animarum nostrarum et qua par erat filiali reverentia et religioso obsequio suscepimus, quam vis magnam nobis causaverint tristitiam, eo quod nos docent, nullum nos ab Apostolica Sede posse sperare praesidium in praesentibus quibus gens nostra praemittitur aerumnis.

Novimus sane et intelligimus Sedem Apostolicam adhuc usque diem in isdem gravibus rerum adiunctis anno 1870 creatis versari, nullos quae posse civili gubernio habere sermones. Quare effusis ad Deum precibus quotidie imploramus, ut cesset iam dura et prorsus intollerabilis Sedis Apostolicae conditio et Patri omnium fidelium iusta libertas restitatur, memores primorum illorum fidelium, qui orare non cessabant pro Principe Apostolorum, dum captivus detineretur: "Et Petrus quidem servabatur in carcere. Oratio autem fiebat sine intermissione ab Ecclesia ad Deum pro eo." (Act. Ap. XII, 5.)

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1 This memorandum, and the one following in the Appendix II, were not yet published till now.

Quamvis igitur in nostro supplici libello plura quidem flentes enumeravimus, quae a civili gubernio contra omne divinum humanumque ius patimur, id non eo consilio fecimus, ut Sedem Apostolicam moveremus, ut cum gubernio de nobis agat, cum hanc rem nec expedire putemus, et prorsus inutilem sciamus. Nec nosmetipsi possumus cum aliqua spe Praefectos provinciarum aliosque gubernii officiales in nostris partibus residentes adire, cum manifestum sit omnibus, eos stare mandatis et iussionibus gubernii: Sunt enim "ministri eius, qui faciunt voluntates eius." Neminem eam latet, eos extinctionem nominis nostri prosequi. Nulla igitur spes adest fore, ut precibus moveantur et iustitiae humanitatisque sensibus a coepto retineantur. Non itaque contra gubernii et laicorum iniurias opem Sedis Apostolicae imploravimus.

Humiles postulationes nostrae, quas venia Sanctitatis Vestrae hic iterabimus loca et personas ecclesiasticas unice respiciebant.

Implorabamus igitur et nunc denuo imploramus, ut Sedes Apostolica provideat:

1. Ut Praedicatio Verbi Dei pro fidelibus Slavis eorum sermone fiat. Hoc necessitas Sacri Ministerii exposcit, cum fidei veritates alieno sermone et traditae - praeter miraculum - nullum in animis audientium fructum ferant. Praedicatio autem Verbi Dei non schola linguarum esse debet, sed fidei et charitatis, et sermo rei servire debet, non res sermoni. Quodsi multi clericorum nationalismo indulgentes et officii pastorum animarum immemores, contra hanc constantem Ecclesiae Catholicae traditionem prouti in nostro supplici libello exposuimus, delinquant, eos unius Sedis Apostolicae auctoritas compescere potest et debet.

2. Ut instructio religiosa puerorum, tam in scholis, quam in ecclesiis, nonnisi eorum materno sermone fiat. Sicuti enim supra memoravimus, missio divina Ecclesiae Catholicae concredita eo tendere debet ut animas Christi lucrifaciat, eumque unicum finem prosequi, ut puerorum animos fidei praeceptis inbuat. Quodsi vero hodie homines dantur qui eo dementiae devenerunt, ut pueros lingua ipsa, qua natura eos donavit spoliare nitantur, ei operi ingenuis christianisque hominibus indegno, instructio religiosa absque profanatione sacri ministerii, servire nullatenus potest. Hoc Ecclesia Catholica nunquam tollerauit, prouti multa et praeclara superioris aetatis documenta testantur. Si vero necessitas postulet, ut Episcopi etiam laicis personis concedere debeant facultatem, catechismum in scholis tradendi. Sedes Apostolica praecipiat, ut ad hoc munus nonnisi tales assumantur, qui linguam puerorum satis norunt.

3. Ut in omnibus, tam puerorum, quam theologorum seminaris omnes alumni, qui curae animarum inter Slavos daturi sunt operam, linguam populi ediscant ob zelum animarum et necessitates officii. Hanc nisi didicerint, maneri pastore impares erunt. Quam necessitatem et sacri canones (notissimae illae Regulae Cancellariae Apostolicae) asseruerunt et constans Ecclesiae traditio probat. Dolendum igitur quod, uti in nostris precibus abunde exposuimus, in aliquibus partium nostrarum ephebeis, iuvenibus in spem Ecclesiae alendis desti-

natis, lingua populi non tantum non discitur sed spernitur, immo res eo devenit, ut in collegio puerorum fluminensi iuvenes Slavi vel inter se colloqui proprio sermone vetantur! Haec prorsus incredibilia videntur in Italia, cum Sanctitas Vestra fidei preconibus in dissitis quoque barbarisque regionibus notitiam sermonis popularis provide sapienterque commendaverit. (Ap. Litterae "Rerum Ecclesiae.")

4. Ut ordinarii locorum nihil possint immutare in iis, quae linguam liturgicam et linguam communis et publicae devotionis populi spectant. Evenit enim, ut lingua liturgica paleoslavica in pluribus partium nostrarum ecclesiis legitima saeculorum consuetudine probata fuerit contra ius et fas laicorum instinctu suppressa quamvis Ecclesia Catholica in re liturgica nulla unquam laicis iura admiserit, sed eorum ausibus semper constantissime restiterit. Idem factum est de communis publicisque populi precibus, quae apud nos ab immemorabili, sicuti in omnibus orbis Catholici partibus, sermone nationali peragebantur. Haec omnia abunde in nostris supplicibus precibus exposuimus et multa rei exempla adduximus.

5. Ut in assumendis clericis ad praestantiora in diocesis munera, Slavorum iusta et debita ratio habeatur, hoc apud nos eo magis iustum apparet, quod in omnibus partium nostrarum diocesis, fideles Slavi Italos numero longe superant. Nec dubitamus Sanctitatem Vestram hanc rem probare, quandoquidem et pro Cinarum et Iaponiae partibus episcopos indigenos sapientissime creaverit. Quod apud nos nequaquam fit: unum exemplum omnia illustrabit. In diocesi fluminensi nullus datur clericus Slavicae nationis, nec in Curia Episcopali, nec in Capitulo Cathedrali et quod incredibile videtur, nullus simplex sacerdos, nedum parochus Slavi, datur in civitate, ubi fideles Slavi ad plura decena millia numerantur!

Quae supra enumeravimus, Patre Sanctae, absque omni dubio ad forum Ecclesiae spectant eiusque auctoritati undequaue obnoxia sunt: fiunt enim in locis sacris et a personis vel in sacro ordine constitutis vel auctoritati Ecclesiae alias obnoxiiis, quae tamen magis curant et placeant hominibus, quam Deo.

Agitur hic de ipsa divina missionis inter homines explicanda libertate, quam Ecclesia Catholica postpositis quibusvis humanis commodis et respectibus semper asseruit et defendit. Quare minime dubitamus fore, ut Sanctitas Vestra non patiat, ut hostis nationalismi etiam Sanctum invadat ibique, nemine sibi resistente, dominetur.

Rationes gravissimae nos movent, ut istis iteratis precibus Sedem Apostolicam adeamus et sunt huiusmodi:

1. Adversarii Ecclesiae, qui etiam apud nos non desunt, quotidie nos impetunt exprobanter, quod Sedes Apostolica nos in presentibus angustiis absque ullo solatio reliquerit eamque calumniantur tamquam Slavis minus amicum, Italos vero prae omnibus populis favore prosequentem.



2. Haec falsa opinio fines provinciae nostrae egressa, ad alias Slavicas gentes penetravit, praesertim vero finitimos Slavos Meridionales tenet. Unde fit, ut labores eorum virorum, qui Unioni Ecclesiarum insudant et nobiliter coepta Sanctitatis Vestrae magna ex parte frustrentur, quod paterno animo Sanctitatis Vestrae certe magnum affert dolorem.

3. Quod vero multo gravius est, eadem falsa sane et absurda opinio multos fidelium nostrorum tenet. Nos pro munere nostro, talem exitialem errorem utique pro viribus opugnatis, et saepe irito conatu, ita ut numerus errantium in dies crescat et hic laqueo diabolus multarum causat ruinas animarum. Multorum animi ab Ecclesia alienantur et - quod flentes referimus - in dies magis magisque disponuntur ad schisma amplectendum!

Quae supra diximus, tam gravis sunt, et malum eo processit, ut ad confundendos adversarios, ad confirmandos periclitantes, ad tolenda gravia praesudicia operi Unionis Ecclesiarum, nobis prorsus necessarium videatur, ut a Sede Apostolica publicum aliquod documentum praebatur, quo omnibus notum fiat, commanem omnium fidelium Patrem excessus, praesertim clericorum, contra populum nostrum minime silentio suo adprobare sed sincere reprobare, filiisque suis, absque ullo originis vel linguae discrimine, ex corde compati.

Haec pro conscientia officii nostri et pro gregis nobis commisi amori Sanctitati Vestrae christiana et filiali libertate exponere non dubitavimus et confidimus fore, ut Pater amatissimus nobis non indignetur, sed humillimis precibus nostris praestet benignam attentionem. Animos nobis addidit persuasio, Sanctitatem Vestram nullis humanis respectibus retineri, ubi de animarum salute agitur. Cuius rei documentum insigne nuper habuimus, cum Sanctitas Vestra in Gallis impia eorum hominum dogmata confixit, qui stulte praetendebant omnia cuiuscumque ordinis et generis bona fide ipsa non exclusa, civilis rei publicae et nationis commodis servire debere et postponi. Apud nos vero eadem impietas obtinet et non a privatis hominibus sed ab iis ipsis, qui fasces imperii tenent, non ore et scripto praedicatur, sed quod gravius est, opere complentur.

Quare in praesentibus aerumnis ad Sedem Apostolicam et ad Vestram Sanctitatem unicum quod nobis restat in terris praesidium, confidentia filiali confugimus implorantes, ut verbo suo Apostolico arguat malevolos soletur vere et confirmet anxias oves nostras, ne de omni iustitia desperantes, errent a recta semita et fiant praeda luporum. Nos vero semper orabimus pro felici statu Sanctitatis Vestrae, pro libertate et triumpho S. Matris Ecclesiae.

Interea in osculo ss. pedum Sanctitatis Vestrae provoluti sensus oboedientiae et filialis amoris profiteamur.

Goritiae, Februarii 1928.

APPENDIX II

MEMORANDUM ADDRESSED TO THE POPE PIUS XI  
BY THE CLERGY OF THE LAVANTINE DIOCESES  
IN SLOVENIA

Beatissime Pater!

Humillime subscripti sacerdotes diocesis Lavantinae in regno Jugoslaviae sincero amore erga sanctam Ecclesiam Catholicam et Sedem Apostolicam ducti filiali cum fiducia accedimus ad thronum Tuae Sanctitatis, in aspectum et lucem proferentes gravia incommoda et pericula, quae hisce ultimis temporibus imminere rei catholicae nostris in regionibus, quaeque Sanctitas Tua praecavere vel saltem lenire dignetur.

In mente habemus tristem conditionem nostrorum fratrum Slavorum, qui iure belli subiecti sunt ditioni Italiae quibusque factio, quae nunc rem publicam Italianam gerit, nationalem individualitatem et linguam paternam suffocare intendit.

Procul sit a nobis, ut nos immisceamus rebus internis politicisque regni Italiae, sed agitur hic de rebus eminentioribus, de religione scilicet et moribus deque iuribus naturalibus.

Aequae ac curam gerimus de tristi conditione christianorum in Russia vel Mexico, nostrum est curare et de fratribus, quibuscum copulamur vinculis catholicitatis et sanguinis. Eousque enim progreditur violentia regiminis, ut etiam in sanctuarium se intrudet prohibendo usum sermonis paterni in publicis precibus, cantilenis ecclesiasticis, in concionibus, instructione parvulorum in veritatibus christianis. In regionibus, quas Croatae vel Sloveni incolunt ducenti circiter sacerdotes expulsi sunt, alii incarcerati vel deportati. In regiones pure slavicas sacerdotes mittuntur ignari sermonis populi, qui manere pastorum, ut fungantur animarum inhabiles sunt.

Non inserviunt veritati, qui scribunt, populum slavicum in Italia paucis exceptis omnino esse contentum vel agitationes provenire e regionibus Jugoslaviae. Econtra: clamores oppressorum pertingunt ad aures nostras atque in animis acerbissimas commotiones excitant.

Ingenue fateri debemus, in cordibus populi Croatiae et Slovenorum, qui per saecula fideliter inhaerebant S. Sedi eamque filiali teneritate venerabatur, supremam Ecclesiae auctoritatem serio labefactari. "Sicut oculi servorum in manibus Dominorum suorum," oculi nostri sperabant in S. Sede, ut sortem fratrum nostrorum infaustam levaret aut saltem leniret. Cum vero moraretur juvamen, factum est, quod prius inauditum erat in gente slovenica, ut summa Auctoritas ecclesiastica aperte peti coepta esset.

Rebus sic stantibus nos animarum pastores in difficultate positi sumus atque fere inermes ad defendendam Sedem Apostolicam, cum tristitia facta negari nequeant et omnibus nota sint.

Sectarii Masonici alique contemptores et osiores rerum divinarum omnia haec avidè arripiunt atque in suis commentariis diurnis diffidentiam erga S. Sedem eiusque contemptum in vulgus disseminant, quod facile talibus suggestionibus succumbit.

Quod peius est, schismaticis novus suppediatur fomes ad firmanda eorum praedicia: S. Sedem inimicam esse genti Slavorum. Quapropter magnum enascitur periculum numerosae apostasiae ab Ecclesia catholica ad schisma; nuper e.g., viginti circiter familiae catholicae colonorum Serbiae meridionalis, qui e provincia Venetia Julia egressi sunt, in schisma abierunt. Insuper timendum est, ne totum pessumdetur opus pro uniendis ecclesiis Slavorum orientali-um.

Beatissime Pater! Diximus haec, ut salvemur animas nostras. Enixe rogamus Sanctitatem Tuam, ut pro Tua paterna charitate qua complectaris omnes nationes, etiam Slovenos et Croatas protegas contra regimen, praesertim quod vitam attinet religiosam.

Item rogamus Sanctitatem Tuam, ut Croatiae et Slovenis, quorum numerus excedit 500,000, praeponas pastores affectu paterno fratres nostros amplectentes, plenos apostolico spiritu.

Tunc apud nos retundentur linguae et calami malevolorum et fratres dissidentes adambunt communem omnium Christi fidelium Patrem, ut quantocius fiat "unum ovile et unus pastor."

In Maribor, die 1. Februarii 1933.

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Dushan Valentine Humar has been read and approved by three members of the Department of History.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

11/20/50  
Date

John A. Zetina  
Signature of Adviser