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# The fraud of Rijeka

(Fiume)

BY

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PARIS

IMPRIMERIE LANG, BLANCHONG & C<sup>o</sup>

7, Rue Rochechouart, 7

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1919



komuniteti s jedini sli pomenu timi kraljevino  
 u obicnu zakonodavstva, uprave i sudstva; i kako  
 je dovodit visiput riec digla), neci i u buduce  
 prestatu temeljni prava Sr. ugarske krunne zahtie,  
 vati reintorporacija Dalmacije, kao i zahtievati  
 da se Dalmacija pridruzi kraljevini Hrvatskoj  
 i Slavoniji: nu svakako se bude Dalmacija ob nje,  
 tih ove inkorporacije osluhivati in dicit.

§. 66.

U smislu priisnjega paragrafa priznava ju se kao k. terito-  
 riu kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije. Upr. i sud:  
 1. Sve one zemlje koje su u skupu s gradom i kotarom  
 Bakarskim spadaju k. teritoriji, riece, s izuzetjem grada i  
 kotara riece, koje grad, loka i kotar sadrjivaju je, nego,  
 no s ugarskom krunom spojenje tih i separatno: s  
 regni coronae adnexum corpus; i glede kojega k. teri-  
 toria, posebni, aut. n. n. i na nju protukucih u zakon,  
 savnih i upravnih, odnosno medjenja, ima. i s. p. u  
 tim, odobrenih razpravah, iz medju sabora kraljevine upe-  
 ste i sabora kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije  
 i grada Rieke obic sporazumljenje postici.

2. Hupanija zagrebačka sa gradom Zagrebom i Har-  
 lovcom, i slobodnom kotarom Turpolyškim
  3. Hupanija Varaždinska sa gradom Varaždinom
  4. Hupanija Križevačka sa gradom Križevci i Poprievica.
  5. Hupanija požeška sa gradom Požgom.
  6. Hupanija varoždicka sa gradom Osijekom.
  7. Hupanija Tricomka.
- Nadalje sliedeći krajske pokrajine.
1. Lička,
  2. Sločka,
  3. Ogulinska,
  4. Muinska,

HRV. SIV. DRUŠT. ZEM. TJEŠN  
 U ZAGREBU

Fac-simile of Article 66 of Croato-Magyar Compromise, showing that the paper with the new text is pasted over the original one in different handwriting.



# The Fraud of Rijeka

(Fiume)

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Rijeka (Fiume) was built by the Croats who, from the beginning of the 7th century, settled on that part of the coast, in Istria and on the Islands, not to speak of Croatia itself. Till the 12th century Rijeka formed part of the Croatian Kingdom, after that period — the exact date and circumstances are not known — the City became subject to German influence, like the Istrian peninsula. After having changed her masters several times, Rijeka in 1467 became, through inheritance, the property of the Habsburg and in their name was governed by captains, appointed by the Emperors, until 1776 when Maria-Theresa — according to her own language, — “re-united the town directly with the Kingdom of Croatia” (immediate regno Croatiae reincorporatur). This act was put into final execution by a special commission at the end of October 1776. The population of Rijeka welcomed the event with enthusiasm and the City Councillors voted a declaration “that they were happy to have found in the Government of Croatia their true father and efficient protector” (se in eodem excelso consilio regio verum patrem et studiosissimum protectorem nactum esse). The reasons for which Maria-Theresa resolved this step were partly the desire to develop the commerce of Croatia and its hinterland, partly administrative changes resulting in the union of Rijeka with “Civil Croatia”, in return for the separation from the latter of the districts of Glina and Petrinja which were added to “Military Croatia”. It was a matter of interchange of Croatian territory.

After having thus satisfied military interests, the Empress attended to the commercial interests of Rijeka and Croatia. Upon the proposal of the Croatian Government itself Rijeka was given special privileges so as to enjoy in every way the same advantages as Trieste. Internal autonomy was granted to the port which, according to the proposals of the Croatian Government, was made a separate possession of the "Crown of Hungary" (to which Croatia belonged) — *separatum sacrae regni Hungariae adnexum corpus*. At that time nobody, neither in Hungary nor in Croatia, would under the name of "holy crown of Hungary" have for one moment understood the Magyar country of latter days, but the then existing federation of several nations for whom the Hungarian so called holy crown of St-Stephen was the common symbol. The Croatian Government therefore by the above quoted wording did not intend to have it understood that Rijeka was to be separated from the Kingdom of Croatia and united directly with Hungary as part of its *territory*. It only had in mind to assure to Rijeka an autonomous position within the bounds of the crown of St-Stephen. Its proposal was sanctioned by Maria-Theresa on April 23rd 1779 who conferred Municipal Autonomy on Rijeka, but without any idea of creating an *imperium in imperio* with the right of disposing of itself; she did not detach Rijeka from the territory of Croatia.

Then follows a short interval caused by the absolutist regime of Emperor Joseph (1780-1790) and the Franco-Austrian Wars during the times of the Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire. During this epoch, in 1807, Rijeka obtained upon Croatian request, a seat in the Common Parliament of Pressburg (Pozony), and in 1808 in the Croatian Parliament. This illustrates Fiume's legal position at that date : as part of Croatia she was represented in the diet of Croatia, and as part of the Crown of St-Stephen, she had her seat in the Common Parliament.

Until 1830 Croats and Magyars managed fairly amicably in their associated countries (*regna socia*). After that date the breach grew to such extent that a return to the former conditions became impossible. The collapse of the Kingdom of St-Stephen was the consequence. The cause of the breach was the evident intention of the Magyars to magyarize the Croats, alike with the other nationalities of Hungary, the Roumanians, Slovaks and Ukrainians, and to rob them of their independence dating back to times immemorial, before the Hungarians had even

arrived in Europe. During these fights the Magyars tried to deprive Croatia of three counties of Slavonia (Osijek, Pozega, Srijem) on one side, pretending that they were really an integrant part of Hungary properly, and of the coast lands from Senj to Rijeka on the other, claiming that they were theirs and that Maria-Theresa had given Rijeka to Hungary as part of her territory. The Magyars also began to agitate among the inhabitants of Rijeka, making to them extravagant promises. A party was formed in Rijeka whose program was the city's direct dependency of Hungary; but nevertheless the Croatian authority was maintained as in 1776. The Croato-Magyar conflict came to an end in 1848-49 when Banus Jellacic fought for Austria, against Hungary, and with his Croatian army entered Budapest and Vienna. Rijeka took the Magyar side and was occupied by Count Jellacic. After the defeat of the Hungarian revolt Emperor Francis-Joseph expressly placed the city under the direct authority of the Croatian Banus as an integrant part of Croatia.

When in 1860 the Emperor re-established the Constitutions of Croatia and Hungary, a new Magyar propaganda began in Fiume and along the coast, followed by manifestations and disorders in the handling of which the Croat authorities were not always fortunate (1). Efforts were however made to find a "*modus vivendi*" between Croats and Magyars and to renew the old federation of St-Stephen. During the negotiations the Croats insisted that Fiume was an integrant part of Croatia, while the Magyars, assisted by the citizens of Rijeka, claimed that it should belong to Hungary proper. Finally in 1868 a settlement was arrived at upon all matters, excepting this question of Rijeka. Now the then political leader of the Hungarians, Francis Deak, proposed to shelve this question for the time being and to leave it out of the agreement. The Croats consented. It is with this idea in mind that article 66, wherein the territory of Croatia is defined, states that Rijeka is not mentioned "because regarding Rijeka the conference has not yet been able to come to an agreement". This wording of the draft was afterwards on September 24th 1868 accepted as law by the Croatian Parliament, and by the Hungarian Parliament on the 28th of September.

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(1) Not only the Croatians of Fiume, but also the inhabitants of Bakar were at that time adherents of Hungarian policy against Austria, as also were many Croatians of the district of Zagreb, the Capital.

The Magyars waited till the Croatian Parliament was closed, after having sent the law to the Emperor for his sanction. Then, and regardless the fact that they also had already on September 28th voted that same law, they now passed a resolution "that the city of Rijeka with its hinterland belonged directly to the Kingdom of Hungary and must therefore immediately be re-attached to the same". This resolution in a cynical manner deceived the Croats and compromised their heretofore strong position in the controversy regarding Rijeka. However, Francis-Joseph sanctioned the Croatian text of the law as it had been submitted to him. Then the Hungarian Premier, Andrassy, went in audience and told him that the Hungarian Parliament would not permit publication of the Croato-Magyar Convention unless Rijeka were guaranteed to Hungary. He proposed to Francis-Joseph to change the text of article 66 by means of a subsequent rescript, that is to commit forgery. Francis-Joseph consented to this crooked deal (1), and with his knowledge and consent, that is by his order, a strip of paper with a new text as pasted over the old one of article 66 (2), the new text stating that Fiume was not Croatian territory since it formed a separate body of the "Holy Crown of Hungary", to which it had been re-attached, and that the legislative and administrative circumstances resulting from the organization of its autonomy would have to be discussed and agreed upon between delegations to be chosen from the Parliament of Hungary, the Parliament of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia and the City Council of Rijeka.

By this forgery, for a long time concealed, Rijeka was stolen

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(1) During the great debate on Rijeka in the Croatian Parliament the Banus Count Khuen, the tool of the Hungarian Government, gave on February 6th 1900 the following declaration: "I am in a position, on the strength of official documents, to declare that the change in the wording of the Croato-Hungarian compromise was made with the direct and explicit Consent of His Majesty. It conforms with the contents of the Royal rescript of November 8th 1868 to the Parliaments of Hungary and Croatia."

On February 21st, during the same debate, Count Khuen again expressed himself as follows: "I have already said that, though this article 66 has been corrected in an unusual way, nevertheless this has been done upon special authorization from His Majesty." It goes without saying that in such a delicate discussion Count Khuen could not have referred to the person of the Sovereign without his explicit permission.

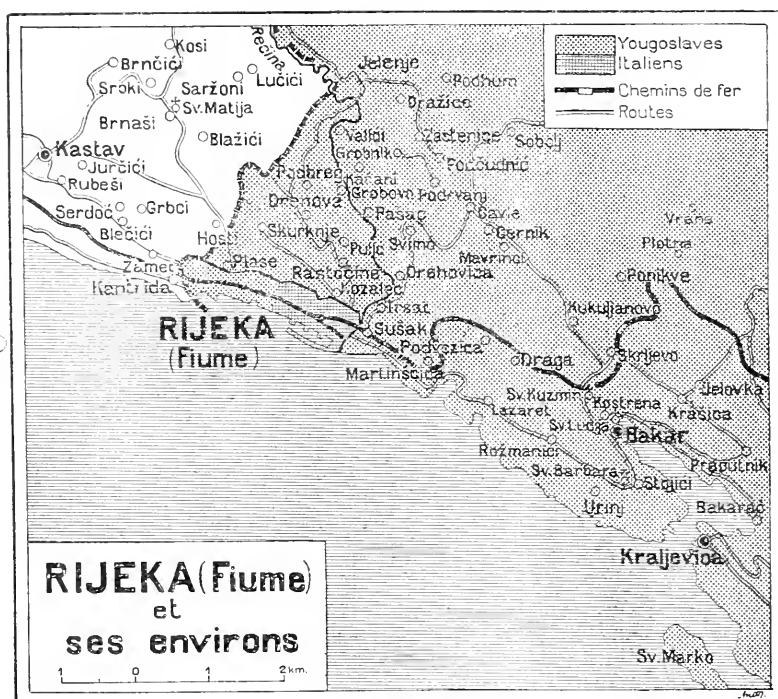
(2) The original of this forgery is at present in Paris, in care of Professor Ferdinand de Sisic, Professor of History, University of Zagreb, Member of the Yugoslav Peace Delegation. Ordinarily the document is preserved in the Croatian Archives of Zagreb.



from the Croats. To-day this falsification is of so much greater consequence since, had it not occurred, in the event of a just and honest solution of the question of Rijeka in 1868, that question would now not be before the Peace Conference, because it would not be existing, and Rijeka would belong to Croatia like Bakar, Senj or any other city. In consequence of this forgery Rijeka under Magyar domination of half a century not only was partly Italianized (1), but it also became, for the benefit of the Hungarians, a new object of Croat-Magyar quarrels. To-day Rijeka points to this forgery to claim the right of its natural destiny. The right of Croatia to Rijeka is as clear as the light of day. By taking it away from Croatia the Peace Conference would sanction the fraud committed by Francis-Joseph, Andrassy and those inhabitants of Rijeka whom Hungary used as her instruments.

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(1) Statistics of 1851 show for Rijeka, among 12,598 inhabitants, 11,581 Croats and 691 Italians; in 1880 : 10,227 Croats and 9,237 Italians (12 years after the fatal year 1868); in 1890 : 13,478 Croats and 13,012 Italians; in 1910 : 15,687 Croats and 24,212 Italians. These Hungarian statistics prove that it was the Hungarian domination which has Italianized the city, the Magyars themselves being so distant that it was a physical impossibility to achieve any perceptible increase of their own nationality in Fiume. Quite naturally the Italian element had had good reason to always agitate against the union with Croatia, and for the union with Hungary, at the same time leaving out, in a most unnatural way from an economic point of view, the suburb of Susak which, though physically one with Fiume, is left to Croatia because with its 13,000 purely Croat inhabitants it would give even to-day to Rijeka a Croatian majority.



Fiume consists of the town proper and the communes of Drenova, Kozala and Plase. In these communes the same as in the suburb of Susak, the inhabitants are pure Yugoslavs, whereas in the town you find Italians and an even larger population of Italianised Yugoslavs (Italianisanti).

We append the four last census returns for Fiume. These returns were compiled by the municipality and on behalf of the Hungarian Government. For obvious political reasons, it was to the interest of both these authorities to make the language spoken by the Yugoslav population appear less important, and to swell the apparent importance of Italian and Magyar in proportion.

All the same, even these statistics give a relative majority of Yugoslavs over Italians as late as in 1890.

Date	Totals	Yugoslavs	Italians	Magyars
1880	20,981	10,227 or 49 %	9,237 or 44 %	—
1890	29,494	13,478 or 46 %	13,012 or 44 %	—
1900	38,955	16,180 or 42 %	17,354 or 43 %	2,842 or 7 %
1910	49,896	15,687 or 32 %	24,212 or 49 %	6,493 or 14 %

We append the latest census returns for Susak :

1910	13,214	11,706 or 89 %	658 or 5 %	363 or 3 %
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