

**CHARLES UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE**

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Institute of International Area Studies

**Emilia Sbroscia**

**Integration and Everyday Life of Italian  
Refugees Exiled to Northern Bohemia in the  
First World War – A Microhistorical Look  
at the Daily Experience of Sannicoló in  
Jablonné v Podještědí**

*Master thesis*

Prague 2016

**Author:** Emilia Sbroscia

**Supervisor:** doc. PhDr. Ota Konrád, Ph.D.

**Academic Year:** 2015/2016

## **Bibliographic note**

SBROSCIA, Emilia. *Integration and Everyday Life of Italian Refugees Exiled to Northern Bohemia in the First World War – A Microhistorical Look at the Daily Experience of Sannicoló in Jablonné v Podještědí*. 97 p. Master Thesis. Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of International Area Studies. Supervisor prof. doc. PhDr. Ota Konrád, Ph.D.

## **Abstract**

The purpose of the thesis is to look at the reality of an Italian-speaking refugee during the First World War, when people were forced to evacuate the Trentino region and were moved within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The thesis will look closely at the diary of an Italian-speaking refugee, starting with his evacuation from Trentino and continuing to his arrival and permanence in the northern Bohemian city of Jablonné v Podještědí. The paper will also explore the internal migration movements and efforts made by the Habsburg Empire, with special regard to the experiences of Italian-speaking refugees. The diary of the man known as Sannicoló will be used to give a microhistorical study and perspective of his move from Rovereto, Italy to the city of Jablonné v Podještědí. His reality as an Italian-speaking refugee and citizen of the Habsburg Empire will be briefly compared with what is generally known of the refugee situation within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and that of other Italian-speaking refugees, to determine the degree of success of his integration into the local population's community.

**Key Words:** internal migration; Italian-speaking refugees; Austro-Hungarian Empire; First World War; microhistory; diary.

## **Abstrakt**

Výzkumným tématem této práce je zkušenost italskojazyčných uprchlíků během první světové války, v jejímž průběhu byli obyvatelé oblasti Tridentska (Trentino, Itálie) nejdříve nuceni opustit svá bydliště a posléze přemístováni v rámci rakousko-uherské monarchie. Práce se blíže zaměří na osobní deník konkrétního italsky hovořícího uprchlíka, který zachycuje jeho odchod z Tridentska a následný příjezd a pobyt v severočeském městě Jablonné v Podještědí. V textu bude diskutována problematika vnitřní migrace a související politiky habsburské monarchie, se zvláštním ohledem na zkušenosti italskojazyčných uprchlíků. Deník muže známého jako Sannicoló bude v tomto ohledu využit jako východisko pro mikrohistorickou analýzu jeho chápání přesunu z Rovereta (Itálie) do Jablonného v Podještědí. Jeho osobní zkušenost jakožto italskojazyčného uprchlíka a občana habsburské monarchie poté bude porovnána se stávajícími poznatky o situaci uprchlíků v rámci Rakouska-Uherska a italskojazyčných uprchlíků obecně, s cílem určení jeho úspěšnosti při integraci do nové místní komunity.

**Klíčová slova:** vnitřní migrace; Italsky mluvící uprchlíci; Rakousko-Uhersko; první světová válka; mikrohistorie; deník.

## **Declaration of Authorship**

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

Prague 04.01.2016

Emilia Sbroscia

## Table of Contents

### Part I

Introduction.....	2
Chapter One – The Changing Situation in Austria-Hungary in the First Years of War.....	17
Chapter Two – Situation in Italy Upon Entering War with Austria-Hungary.....	22
Chapter Three – Evacuation and Transportation From Trentino to Bohemia.....	35

### Part II

Chapter Four – Food, Housing, and Clothing: The Basic Necessities.....	45
Chapter Five – Ethnolinguistic Tensions, Interactions with Locals, and Religious Identity.....	57
Chapter Six – Leisure and Thoughts on War.....	66
Conclusion.....	79
Bibliography.....	85

## Part I

### Introduction

The First World War is a time in history that has been looked at from various angles, and one hundred years later it is still a rich topic. While much has been written on the causes, course, or consequences of the First World War, a theme worth delving more into is the refugee situation during the war. The refugee situation was a European phenomenon; it was a problem the entire continent had to face and deal with during the course of the war. Within the refugee topic, not a great deal has been explored about the displacement of Italians from Trentino to the Bohemian lands of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Figures vary on the exact number of exiled Italians; however, of the 52.8 million inhabitants of the entire Austrian Habsburg Empire, around 240,000 were Italian-speaking citizens of the Empire and Italians, that were evacuated out of their homes upon Italy's immediate entry into the war further within the empire and 75-80,000 were evacuated from the Trentino region, the rest from the other region of Litorale, which included Istria, Trieste, and Gorizia.<sup>1</sup> The Bollettino del Segretariato per i richiamati e i profughi (Bulletin of the Secretariat for Reclaimed and Refugees), created in Vienna in 1914, declared in 1915 that there were then 56,000 Italian-speaking refugees outside of present-day Italy but the numbers vary and could rise, as attentive documentation did not view the Italian-speaking regions under the Habsburg's control to be Italy. This meant less detailed control over the exact figures being moved, since the Italians were considered inhabitants of the Dual Monarchy and thus were simply displaced within the Empire. By 1917, the number had risen to 61,931 people distributed to 96 districts in the empire, chiefly in Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia.<sup>2</sup> As with the war, what many thought would be an exile of a few weeks or months at best, turned out to be a move of up to three years or more in a foreign land. In total, out of the 75,000 Italian-speaking refugees that left their home in various moments throughout the war, around 11,405 ended up in Bohemia specifically.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Paolo Malni, *Gli Spostati: Profughi, Flüchtlinge, Uprchlici: 1914-1919*. Vol. 2. (Rovereto: Laboratorio di Storia di Rovereto, 2015), 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ruggero Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*. (Comune di Arco, Archivio Storico), 4.

<sup>3</sup> Dario Colombo, *Boemia: L'esodo della Val di Ledro: 1915-1919*. (Tione di Trento (TN): Centro Studi Judicaria, 2008), 54.

The statistics provided by the Bulletin include both complete and partial evacuation movements throughout the duration of the war. However, such numbers are hard to quantify exactly, as documentation was often incomplete or has gone missing. Besides the Bulletin, information on the refugee status (outside of diaries, memoirs, or correspondence between family members and soldiers) was also provided by Italian priests that either moved with the refugees or traveled around the various camps and cities to aid and document the number of families outside of Italy that needed assistance. They also provided a correspondence between the Italian population and the Austrian government to facilitate requests for basic necessities such as food, clothing, and the liberty to pursue other activities such as going to the local fair, ability to take walks to explore the surroundings, freedom to attend mass, to work, or to continue with education. Despite their efforts, it was difficult to really see if every Italian was accounted for.

The topic of Italian-speaking refugees in the First World War was chosen out of interest in the daily life of two cultures that had to learn to live with each other out of necessity during a great and total war. The interest emerged to understand how the overall reality of an Italian-speaking refugee was in Bohemia, and specifically in northern Bohemia, as well as why the experience was either positive or negative between the Italian and local population, despite the various issues which arose: language obstacles, the Italians dearly missing their homeland and customs, and the locals being forced to host a people who would end up being one of their war-time enemies. While the thesis will not compare Italian-speaking refugees in Bohemia with other groups – including refugees from other countries, and Italian prisoners of war, and Italian political prisoners – brief discussion will be made in later chapters to set the background of the situation the specific areas at the start of the war to then be able to discuss the Italian-speaking refugee's daily life in a northern Bohemian village. For a quick mention, when compared to other cases, for example, the Italian refugees could be considered to have fared better and so it would be interesting as to how and why that is the case.<sup>4</sup> The issue of refugees remains an important one, as they are

---

<sup>4</sup> The Jewish refugee case in the Habsburg Empire will briefly be looked at in Chapter 1, but for a more detailed look in general literature see Ivan T. Berend, *History Derailed: Central and Eastern European in the Long Nineteenth Century* (University of California Press, 2003); and Peter Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during World War I* (Indiana University Press, 2005). For a more specific look at the Jewish question during The First World War see David Rechter, "Galicia in Vienna: Jewish Refugees in the First World War" (*Austrian History Yearbook*, 1997).



always present throughout history. The First World War is considered one of the periods that created one of the largest movements of people; every country involved experienced the situation in one form or another. Seeing the interactions of daily life between the Italians and the locals is interesting especially if one keeps in mind that, for a majority of the populations, traveling was difficult, and most normally would have spent their entire lives in their town of origin. The exiled Italians had usually never even “crossed the borders of their valley,” but with the war, they were suddenly forced to take trains, wagons, or trucks for many days towards unknown destinations.<sup>5</sup>

As Paolo Malni underlined, there is a scarcity of written work dedicated to the theme of Italian refugees during the First World War, at times limited only to brief mentions.<sup>6</sup> To read through testimonies, to look at photos, and to read letters between family members and soldiers allows us to understand a chapter of history that mostly involves a relatively small number of Italians, but a history that is largely forgotten.<sup>7</sup> Diaries and letters often get lost with the passing of time, as they are passed down to the next family generation, or at times are thrown out altogether; however, the history of the every day should matter not just to those that experienced it or their families. Whether a certain history is experienced by a large group, or a small community, the events that occur contribute to shape the future of the overall population of that nation. The Italian refugees were extracted by what were considered the oppressive Habsburgs from lands which were thought of as Italian lands. These Italians then returned to the reunified Italy after the war; thus, while it’s a history experienced mainly by northern Italians that border present-day Austria, it is also an important time period as it was used by irredentist activists to promote a sense of *Italianism* within the new borders.<sup>8</sup> It was thought by many that Italy would not be complete until all its citizens returned to their homes; therefore, it is a history of the making of Italy. This is a rediscovered history, which can be understood better once the many pieces of the shattered mosaic are reassembled.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 10.

<sup>6</sup> Paolo Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia: Una Storia dei Vinti, Una Storia del Novecento.” *La Violenza Contro la Popolazione Civile Nella Grande Guerra: Deportati, Profughi, Internati*. Comp. Bruna Bianchi. (Milano: Unicopli, 2006), 95.

<sup>7</sup> Colombo and Giuseppe Ferrandi, Direttore del Museo Storico del Trentino, *Boemia*, Introduction, 14.

<sup>8</sup> Although an interesting topic the thesis will not look at the political and propagandist aspect of refugees in exile.

<sup>9</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 14.

The thesis will aim to understand how the Italian-speaking refugee lived and why was their integration with the locals, on the whole, successful, and why interactions with the locals were considered positive. Were they given what was asked for and more? Were they welcomed and not mistreated by the locals, or were they immediately ostracized and confined to a certain area? This will be achieved through a microhistorical look at events and the daily reality of an Italian man, known only as Sannicoló, in the then city of Deutsch-Gabel, in northern Bohemia – presently Jablonné v Podještědí – in the Liberec region of current day Czech Republic.<sup>10</sup> By utilizing microhistory as a method of looking at history, the small unit – an individual, an event, or even a small community – can be used to reflect a larger picture. A microhistorian – versus a macrohistorian – is not interested in how the mass population lived, but is interested in how the small unit managed their day-to-day affairs, and that is what is of interest, to look at one diary to determine how refugees in that city fared. In the initial research phase for the thesis, it was found that less focus or attention was given the borderland regions of Bohemia, as Italian-speaking refugees were also placed in the extremities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; with closer look often given to camps in Upper and Lower Austria or in Hungary.

By looking at the diary of Sannicoló, as one might with letters, memoirs, and records, conclusions can be drawn about the history of refugees as a whole. While with macrohistory focus is on finding trends or patterns from broader world histories the task of microhistory is to bring out the individual's experience through their testimony – diaries, memoirs, or letters – and to study the event in a new perspective rarely outlined in mainstream literature.<sup>11</sup> This can be interesting to add to the general knowledge of history, as microhistory often focuses on what is on the margins rather than what is at the center, done by examining the lives and realities of forgotten people often neglected by macrohistorical studies. Microhistorical works, or histories from below or from forgotten peoples, are for example, the slave narratives through their oral testimonies, or they can be through the narration of an event rather than

---

<sup>10</sup> It is known to be the Jablonné v Podještědí and not the Jablonné nad Orlicí, as in the diary nearby cities of Postřelná, Mimoň, and Brniště are mentioned as walking distance from each other. Sannicoló wrote in his entries the German name of the cities, which are Postrum, Niemes, and Brims.

<sup>11</sup> Sigurður Guðfi Magnússon and István M. Szijártó, "What is Microhistory? Theory and Practice." (Routledge. New York. 2013), Postscript, 154.

reconstruction of history, like with *The Cheese and the Worms* by Carlo Ginzburg.<sup>12</sup> What makes the microhistorical method particularly effective – seen, for example, in the book by Carlo Ginzburg – is the idea that through the individual or the one event analyzed an archaeological knowledge of the every day can aid to define the time period looked at, which is then placed in its historical context or compared with other cases, instead of the other way around, as instead of history from above, it's history from below.<sup>13</sup>

The diary analyzed for the thesis, by using the man's recollections and observations of what he saw or what he did, can give some good indication of how the other refugees lived in that particular city in northern Bohemia. The diary, which was written in the first two years of his stay in Jablonné v Podještědí, gives greater focus on highlighting what life was like, on the locals, and the interactions with them. By looking at the specific diary lost in the shuffle of memorial collections from the First World War, a clearer and rounder picture of the everyday life of marginalized peoples can be made of the city in northern Bohemia.

To add to the interest of microhistory, as all documentation can be included, is the thought that documents are the work of people who had a “specific idea in mind, some motivation for their task” of annotating life around them.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, however, the primary challenge of such a method is that to develop the history of everyday life, there is often a lack of material to reference what the individual states. Marginalized people, in a time of great turmoil as the First World War was, have left few to no traces or documents that could allow for a rounder conclusion of their experience compared to that of the mass population. Yet, what is written can be very valuable to the overall understanding of what occurred in day-to-day life. As Antonio Gibelli stated, during the war many individuals picked up writing to loved ones and noting down their thoughts in journals and diaries as a way to sort out the uncertainty of their future, but at the same time, for their memory to live on as a means to avoid the threat of completely disappearing in the whirlpool of war.<sup>15</sup> By writing, the individual leaves a trace in the collective history, and shares the experience of their

---

<sup>12</sup> John Brewer, *Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life*. Berg, 2010. No. 5. (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München Center for Advanced Studies. Accessed: December 8, 2015).

<sup>13</sup> Samuel Cohn, “Review, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*.” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12.3 (1982): 523.

<sup>14</sup> Magnússon and Szijártó, “What is Microhistory?”, 151.

<sup>15</sup> Antonio Gibelli, *La Grande Guerra: Storie di gente comune*. (Roma: Editori Laterza. 2014), 33.

existence. The experience of the individual in the overall history is interesting as it can give a new perspective on an event. Through personal writing the individual writes primarily to put down their own thoughts on what is happening, which means they are not always subject to external censorship and, at times, internal self-censorship. This allows for unfiltered reflections on the reality of experiencing, but it must still be taken into account the view that with personal accounts, there is varying levels of subjectivity and biases in their diaries, which alters the attitude the individual may have during a particular event. Despite how neutral the diary studied later on sounds, the writer of the diary has grown up with a certain mentality that does spill over into his slight critique on the local's character upon first months in the new, foreign, city.

The refugee as a crisis is defined as multiple flows of human beings. Peter Gatrell has written extensively on the general refugee situation in First World War, and his conclusion suggests that at least ten million people from different countries were displaced during the war, either moving internally within their country of origin, or being forced to flee to international frontiers.<sup>16</sup> His definition of refugee implies the spontaneous movement of people without a destination in mind, as well as forced migration by authorities; the theme of the thesis is encompassed in this broad criteria and will include the forced evacuation to further within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A common feature to all refugees, during the war and throughout history, is the move to a new place with little or no money, food, few possessions, and often the facing of a refusal to welcome or host them due to fear of disorders or riots.<sup>17</sup> After basic needs are met, such as food and shelter, other pressing matters come to the forefront demanding to be addressed, such as clothing, keeping the refugee status always known. In the case of the Italian refugees, some sought relief to pass the long days in exile by continuing their education or finding opportunities to work; this was, however, made difficult by the language barrier.

The term refugee implies that the person is protected by the new state in which they find themselves and by its laws. Refugees can also be protected through local authorities or internationally recognized accords.<sup>18</sup> While refugees officially were to

---

<sup>16</sup> Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013), 1.

<sup>17</sup> Norman Davies, *Europe: A History*. (London: Pimlico, 1997), 926.

<sup>18</sup> Alessandro Marazzi, "Rifugiati." *L'Enciclopedia*. Vol. 17. (Roma: La Biblioteca di Repubblica, 2003), 305.

be accepted by their temporary home, at the same time many encountered degrading situations and were faced with local populations who demeaned them. To be labeled a refugee often came with a negative connotation. It was sometimes assumed that refugees were “opportunists who lacked the stomach to resist” where they came from and were thus moved.<sup>19</sup> While this was not the case for the Italian-speaking groups move further in the empire, the lukewarm welcome and sometimes pure deprivation by local authorities still created tensions that would take time to undo. Much of the movement of Italians by the Habsburgs occurred with security in mind; however, in certain instances, expulsion of civilians occurred by an abandonment of territory after suffering a defeat, whereby entire groups of people had to be organized to move to a more secure location.<sup>20</sup>

Linked to refugees, and quite similar in its definition, internal migration is a term also worth mentioning in regard to the thesis on the Italian situation during the war. The status of an internal migrant is more complex, as it is a mass of the population that is forced to move, either strategically or due to some pressure – such as hunger, catastrophe, ethnic cleansing – but the pressure is to keep an area free of people.<sup>21</sup> By undergoing internal migration, civilians are oftentimes labeled as dislocated peoples and may not be able to enjoy the status of a refugee, as that is not their official status. The Italian civilians moved from the Trentino region were internally migrated further into the lands of the Habsburg monarchy. Often, internal migration also implies voluntary movement, for example moving to urban cities in hopes of finding a better occupation, more opportunities, or to improve life prospects.<sup>22</sup> In regards to the thesis, internal migration is apt for it is the movement, nonetheless, of a mass group of people for economic or psychological factor, and the First World War contributed greatly to such flows of people within Europe, both voluntarily or due to a state authority’s desire to protect its citizens. In both cases, internal migrants and refugees, the status can be categorized as permanent or temporary; with the Trentine Italians the exile would be temporary, albeit long.

---

<sup>19</sup> Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, 35.

<sup>20</sup> Peter Gatrell, “Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War.” *Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration, and Diaspora* (2008): 84.

<sup>21</sup> Alberto Salza, “Profughi.” *L’Enciclopedia*. Vol. 16. (Roma: La Biblioteca di Repubblica, 2003), 579-580.

<sup>22</sup> Alberto Salza, “Migrazioni.” *L’Enciclopedia*. Vol. 13. (Roma: La Biblioteca di Repubblica, 2003), 824.

The thesis is divided in two parts. The first part will look at the efforts and issues Austria-Hungary faced at the beginning, when the war broke out and when transporting the Italian populations away from the Italian war front. The second part will look at the reality of daily life and existence of an elderly Italian man, Sannicoló, through his diary, and it will be compared to how the collective experience was felt for the other groups of Italians. To understand the situation of refugees in regards to the First World War, Peter Gatrell and Matthew Stibbe, among others, and their contribution to the field of refugees and internal migration discussion, have greatly shaped the general overview of the migration movement of refugees, political internees, and prisoners of war. A closer look is given as well at the Austro-Hungarian efforts in internment in general before analyzing in greater detail the Italian refugees, with a particular focus on Sannicoló's personal experience as a refugee in the Empire.

The structure of the thesis will be divided in chapters dedicated to exploring the issue's background and during the time of exile for both refugees in general, and then specifically on Italian refugees, by comparing the diary of Sannicoló to the collective experience of exiled populations. Chapter One will look at the situation in Austria-Hungary and the beginnings of the refugee problem within the empire with a look at the most commonly discussed Jewish migration movements from Galicia. The terms of internal migration and refugee will be better described with the background of what led to the situation from occurring before Italy's entry in to the war. Chapter Two will explore the beginning of Italian refugees with Italy's entrance in the conflict and the start of warfare on the Italian front. The general background on how many were moved and why they were moved could help give insight into why the Italian situation differed to that of the other migrants within the Empire. In Chapter Three the diary of Sannicoló will be studied of his experience while evacuation took place and the transportation from Rovereto to his ultimate destination of Gabel – Jablonné v Poještědí. Chapter Four will take a closer look the subsidy, food, housing, and clothing situation and if those basic needs were met for refugees. For Chapter Five, the thesis will explore the ethnolinguistic tensions between Czechs and Germans as a way to then look at the interactions of the locals with Italians to determine if Sannicoló felt a distinction in their treatment, as well as with a closer analysis if the religious needs of the Italian refugees were met. In this way, by looking at the interactions through the Sannicoló diary entries, the treatment and integration can be

determined successful or not. Chapter Six on a refugee's leisure pass-times – attending local fairs, freedom to take walks, and other – and thoughts on the war in general with a look at their common Emperor Francis Joseph. In this way, the chapter aims to determine his personal allegiance, or preference, towards either Austrian or Italian victories in war since he was an Italian-speaking citizen of the Habsburg Empire. In the Conclusion, by reviewing Sannicoló's diary, it can be better understood why his reality or experience can be considered a successful integration, as a means to also explore what it meant for the Italian-speaking refugees in Jablonné v Podještědí, or northern Bohemia.

The main source used in the second part of the thesis will be the diary of an Italian man from Rovereto, Italy, evacuated to the northern Bohemian city of Deutsch-Gabel, in the Liberec region, close to the German border. The diary was found when various archives in northern Italy were contacted in line of specific criteria of an Italian-speaking inhabitant of the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the First World War with the final destination in Bohemia. The diary was ultimately found in the Archives of the Museo Storico della Guerra in Rovereto, Italy, which in turn was given to the archives by the Museo del Risorgimento e della Lotta per la libertà di Trento – now it's the Fondazione Museo Storico del Trentino. The archive received the diary in a microfilm form in the end of 1980s, and so they hold the stamped copies of the initial microfilm. Many diaries emerged with the research, but such a specific, detailed recount of daily life in Bohemia was rare. With more time permitting perhaps, more diaries could have been uncovered or in time more will come to light, but this diary was the first in the many diaries to fit the criteria needed.

The criteria to make diaries eligible, or the parameters, that was ultimately chosen with are what constitutes the daily life; both basic necessities – such as food, shelter, and clothing – and then non-basic needs – such as freedom to pursue pass-times, education, labor, and obtain news on the war. In addition to these criteria, what the Austrian state did as an extra was also calculated into the reality of an Italian refugee at the time of war. These include: obtaining subsidies for those that could not work like Sannicoló, ability to enjoy religious ceremonies like Italian mass, interaction with locals, learning of their customs, and comments on their differences.

The diary is of a man with a family name of Sannicoló and so the thesis will refer to the man simply as Sannicoló. The man is believed to be above 50 years of age, as he does not seem to worry of being conscripted to help with the war effort for

either Austria or Italy. Other indications of his age include he referred to himself as *vecchio* – “old” – and that he used a cane to walk great distances.<sup>23</sup> The social background of the diary’s writer was never openly stated, but upon research it can be surmised that in that time, the city of Rovereto was agriculture-based as much of the Trentino region was, so he might have worked with in fields or with animals. If there is any indication of his social background, it would be that in his many entries – which will not be looked at in the thesis – he often wrote long passages on what the locals cultivated and what the seasons brought as new fruits and vegetables. A month into his exile, in the winter of 1915, he wrote, “they [the locals] don’t cultivate beans and this is of some bad because it appears to me that the terrain and climate are perfect to cultivate them; but maybe they do not know their use.”<sup>24</sup> He also wrote in the same entry of the panorama and knew of what the trees on the street would bloom in the spring, listing “they are fruit plants, as in apples, prunes, cherries.”<sup>25</sup> This can only be a guess, since in much of the region, agriculture was the basis and foundation of economic activity and of daily life. Many of the inhabitants had land to cultivate, and also owned many farm animals.

The diary started on November 16, 1915, six months after Italy entered the war against Austria-Hungary and ended October 6, 1917, writing consistently for the two years. Sannicoló chronicled his evacuation from Rovereto to Bohemia and his life in “Gabel” for the next two years. The Gabel that is Jablonné v Podještědí was on the stretch of land that borders Germany, and such border regions often in history overlap in national identities. A greater look at the national ethnolinguistic tensions between the German portions of the populations with the Czechs, which could have spilled over to the Trentine refugees, will be looked at in greater detail in Chapter Five of the thesis. The diary came in twenty-one volumes numbered in roman numerals. To facilitate the referencing of the individual entries or quotes, I numbered the pages. Unfortunately two volumes were missing, Volumes XIII and XX, so some information was lost, but it roughly coincided to a month’s worth of memories, since Volume XII’s final entry was in September, and Volume XIV’s first entry was in November, similarly with Volume IXX’s final entry being in June, and Volume XXI’s first entry was in August.

---

<sup>23</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*: 1915, novembre 16-1917, ottobre 6. Vol. 9, 311.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., Vol. 2, 50.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.



The values of a reading diary are many; they can give new insight and takes on an event, or give the perspective of a bystander to history. It can be very valuable in learning about everyday thoughts, but at the same time his diary “jumped around”, and it was not always clear if he was describing a distant or recent memory, and it was not obvious when what was happening right before him occurred, until he mentioned the date. It seemed he wrote down his thoughts when he was inspired to write, rather than simply putting down to paper on a regular schedule. His Volume I booklet started with his transportation from Rovereto to ultimately “Gabel,” but in Volume V he recalled life in Rovereto before the war began and before evacuation. Or he would jump in the entry dates, for example, still in Volume V, he wrote “May 24, 1915” and described his time before his region was evacuated when he received a validation card as a means of identification once evacuations would begin a few months later.<sup>26</sup> This was in preparation for when the military would later come in to divide the Italian population to various districts within the Empire. Reading the diary was also of value in giving his view on the newspapers and news sources of the time, which he declared them to be heavily censored. He often started his thoughts on war with, “the news of the war are still few and always contradictory [...] we do not know what to believe since they could be all false,” since “newspapers can only print what pleases the military authorities.”<sup>27</sup> Being a private diary, his thoughts are unedited and uncensored even in regards to the local Bohemian population, describing them as friendly and welcoming, yet critiquing them at the same time.

Along with the diary, general texts of overview helped to fill in the moments when Sannicoló omitted information, as well as giving the background details to how the refugee situation was handled. Peter Gatrell is well versed in the First World War refugee situation and has written many articles and books on the subject matter. While his initial work was towards understanding the eastern European problem of refugees in regards to the Russian empire, his later contributions to broader history of population displacement has allowed for a comprehensive foundation for the thesis, especially in understanding the problem of what it means to be a refugee transported

---

<sup>26</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 5, 141. “Questa mattina vene posta in vigore la carta di legittimazione, senza la quale non si può girare per le vie senza correr pericolo di venir respinti in dietro e forse anche arestati.”

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., Vol. 8, 251. “Le notizie della guerra sono sempre poche e anche queste contradditorie...che non si sa a quale credere se pure non sieno tutte falsi.” And Vol. 3, 101. “I giornale possono stampare, solo quello che pare e piace all'autorità militare.”

to a new location at a time of war. Peter Gatrell's works have focused on refugees as a relatively new marginalized group – such as women, the working class, or slave populations – and his method of discussing the problems has also proven beneficial in approaching the topic and the particular case of the Italian situation.<sup>28</sup> Refugees are considered to be of temporary status; thus, in history, while they may have been considered aggravating at first for the hosting populations, they were also viewed as a problem that could be somewhat ignored by locals as they would be residing relatively briefly in a place. Gatrell's insight into the refugee situation in First World War has been useful to compare the initial evacuation, transportation, and settlement of all exiled peoples, and the types of suffering, frustration, and given aids between the local population and the new settlers.

Linked to Peter Gatrell, Matthew Stibbe's texts on civilian internment during the First World War have also provided information on the Habsburgs' position regarding its civilians and their movements and internments. Within the same discussion, Daniela Cagliotti's articles have also given the foundation to understand the differences between refugees, prisoners of war, and political internees. Their interest in Austrian internment politics has given a good perspective on the practices and methods used in transportation, and the ways the interned were treated in camps. While the articles may deal with the internment of specifically "enemy aliens – civilians of enemy nationality" – their texts allow for a clearer understanding of how interning during the war was dealt with by state authorities towards their citizens or their enemies.<sup>29</sup> The discussions in such aforementioned texts on neutral or non-belligerent countries interning refugees, enemies, and civilians have given an understanding of the varying degrees of mistreatment or assistance. Internment, whether forced (with mistreatment) or welcomed (with protection), has been similar for many of its victims and internees and was useful in keeping in mind the potential differences between such groups and refugees of Italian-speaking citizens the Habsburg Empire to Bohemia.

As for the general knowledge of the Austro-Hungarian situation, texts in *Refugees and the End of Empire*, by Panikos Panayi and Julie Thorpe have allowed

---

<sup>28</sup> Peter Gatrell, "Refugees – What's Wrong with History? With Peter Gatrell." *Soundcloud*. (The Refugee Studies Centre. 7 Oct. 2015), <<https://soundcloud.com/refugeestudiescentre/refugees-whats-wrong-with-history-peter-gatrell>>

<sup>29</sup> Matthew Stibbe, "Enemy Aliens, Deportees, Refugees: Internment Practices in the Habsburg Empire, 1914-1918." *Journal of Modern European History* 12.4 (2014): 479-98.

for an understanding of the displacement and the problems arising within the Empire that was made evident with the beginning of the First World War. Within the Austro-Hungarian refugee problems, David Rechter's articles and literature by Jonathan Dekel-Chen were particularly useful in understanding the issue of the Jewish refugees within the empire and the tensions that arose with the locals due to their presence, as well as the fear and paranoia that would emerge in the state with their growing number. For Chapter Four's discussion on the growing problem with regards to food shortages with results in clashes among locals and with refugees, Maureen Healy's works on food rations at times of war gave an outline of what the changes in food prices, quality, and quantity meant for the general population and the state. While the text discussed food rations with a nationalistic or propagandistic element, it still detailed the importance of food and how it echoed, or extended, throughout the empire, which was felt in the main cities, and in the border regions such as in Jablonné v Podještědí. In Chapter Five, Zdeněk Beneš and Václav Kural's overview discussion of the Czech and German relations and its history, was a good basis in seeing how deeply rooted the various nationalities lived in the borderland regions and how interactions changed over time.

A wide range of literature was looked through to narrow the texts further for better understanding of the Italian refugee situation. While the above mentioned works have proved particularly interesting in the overall framework of refugees, the next listed literature gave input to the Italian case have been articles that proved very useful in understanding what happened to 75,000 Italian refugees. In regards to the some of the more prominently featured Italian literature, a mention must be made to Paolo Malni and his texts in general, and in particular his most recent text, *Gli Spostati: Profughi, Flüchtlinge, Uprchlíci: 1914-1919*, which have given an overview of the Italians from Trentino regions to various points in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Paolo Malni has extensive knowledge on the time period and the Italian refugees and his works can give a better look at how or when the problem was formed, how the transportation or life was carried out at the camps, but mostly can give the issue the Italian aspect as it involved Italian-speaking groups. Ruggero Morandi's text has allowed for a closer and more detailed take with the describing of the refugee situation to specifically Bohemia. Diego Leoni's research and works on the "lost population" of the Trentine Italians, coupled with articles by Peter Gatrell on relief efforts, impact on host communities, and even cultural representation of

refugees, were of value to evaluate the diary because of their general overview and their tone, or treatment of the issue. Dario Colombo's book on the Italian-speaking refugees from Val di Ledro was a good basis for comparison with Sannicoló's diary, as it looked at their interactions with locals and at their positive memories once repatriated. Antonio Gibelli is also noteworthy in his study of Italian identity formation. Due to the First World War being a collective experience for the whole world, he declared that before the war there was no idea of what it meant to be Italian and only 60% of the population used the same Italian language, so the war acted as a way to reunify Italy to Italians and vice versa.<sup>30</sup> It is not a stretch to consider the history of the Italian refugees as integral to the making, or re-making, of Italian identity and history. Gibelli also dedicated a book to looking at the common person during the war – women, children, and fugitives; thus adding refugees to the general knowledge can shed light on a hidden or forgotten part of history.

Furthermore, where the diary lacked in detail or with just brief mentions, extensive research had to be done to find the appropriate literature to utilize to fill in, counter, and balance the diary. In addition, background research on the time period also had to be done to allow for a better comprehension for the interactions between Italian-speaking refugees and the local population, as well as for the interactions between Italians and the Austrian Habsburg Empire. Along with the diary, the use of some of the entries of the Bulletin of the Secretariat for Reclaimed and Refugees and the general literature of Italian refugees were important to place Sannicoló's experience in understanding the daily life of during war in a foreign land. With more focus placed on the diary, the Bulletin still proved to be of value when looking at the concrete demands made by the refugees during their time away from their homes. While not explicitly linked in the thesis, the things Sannicoló received during his stay were largely met and distributed once other groups of refugees wrote in to the Bulletin seeking clothes, rise in the subsidy, and overall attention from charities. A complete scan of Bulletin entries may not have been readily available or easily accessible away from the archives, but through the use of entries found in other texts they proved insightful for the analysis of the requests made by refugees and how they began to change throughout their time away from home in a foreign land.

---

<sup>30</sup> Antonio Gibelli, *La Biblioteca Della Grande Guerra 1914-1918: La Grande Guerra degli Italiani*. Vol. 3. (Milano: MediaGroup, 2014), 10.

Some limitations were encountered at the beginning and during the course of this thesis. Despite knowledge of the English and Italian language, and the topic regarding Italian refugees, much of the available texts pertaining to the time in Bohemia were found to be either in German or in Czech.<sup>31</sup> Regardless of the passage of one hundred years since the start of the war for Italians, and a resurgence of the First World War texts, the topic of Italian refugees, specifically to Bohemia, is still a rare theme to find in books. Many texts devote attention to war diaries, diaries of prisoners of war, or refugee camps on the eastern extremities, such as in Hungary. The greatest obstacle was choosing a specific area of history that has not been given great attention to, but that only as of late has become a topic worth reviewing. More and more, Italian authors are writing about the refugee situation, but at the same time, the areas of focus are different; they often discuss the refugee situation on the Istrian front after Second World War, Italian movement to the United States and further abroad, or of refugees moving inland Italy, and if internment in Austria is discussed, the focus lays on political enemies rather than on civilians evacuated for their safety.

Another limiting factor is that the thesis deals with one main diary and general literature, and does not include letters or other diaries from other refugees. Because Sannicoló never explicitly mentions his intention of writing down his memories, it can only be assumed the upheaval of the evacuation and the predicament of the groups living in a foreign land brought a drastic change to his routine and writing it down was a means of expressing his thoughts on the new reality. He also does not declare he is writing it for himself, his friends, or his family, so it cannot be known if the initial archive received it from the man himself or it was found. Diaries and letters would have been interesting to look at the situation and reality of the Italian-speaking refugee, but the diary was specifically on life at Jablonné v Podještědí, while with letters there was a risk of less focus given on the locals, or on their customs, due to the limitation of space on a post card or letter, but a diary or memoir has more space generally. The option of looking at personal letters was thought of but due to time and

---

<sup>31</sup> Some examples of literature found include: Zdenka Polívková's chapter "Tyrolství Italové na Chýňavsku v letech 1915-1919" found in *Minulosti Berounska 12*, edited by Jiří Topinka (Státní okresní archiv Beroun, 2009): 69-91; and Eva Šebková's *Italští uprchlíci ve školních kronikách bývalého politického okresu Boskovice* (Sborník muzea Blankso 2004). Or texts by Hermann J.W. Kuprian, such as "Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene aus den österreichisch-italienischen Grenzgebieten während des Ersten Weltkrieges" in *Österreichisches Italien-italienisches Österreich?*, edited by Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig, Marco Meriggi, Vienna, 1999): 737-752; and "'Entheimungen': Flucht und Vertreibung in der Habsburgermonarchie während des Ersten Weltkrieges und ihre Konsequenzen" in *Der Erste Weltkrieg im Alpenraum*, edited Hermann and Überegger Oswald (Wagner Innsbruck, 2006).

geographical constraints, the reality of taking them into consideration was deemed to be a task too grand for the scope of the thesis; so while letters could have been a good source to interpret reality, focus will be on the diary.

While no significant troubles were had when reading the Sannicoló diary, some obstacles did present themselves at times and only upon getting used to handling the diary did the obstacles diminish in being encumbering. Sannicoló, due to his advanced age, or perhaps as he was accustomed at the time, used a writing style at times grammatically incorrect for present-day standard Italian, which caused initial problems in deciphering what was sometimes written. Besides incorrect spelling – omitting double letters in some words, or accents on some letters – his writing style is also that of one hundred years back. He used words like *poscia* instead of the commonly used *dopo* – which means “afterwards” – or the word *sgherlo* often misspelt as *sgerlo* – to mean “handicapped or crippled”. As pointed out by Antonio Gibelli, individuals who had not gone past the third grade wrote many of the diaries.<sup>32</sup> This included the use of an older Italian and a dialect of the north, coupled with cursive handwriting of the past – the long “s” often found in older texts.

## Chapter One – The Changing Situation in Austria-Hungary in the First Years of War

The population of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, according to the 1910 census, reached a total of 48.5 million people, making up a very heterogeneous group that sprawled over 257,478 square miles.<sup>33</sup> The situation in Austria-Hungary was far from ideal in terms of dealing with its national minorities, but for a long period the empire could boast enlightened absolutism – ever since the time of Queen Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II. Since their reign, the empire had modernized to a great extent, with various reforms aimed at appeasing their ever-growing empire. With the rise of the 1848 nationalist movements, the liberal democracy model, and the subsequent creation in 1867 of the compromise that brought about the dual monarchy

---

<sup>32</sup> Gibelli, *La Grande Guerra*, xv. “Scriventi scarsamente alfabetizzati, molti dei quali non avevano superato la terza elementare, in una lingua che gli studiosi specialisti hanno qualificato come ‘italiano popolare’ o ‘italiano dei semicolti’ o ancora ‘italiano nascosto’, dotata di caratteristiche particolari diverse da quelle dell’italiano standard, spesso trascurata negli accessori che vi si utilizzano, come i segni di interpunzione, gli accenti, e gli apostrofi, essenziali per la compressione e la lettura scorrevole di un testo.”

<sup>33</sup> Robert Bideleux and Ian Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe: Crisis and Change*. (London: Routledge, 1998), 275.

with Hungary, it was soon seen that the empire could not please all its citizens and that problems would arise. All this to say, the stability was to decline with the expansion of the territory and the inclusion of new nationalities as seen with the rise of tensions created with the period of nationalism. The intricacies of the Habsburgs in Vienna to govern the Germans, Slavs, Hungarians, Italians, and the rest began to teeter until the outbreak of the First World War. With this in mind, the chapter will review the situation in Austria-Hungary at the time immediately before and of the outbreak of war, and how the atmosphere changed causing distrust and unease. A general overview will also be given to the non-Italian refugee situation in the Empire, especially looking at the Jews from Galicia.

On account of there never having been an Austrian nation, the large composite empire proved that the probability of disaccord between the state and its people was more evident as time went on. Every province or nation had had a distinct history of its own, with its own national individuality, which was made more evident when the war broke out in 1914. Furthermore, no one group was dominant in terms of its numbers, except for the Slavic group as a whole. To name a few of the nationalities, the Germans made up 22%, the Magyars 18%, and the Czechs were 12%, and the Italians were 2%.<sup>34</sup> They were a divided empire in their customs, languages, religions, and historical traditions, despite making up a large majority. Because they did not enjoy a national unity, when it came to the compromise, the peoples, in their underrepresented positions, would feel less and less loyalty towards the empire as time went on. Potentially, they also felt taken advantage of when they were forced to host incoming refugees from all the Austro-Hungarian war fronts. According to the 1910 census, in Bohemia 63% of the population was Czech with 37% being Germans. In Moravia, Czechs were in majority with 72% and Germans 28%. However, in Silesia, Germans were in the majority with 44%, while the Czechs around 24%.<sup>35</sup>

The problem of refugees was brought to the forefront after the war started with the large numbers of people that moved or were transferred from one location to another. More and more international action for refugees were set up to deal with the sheer number of peoples and groups, and aid had to be set up for host countries in receiving them. At the time of the start of the First World War, a large-scale problem

---

<sup>34</sup> Bideleux and Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe*, 275.

<sup>35</sup> Iván T. Berend, *History Derailed: Central and Eastern Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century*. (Berkeley: University of California, 2003), 261.

felt by every country was not yet evident; each state had to set up their own relief programs and organizations, and countries also had to coordinate with each other when receiving and hosting refugees during their transportations and upon arriving to their final destinations.<sup>36</sup> Organized aid needed to be set up since refugees were often destitute, with little material goods and often having undergone psychological trauma – of war, famine, threats of ethnic cleansing, or other.<sup>37</sup>

With cases of forced migrations, much of the displacements have “never been registered; many essential primary sources are lost or still unavailable; important data are often estimates.”<sup>38</sup> Such a great movement of people would gain recognition of being worth documenting and making sure that their needs were met by the hosting countries. At the time of the First World War, refugees were not mentioned in detailed documents; nevertheless, refugees were still on the receiving end of attention and protection from the hosting state. Before the war started, the refugee situation did not appear drastic, as frontiers were opened and people could move somewhat freely. With the start of war, border patrols became more secure, and guards controlled who entered or exited; this was true for any refugee, whether an ally or foe. As with the case of Sannicoló, when he attempted to visit Germany he was profusely and strongly refused entry, despite being an elderly Italian man and despite the fact that Austria-Hungary was working with Germany in the war effort. During the entire war there would be a back and forth movement of people causing further distrust and planning that needed to take place. Intergovernmental organizations worked to assist refugees. Some of the more known organizations were the International Committee of the Red Cross, formed in 1863.<sup>39</sup> For Italians there was in addition the Opera Bonomelli and the Umanitaria.<sup>40</sup> For Jewish refugees there was Israelitische Allianz zu Wien, a

---

<sup>36</sup> Paul Weiss, “The International Protection of Refugees.” *The American Journal of International Law* 48.2 (1954): 194.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 193.

<sup>38</sup> Dariusz Stola, “Forced Migrations in Central European History.” *International Migration Review* 26.2 (1992): 325.

<sup>39</sup> International Committee of the Red Cross, “Resolutions of the Geneva International Conference. Geneva, 26-29 October 1863.” Treaties and State Parties to Such Treaties. *International Committee of the Red Cross*. ICRC.org.  
<<https://www.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/INTRO/115?OpenDocument>>

<sup>40</sup> Matteo Ermacora, “Review of: Daniele Ceschin, Gli esuli di Caporetto. I profughi in Italia durante la Grande Guerra.” (*Deportate, esuli, e profughe – DEP*. (5-6). Università Ca’ Foscari Venezia. December 2006. October 28, 2015), 389-392.



Vienna-based Israelite Alliance, and the Hilsverein der Deutschen Juden, the German Jewish Relief Association, as well as the Ostjuden.<sup>41</sup>

Evacuations, deportations, exile, “forcible repatriations, compulsory transfers and panic-stricken flights” had become an integral part of Central European history.<sup>42</sup> Each country experienced a version of forced migration and non-governmental organizations were not enough to plan accordingly. As was similar in most countries at the time of the war, the Ministry of Interior in Austria dealt with the refugees within the Habsburg Empire. The Ministry was established in 1848 to replace the Austro-Bohemian Court Chancellery, which was founded by the Empress Maria Theresa.<sup>43</sup> Once the displaced peoples moved further within the empire, the Ministry of Interior organized and distributed them around the various regions of the vast territory, placing them where there was room or where abled refugees could contribute to the war effort by working in factories. At the time of the First World War, the obligation of assistance was in the hands of the Ministry, and they had discretionary power, as it was not felt to be a legal duty to care for the newcomers.<sup>44</sup> In this regard, depending on the refugee, the aid given – such as subsidies and other basic needs – was not seen as a concession, but rather as a gift, and oftentimes, the concessions were seen as revocable and not a right.<sup>45</sup>

There was a similar occurrence for the other refugees living in the empire. They were considered and often categorized under forced migrants that needed to be aided, since they were forced to leave their homes under threats of violence or actual use of force, or due to a “well founded fear of being persecuted” as the Galician Jews might have been.<sup>46</sup> Other reasons included: primarily, a military strategic move to evacuate areas that would allow for the area to be a battlefield front, and secondly, a growing high mistrust by the military authorities of the local Jewish population as potential spies for the Russian Empire. Such fear for spies was heightened with

---

<sup>41</sup> David Rechter, “Galicia in Vienna: Jewish Refugees in the First World War.” *Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1997): 116. And Gatrell, “Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War,” 92. And David Engel. “World War I.” (YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe. November 5, 2010), 13 October 2015.

<[http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/World\\_War\\_I](http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/World_War_I)>

<sup>42</sup> Stola, “Forced Migrations in Central European History,” 324.

<sup>43</sup> Mario Muigg, “The Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.” *SIAC-Journal: Zeitschrift für Polizeiwissenschaft und polizeiliche Praxis* 3, (March, 2013): 11.

<sup>44</sup> Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia: Una Storia dei Vinti, Una Storia del Novecento,” 98.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 98.

<sup>46</sup> Stola, “Forced Migrations in Central European History,” 324.

French and British diplomats reported that Galicia “was infested with Russian spies.”<sup>47</sup> At the same time, there was fear from the Russian Empire of Jewish spies for the Austrian Empire with a growing obsession “of spies and spying [...] within the empire [...] and so] Jews were disloyal and should be treated as spies.”<sup>48</sup> The Jewish presence enflamed anti-Semitic sentiment, and they were often easily abused for their “bad manners and contribution to shortages.”<sup>49</sup> In Austria, by 1915, already 500,000 refugees entered the country, most from the Russian-occupied Galicia and Bukovina.<sup>50</sup> The huge numbers of refugees often contributed to locals’ mistreatment, as they were not always likeable or desirable as prospective citizens and were often the scapegoat for when things went wrong or when they simply deteriorated.<sup>51</sup>

The strain on daily life was felt on everyone. Mass movements affect civilians and organizations as well as state budgets. It is no surprise that with the winding of war and the rise in costs, newcomers could be the first to be blamed for the troubles encountered in every-day occurrences. Hunger and discomfort, the irregularity of subsidies, and the limitations imposed by the authorities, was a shared experience by all refugees.<sup>52</sup> As Peter Gatrell stated, nationality offered means of distinction between refugees, yet each country dealt with the refugees in their own ways during the war and placed more attention on those refugees that were not considered a threat to the entity of the country.<sup>53</sup> With Austria-Hungary that could explain the growing mistrust with the rising number of the Jewish population; and similarly, there was a distrust of Italian refugees suspected of being spies for Italy, especially considering the growing presence of the national, irredentist propaganda movement.

The strain on welfare work and on the locals brought about the desire to place the blame on someone. Since the state and army could dictate what they needed to take in order to support the war fronts, the refugees were blamed, because it was easier to blame those that were physically present before them rather than the elusive

---

<sup>47</sup> Günter Bischof and Ferdinand Karlhofer, *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*. (Innsbruck UP, UNO, 2014), 36.

<sup>48</sup> Jonathan Dekel-Chen and David Guant, Natan M. Meir, and Israel Bartal (Editors), *Anti-Jewish Violence: Rethinking the Pogrom in East European History*. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011), 44.

<sup>49</sup> Gatrell, “Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War,” 92.

<sup>50</sup> Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, 27.

<sup>51</sup> Rechtor, “Galicia in Vienna,” 126.

<sup>52</sup> Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia,” 103.

<sup>53</sup> Gatrell, “Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War,” 105-6.

empire with headquarters in Vienna. In Austria-Hungary, the conditions were deplorable, especially for the Jewish refugees whose religious and cultural needs were neglected. The great burden on the states, on voluntary organizations, and local municipalities alike, quickly halted the idea of Jewish refugees, and refugees in general, to be welcomed with open arms. Growing fear of ties to Bolshevism – concretely only after 1917 – or for being spies, strained relations amongst Jewish refugees and the local population.<sup>54</sup> The continual flow and movement of people caused further distrust, but at the same time some planning had to be done to transfer and provide for the large groups.

The Ministry would initially delegate resources and money, but in reality the main burden when it came to support refugees fell upon the local authorities. Tensions would emerge when budgets were stretched to the limits, and refugees would receive the attack or blame when the situation got dire. This created some differences in thought; for example, the discussion on whether responsibility should be left to local municipalities, to the central government, or to voluntary agencies. Such discussions and the growing tensions inevitably brought clashes between the refugees and the local populations. Because refugees traveled with no money to pay for food or accommodations, in some places disorders and riots began, reinforcing the differences between the various cases of either successful integrations, or not, with the locals. Some cases there was a history of great mistreatment or hatred for that particular group of refugees, and in other cases of successful and positive integration and it interesting to see why.

## Chapter Two – The Situation in Italy Upon Entering War with Austria-Hungary

To understand the interactions between the local population and the Italian newcomers, this chapter will give a closer look at the situation in Italy when it entered the war with Austria-Hungary in 1915. Doing so, attention will also be given to the problems that emerged due to the beginning of the conflict. By focusing on how the war began, in which fronts the fighting took place, and looking at the start of tensions between Italians and Austrians at war with in regards to civilians it will set the tone

---

<sup>54</sup> Dekel-Chen, Guant, Meir, and Bartal, *Anti-Jewish Violence*, 44.

for when the Italians would be evacuated and placed in the various camps or villages of the Empire. Evacuation will also be briefly looked at from the Italian side to see motivation of those that moved to Italy and how refugees were perceived by Italy. By looking at the other side of the conflict between the two countries – the Italian side – a foundation is set to describe the daily life of an Italian-speaking refugee during the First World War because the growing problems between Austria and Italy could help explain how the interactions with the locals was on the onset of the evacuations and with the duration of war.

As the war bore on, economic, political, and cultural difficulties became more evident and problematic. Austro-Hungarian war aims had to keep changing and redefining their goals and plans. At a certain point the chief goal of the monarchy was to survive, even going to the point of negotiation in 1917 behind the backs of its allies with Italy, but the so-called Sixtus Affair failed to reach any conclusion because Italy did not accept any of the offers made, and so the eventual peace in 1918 brought a total disaster for the empire.<sup>55</sup> With pressing issues to address, with the military and the economy, the Italian-speaking civilians or refugees were not top priorities for the state. With the growing displacement of peoples, there was more need to set up camps to hold civilians, political internees, or prisoners of war. As Matthew Stibbe wrote, governments sometimes offered “better treatment or exemption from internment to particular nationalities or ethnic groups, albeit for political-strategic rather than humanitarian reasons.”<sup>56</sup> Stibbe’s texts tend to focus on the situation in terms of enemy aliens or interned that may have a technical difference to the refugee situation, but his principles still can be used to describe the period both generally and also specifically with the Italian cases.

At the time of Italy’s entry in the war in May 1915, like the rest of Europe, Italians believed it would be a short burst of fighting to obtain the *terre irredente* – reclaimed lands – so they could enjoy being a ‘reunified’ nation. However, upon entering the war, the Italians had not accounted for the fact that the new warfront Austria would be fighting on would be the actual lands they wanted to obtain. This meant the civilian population would have to be removed from the area for their safety.

---

<sup>55</sup> Gunther E. Rothenberg, *The Army of Francis Joseph*. (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1998), 204.

<sup>56</sup> Matthew Stibbe, “Enemy Aliens and Internment.” *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. (Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. July 28, 2015), 2.

With immediate outbreak of war, a group of Italian-speaking inhabitants of the Empire that felt more loyalty towards Rome moved south, but those that remained, either loyal to the empire, or even those that were not, were not given the opportunity to choose where they would be placed within the empire. Their fates were decided without them knowing or being told anything until they reached their final destination. The movement to Italy – of either the Italian-speaking inhabitants of the empire or of Italians – occurred in various stages, with some instances of preemptive movements, or with cases of the necessity to evacuate certain areas. For example, the desire to move happened when Italy entered the war in May 1915 before warfare had truly begun on the Italian Front, but the need to evacuate came after certain battles, such as with the *Strafexpedition* – the punitive expedition – in 1916.<sup>57</sup> Around 80,000 Italians, residents of the empire, fled to Italy; 35,000 were from Trentino – the remaining number from Litorale – and from that figure, 20,000 were Italian-speaking citizens of the empire.<sup>58</sup> Those peoples that remained, or those that were captured had differing fates. For example, the known-irredentists against Austria were taken to camps and interned as political prisoners and enemy aliens. Italian soldiers caught by Austrian armies were made into prisoners of war, especially after the Battle of Caporetto in October of 1917 when the Italian armies were heavily defeated by the Austrian and German armies.<sup>59</sup> And Habsburg Italian-speaking civilians were to be placed in villages, or in makeshift city camps.

While this was happening in 1917 on the eastern end of the Italian Front in Friuli Venezia Giulia region, forced evacuations, retreats, and Italians under Austrian command had occurred just six months after entering the war two years prior, in the western end of the Italian front in Trentino Alto Adige region. Conflicting national issues and sentiments were present on the whole of present-day northern Italy, but in the Trentino region, a great majority felt more attached to the empire than to Italy. Loyalty towards the empire preceded 1815 and after the Napoleonic era – with the Congress of Vienna – some of the presently northern Italian territory came under official the Habsburg rule, such as: Trentino, Lombardy, Veneto, Tuscany, Modena, Piacenza, and Parma.<sup>60</sup> Loyalty towards the empire solidified while under the

---

<sup>57</sup> Bischof and Karlhofer, *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*, 67.

<sup>58</sup> Malni, *Gli Spostati*, 12.

<sup>59</sup> Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, 27.

<sup>60</sup> Bideleux and Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe*, 293.

Habsburgs because of their autonomic status, while at the same time being under their protection, which allowed for a long period of relative tranquility along with developments, even if the administration was in the hands of the Italians.<sup>61</sup> This freedom and prosperity generated a strong sense of loyalty and devotion to the Austrian emperor, but when the war started there was a growing ambivalence in Italian attitude towards the empire. Austria had been for a long while both the oppressor of the Italian unredeemed lands, and also the source of prosperity and even the “bulwark against the Slavs” in the northern region that were fighting over the same lands, which in certain regions, namely Litorale, tensions with the Slavic groups was high.<sup>62</sup> It was later stated by the Alcide Degasperri, Member of Parliament to Vienna, upon his visit to Rome at the start of war, the sentiments of the Trentino population, especially the rural class, was of absolute loyalty to the Empire, and furthermore he proclaimed a plebiscite displayed that 90% of Trentine Italians would declare to be in favor of Austria.<sup>63</sup>

To better understand the levels of integration along with the growing lack of economic means to help the refugees, Italy’s pre-war situation has to be looked at. Before the war erupted, in 1911, Italy invaded Turkey’s Libyan provinces of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica.<sup>64</sup> What was thought to be a quick, successful, and cheap mission, was instead a war that ended in stalemate. Italy lost men, weaponry, and morale declined even before the First World War commenced.<sup>65</sup> This blow in morale, and the army’s failings to achieve success, would spillover when the First World War started, causing, among other reasons, Italy’s late entry into the First World War. Tensions with Austria, though, had been present for a long period of time, dating back to pre-1815, but concretely with the Congress of Vienna, when regions of the peninsula were granted to the Austrian empire.<sup>66</sup> This was another reason for Italy’s late entry into the war, as it wanted to calculate the most opportune moment to begin its fight for the Italian-speaking regions of the Austrian empire. The overall morale and attitude by Italy during the war with Austria was shaped by Italy’s frustrations in

---

<sup>61</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 32.

<sup>62</sup> C.J. Lowe, “Britain and Italian Intervention, 1914-1915.” *The Historical Journal* 12.3 (1969): 537.

<sup>63</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 32.

<sup>64</sup> David G. Herrmann, “The Paralysis of Italian Strategy in the Italian-Turkish War, 1911-12.” *The English Historical Review* 104.411 (1989): 332.

<sup>65</sup> A. Giardina, G. Sabbatucci, and V. Vidotto, 3. *L'eta' Contemporanea*. (Roma: Editori Laterza, 1988), 430.

<sup>66</sup> David Nicolle, *The Italian Army of World War I*. (Oxford: Osprey. 2003), 3.

battle and the growing and solidifying paranoia and tensions towards Austria. This distrust between the two countries would have then trickled down to how civilians of the Austrian Empire regarded the Italians.

At the start of the war for other nations of Europe, Italy remained neutral, still in the Triple Alliance with Austria and Germany, but it was a defensive treaty. Due to the idea of it being a defensive treaty, since Austria was the offending party and the perpetuator of the war, Italy felt it did not have to fight alongside its allies. The initial year divided Trentines among those that wanted to see Italy fight against Austria, and those that wanted to still be under Austrian governance.<sup>67</sup> While this was the public opinion, the Italian political movement was gaining momentum. More and more Italian nationalists called for the annexation of the Austrian territories that were inhabited by Italian-speaking communities, or historically Italian.<sup>68</sup> These expansionist claims became more integrated into the growing radical movement for the *terre irredente*, ultimately leading to the demands on the grounds of both geographical and historical boundaries of Italy, and these were: Trentino, Friuli, Trieste, along with Istria, Fiume, and Dalmatia and irredentist claims also extended to include Nice, Savoy, and Tunis.<sup>69</sup> Such claims were, at the “cost of the Austro-Hungarian Empire,” places the monarchy was not willing to let go of so easily, because some locations became important for the Habsburgs, such as Trieste was one of the empire’s main ports.<sup>70</sup>

Feeling itself the true hereditary of these territories and as a good conclusion to the *Risorgimento* – Resurgence – movement of the unification of Italy, the Kingdom of Italy found the opportune moment to enter the war on May 23, 1915 after it signed the Treaty of London.<sup>71</sup> The Treaty was signed on April 26, 1915 between Italy, Great Britain, and France and the Italian Foreign Minister Sidney Sonnino’s disloyalty to go behind Austria’s back and negotiate with the Entente Powers came

---

<sup>67</sup> Morandi. *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 3.

<sup>68</sup> Giardina, Sabbatucci, and Vidotto, 3. *L'eta' Contemporanea*, 450.

<sup>69</sup> Lowe, “Britain and Italian Intervention, 1914-1915,” 535-6.

<sup>70</sup> Alan Kramer, “The Radicalization of Warfare.” *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 50.

<sup>71</sup> Marino Micich, Linda Colosimo, and Emiliano Loria, *Il Giorno Del Ricordo: Istria Fiume Dalmazia, La Storia, le foibe e l'esodo*. Documentation from Archivio Museo storico di Fiume. (Roma: Associazione per la Cultura fiumana, istriana e dalmata nel Lazio, 2009).

about from having deduced that further discussions with Austria were useless.<sup>72</sup> Being at odds with each other on national terms, continuing to be allies seemed more and more as the wrong choice for achieving their end goals. Tensions were present with the growing irredentist movement, and the Treaty proved another blow in relations. It was also believed that had Italy stayed allies with Austria-Hungary, even if the empire wound up victorious in the conflict, Austria would not have given the same in return for Italy's help in the war as Treaty of London promised.

The negotiations were made with Italy joining the Entente Powers, but at the same time, Italy was "far from ready for war."<sup>73</sup> As Alan Kramer wrote, Italy's intervention was also thought to have been done to consolidate Prime Minister Antonio Salandra's establishment, as Salandra favored intervention, along with Sonnino, while Giovanni Giolitti – who was Prime Minister before Salandra – supported neutrality.<sup>74</sup> A year at war and it appeared the Austrian army was encountering more losses than victories, therefore Italy's intervention was also thought to have occurred when Italians believed they could "kill two birds with one stone" and so they went to war against Austria.<sup>75</sup> The population was still divided between intervening in the war or staying neutral, but by 1915 the Italian government had decided for them.

On the other side of this matter, officials were convening in Vienna to discuss the Italian problem. Even without Italy's immediate entry into the war, the discussion of the possibility and necessity for war – and then also for the evacuation of regions from potentially dangerous zones – was already looked at. The Chief of the General Staff of the armed forces of the Austro-Hungarian Army and Navy, General Conrad von Hötzendorf, was not enthusiastic about Italy and the growing issues Italy was pressing on the empire even before the conflict began. General von Hötzendorf was a military strategist and was an advocate for the monarchy's existence through the creation of a Central European block. He encouraged that all decisions towards territorial compensation should have this basis, meaning the rising problem with Italy had to be dealt with swiftly and concretely to not shake the foundation of the empire, because any shock to the "block" would have caused a total collapse of the monarchy.

---

<sup>72</sup> Leo Valiani, "Italian – Austro-Hungarian Negotiations 1914-1915." *Journal of Contemporary History* 1.3 (1966): 131.

<sup>73</sup> Lowe, "Britain and Italian Intervention, 1914-1915," 535.

<sup>74</sup> Kramer, "The Radicalization of Warfare," 50.

<sup>75</sup> Lowe, "Britain and Italian Intervention, 1914-1915," 537.



As early as 1911, General von Hötzendorf favored a preemptive strike against Austria's supposed ally, as he believed Italy's disloyalty made it a disadvantageous partner.<sup>76</sup> This is worth mentioning as it sets the tone of interactions between the Austrian authorities to the Italian subjects of Italy when caught and made prisoners of war during the various battles of the Caporetto and Isonzo on the Italian front. This meant an entirely different way of handling the move of individuals as they were prisoners of war – but it also includes Italian political internees – and not Italian-speaking inhabitants of the empire that were evacuated as refugees. It is also worth discussing as it was later used by Italian propaganda and irredentist movements to group in one category Austria's mistreatment as towards all "Italian" people without really distinguishing if they were prisoners of war, political internees, Italian refugees outside of Italy, or Italian-speaking inhabitants of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The assassination of Franz Ferdinand ultimately ended any of the monarchy's projects for reform. With the outbreak of war, Austria-Hungary believed the only means to preserve the vast empire was being one of the victors of war. When the First World War began, Italy was still technically an ally, yet the General von Hötzendorf demanded action towards the Austrian mission of being Central European block and thought war could save the monarchy, so he pursued preventive war.<sup>77</sup> He felt sharp antagonism towards the Italians and felt they would attack the Empire when suitable.<sup>78</sup> In an interesting take on events, it was also possible that the government in Berlin might have exaggerated Italy's stance against the dual monarchy in the "hope that the Austrian government would be frightened into making those sacrifices which might induce Italy to enter the war on the side of her Triple Alliance partners [...] and make it possible the defeat of France" since Germany was already at war with France.<sup>79</sup>

This allowed for the creation of distrust and paranoia between Austria and Italy, even if Italy had no intention, until negotiating and signing the Treaty of London, to take arms against the Entente alliance partners. However, at that point in

---

<sup>76</sup> Rothenburg, *The Army of Francis Joseph*, 163.

<sup>77</sup> Wolfram Dornik, "Conrad von Hötzendorf and the 'Smoking Gun': A Biographical Examination of Responsibility and Traditions of Violence against Civilians in the Habsburg Army." In Bischof, Günter, and Ferdinand Karlhofer, *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*. (Innsbruck UP, UNO, 2014), 59.

<sup>78</sup> Norman Stone, "Army and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1900-1914." *Past and Present* 33.1 (1966): 108-9.

<sup>79</sup> Valiani, "Italian – Austro-Hungarian Negotiations 1914-1915," 120.

time during the conflict, the vast empire, along with the other countries at war, was mainly focused on winning the war and to achieve peace before reaching exhaustion and, or, a total collapse and not on granting concessions to Italy that would have undermined Austrian rule. Countries at war lived in paranoia and distrust for the enemy, even among their own civilians. Similarly, with relations between Austria and Italy, there was a fundamental fear and paranoia towards the other as being spies. Such a high level of mistrust seeped into the decision-making and policies of authorities against the Italian interned in the empire, and of the Italian-speaking inhabitants of the empire. In such cases of mistrust and paranoia, individuals were sent to camps within the empire as a means to distance them from Italy to diminish the possibility of reporting to Italian armies. This way they could not be spies if they were taken out of northern Italy or Vienna, but placed outside larger cities in Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, or Lower Austria.

Irredentist individuals, such as Cesare Battisti, brought about the continual heightened distrust and paranoia that permeated decision-making and planning by Austria. Cesare Battisti was born in Trento and was an Austro-Hungarian Empire citizen but upon Italy's entry into war he defected the Austrian army to fight for Italy.<sup>80</sup> He was captured by the Austrian military in July 1916 and made into a political internee until he was executed for having been one of the first to publicly declare that the Empire should disintegrate.<sup>81</sup> Battisti was a member of the Cisleithanian Imperial Council, but once sentenced in the military trial, he was used as propaganda for Italians to discourage traitors. Ultimately this backfired, as Italians used this as proof of the Habsburg barbarity instead, causing more cases of defectors and irredentist individuals.<sup>82</sup> This was a vicious cycle of mistrust, paranoia, and thus also mistreatment by the Austrians towards Italians seeped into their handling and managing of especially political internees and prisoners of war, but even refugees.

Cesare Battisti was not the only case, but it was one of the first to really grab Austria's attention at dealing with 'traitors' and even their Italian-speaking inhabitants after evacuation from Trentino to further within the empire. Sannicoló mentioned the case of Battisti in his entry of July 20, 1916 but his tone remained

---

<sup>80</sup> Bischof and Karlhofer, *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*, 66.

<sup>81</sup> Mark Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds*. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 113.

<sup>82</sup> Bischof and Karlhofer, *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*, 66

neutral, but at the same time he displayed sadness towards Battisti's fate. He wrote, "What we know was that he fought against the Austrians and was made prisoner [...] and they accuse him of instigating the war."<sup>83</sup> He went on to write, "He will be considered a traitor [...] and will end with an execution which would be unpleasant and painful after he spent his best years to improve the sad conditions of the people and he was partially successful" in the endeavor.<sup>84</sup> Whether or not this shows his loyalty to the Italian cause or for the life lost of a young soldier with ideals is hard to say, but no further mention of Battisti, what he stood for, or against the Austrians came up in his entries, so it is difficult to establish his personal loyalty, with only the sense of how tragic the rising loss of lives was.

Upon immediate entry, a new war front was opened on the Italian and Austrian border, by the Italian Alps. War on the Italian Front began to echo the other fronts; advances were held back by trench warfare, soldiers suffered from the cold winters and high altitudes, and they began to feel the lack of food and ammunition, causing morale to plummet.<sup>85</sup> Statistics may vary due to lack of proper documentation or loss in time of bookkeeping lists of those involved at war, but in the course of the First World War, there were around 4 million and 250 thousand Italian soldiers directly engaged in military operations.<sup>86</sup> Italy's main battles against Austria were fought on and for control of the Isonzo river and for city of Caporetto.<sup>87</sup> In brief on the Italian Front, there were twelve Battles of Isonzo between June 1915 and November 1917.<sup>88</sup> The First Battle of Isonzo looked promising. Italian army outnumbered the Austrian numbers, but soon enough this advantage proved futile. Fighting in the Alps, with winter coming soon, proved to be an obstacle, but in reality

---

<sup>83</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 11, 385. "Quello che si sa sie' che il Dator Cesare Battisti in un combattimento contro gli austriaci fu fatto prigioniero...e per di più lo si acusava come istigatore della guerra."

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., Vol. 11, 385-6. "Egli certo verrà considerato come traditore e ...in questi tempi di guerra e di sospetti, la sua sorte sarà credo disperata e finirà certo con una condanna a morte, questo sarebbe spiacevole e doloroso dopo aver egli spesi i migliori suoi anni per migliorare le tristi condizioni del popolo ed esservi anche in parte riuscito."

<sup>85</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 3.

<sup>86</sup> Nicola Maranesi, *Avanti Sempre: emozioni e ricordi della guerra di trincea, 1915-1918*. (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2014), 17.

<sup>87</sup> Present day Soča and Kobarid, both locations in Slovenia.

<sup>88</sup> Rothenburg, *The Army of Francis Joseph*, 191.

Italy was not ready for war. They lacked training, morale, weaponry, and with each subsequent battle, they were lacking in men.<sup>89</sup>

On top of large losses, there was also a dislike for the newly appointed Italian Chief of Staff of the Italian army, General Luigi Cadorna, who was “overbearing and inflexible” that created harsh environment of discipline, distrust among Italian officers in the various troops, and a large number of deserters.<sup>90</sup> All this to say, these setbacks and many battles with little success for either side, proved to bring concrete tensions between Italy and Austria, as they both were not able to conclusively bring an end to the Italian Front. Italians may not have posed a great threat to Austria – as number of losses show Italians suffered greater casualties with each battles than Austrians had – but the Italians demonstrated to be a constant and lingering nuisance that wasted effort and men that could have been spent on other fronts. For the Italians of Trentino, on the other hand, the divide between siding with Italy or siding with the monarchy was still present, but it was leaning towards favoring Austria as Italy had not fulfilled for its peoples what it promised.

While this was happening to the soldiers at the war front, the pressing issue of civilians in danger and their need of evacuation was gaining momentum. While more fighting occurred on the Isonzo, other areas had to be evacuated due to incoming occupying forces; both as a need to place the civilians away from danger of artillery fire, but also to utilize their homes for shelter and fields for food. During this occupation of Caporetto, civilians were deported as a measure of collective punishment.<sup>91</sup> The 75,000 -80,000 Trentines were evacuated, or deported, to internal regions of the empire, and the rest moved, or fled, south to inland Italy.<sup>92</sup> Prisoners of war caught in the various battles fought on the Italian front were placed in prison-like camps, those suspicious of political upheaval against the empire, as in irredentist nationalists, were placed in camps like Katzenau in Upper Austria, along with their wives and children. Those that were deported to within the Empire many found themselves set up in either wooden or barrack cities in rather deplorable conditions and with inhuman treatment of its internees.<sup>93</sup> Tensions with Italy continued

---

<sup>89</sup> Kramer, “The Radicalization of Warfare,” 51.

<sup>90</sup> Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Mind*, 74 and 81.

<sup>91</sup> Kramer, “The Radicalization of Warfare.”

<sup>92</sup> Malni, *Gli Spostati*, 12.

<sup>93</sup> Daniel Mascher, “Profughi.” *La Vita Quotidiana Durante la Prima Guerra Mondiale*. (Bolzano: Sovrintendenza Scolastica, Settembre 2005), 1. “Città di legno” or “città baracche.”

throughout the war, to the point that the Central Powers, as it happened elsewhere, mistreated the Italian civilians with a political aim to get the terrified population that were starved and demoralized to beg the Italian government to make peace.<sup>94</sup> Instead of demoralizing the Italians, such occasions actually presented further grounds for patriotic Italians to create propaganda against the Empire.

With this in mind, the case of the Italian-speaking refugees is interesting to explore. Opinion may vary, but why was it that on the whole, Italian-speaking refugees enjoyed comparatively better treatment and freedom than other refugee groups, and when compared to Italian prisoners of war in the empire, as well as political internees. One initial explanation would be that the Trentine populations were part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, were citizens of the monarchy, so despite war with Italy, Austria's interest lay in helping its people and protecting its territory. Another explanation is that despite being Italian-speaking, these were average civilians not partaking in war or for political movements; they were in a dangerous location and they needed to be removed from harm, whether enemy civilians or inhabitants of the empire. The main reason for the evacuation was due to the necessity of removing the population from the war front, extracting them from military dangers, and then also eliminating the obstacles of both armies – as in, the army's need to freely move around, to use the buildings as sleep halls, and so on. By removing civilians from danger, the Austrians also wanted to avoid tensions between the soldiers and the people.<sup>95</sup> The model of assistance to the Italian-speaking refugees followed the same plan as the refugee situation from the Eastern Front that began in 1914. The initial influxes of people to the empire were voluntary refugees and so were known as *abbienti*, or well-to-do, able to maintain themselves and free to do so and move about, as long as they stayed away from the war fronts.<sup>96</sup> But money began to dwindle for the whole population, making the refugee situation very dire.

As with the other refugees, the initial burden for the Italian deportees was managed by local authorities. The administration for refugee relief faced an “uphill struggle,” with budgets being stretched to their limits even before the Italian-speaking refugees came a year later.<sup>97</sup> This meant the rise in private charities and non-

---

<sup>94</sup> Kramer, “The Radicalization of Warfare.”

<sup>95</sup> Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia: Una Storia dei Vinti, Una Storia del Novecento,” 97.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>97</sup> Gatrell, “Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War,” 92.

governmental organizations taking over to organize relief and management of placing the vast groups of incoming people. Such organizations as, the International Red Cross, the American Relief Administration, and for Jewish refugees, the Israelite Alliance were a growing presence as the war created more and more need for help to be managed effectively.<sup>98</sup> These organizations, and Europe as well, faced enormous and unprecedented proportions, and the Empire was no different. Emperor Francis Joseph cared for his people and wanted to assure their safety, but due to monetary limitations and restrictions, relief suffered setbacks.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire military forces kept deporting its Italian-speaking citizens, even through to the last year of war.<sup>99</sup> Organizations aimed at assisting soldiers at the fronts, but it was also a means to trace those soldiers that family members had not heard from for a while. Once the initial transfers and deportations from Trentino began, the various organizations turned to dedicate attention to the refugees. The Segretariato richiamati e profughi trentini – the Secretariat for Trentine reclaimed and refugees – was instituted by the Universal Catholic Association of Trentino, as Trentine priests began to assume the role of organizers for refugee aid of the Italian-speaking evacuated from their homes to further within the empire.<sup>100</sup> Before the situation worsened, the initial task of these organizations was to find and provide a correspondence between families and the soldiers at war, prisoners-of-war at prison camps, or the injured soldiers in hospitals. Once these worries and lack of news were met, along with the war bringing economic cutbacks, these organizations took the task become intermediaries between the exiled refugees and the hosting state to obtain their subsidies and other needs.<sup>101</sup> Outside of these organizations, the state did provide for the deported, though the Red Cross, to send postcards and maintain correspondence with loved ones, even if letters and packages did not reach their destinations for months.<sup>102</sup>

The idea of reciprocity and lack of an adequate system of refugee management, led to many instances of certain camps deteriorating. This was common in most camps as checks from the International Red Cross either would not come for

---

<sup>98</sup> Gatrell, “Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War,” 92.

<sup>99</sup> Kramer, “The Radicalization of Warfare.”

<sup>100</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 6.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> Kramer, “The Radicalization of Warfare.”

months or neglected to document abuse. This led to some cases of a grey zone of which country should assume full responsibility for those Italians that were Austrian citizens but had defected the Habsburg army and fought with Italy, and those citizens that were irredentist and were they to be considered Italian or Habsburg citizens. Austrian military censors received complaints from Italian civilian prisoners that the director of the camp at Katzenau, Baron Gustav von Reicher, had a “special disdain for all things Italian” and yet a blind eye was turned and the minimum was given, but it was also the government in Rome that failed to provide the Italian internees abroad adequate food and other means of support. This was due to the fact that the Italian government began to regard prisoners – Italian soldiers captured by Austro-German armies – and even political internees, but not the refugees, as deserters of the Italy because they had somehow allowed themselves to be seized by the enemy and they gave up fighting the Italian campaigns. This led to the Italian aspect of negligence and lack of attention or aid towards the Italian-speaking internees and prisoners. And because in Italy, prisoners of war were often not seen as victims of war, but as traitors to the Italian fatherland, once they returned to Italy at times they were not integrated well in Italy due to their deserter status.<sup>103</sup> In fact, in the fall of 1917, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sonnino, declared that the “refugees of the occupied lands of the north are abandoned to themselves.”<sup>104</sup> Then charity organizations and the Red Cross stepped in to make up for the lack of attention from the Italian government.

By December 1915, Italians also saw the need to create organizations for the refugee situation, especially to place and assist refugees that were entering Italy; another reason why less focus was given on Italian-speaking groups outside of Italy. The defeat at Caporetto and the rise of refugees made it a national emergency, which provoked a reorganization of assistance. Despite these efforts everyone felt the toll of the war. There was a high and still growing number of deaths caused directly and indirectly by the war, in addition to the number of deaths during great moments of exodus from lack of medical attention and inadequate food during evacuation and transportation. The large number of refugees throughout Europe called for formal checks of humane treatment, especially pressured by neutral states like Switzerland,

---

<sup>103</sup> Bischof and Karlhofer, *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*, 236.

<sup>104</sup> Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia,” 101.

by the Vatican, or by humanitarian organizations of the Red Cross. Informal checks were done through the idea of reciprocity, whereby governments could be deterred from inflicting harm on enemy civilians, for fear their own citizens would feel the repercussions.<sup>105</sup> The large groups that were forcefully moved from Trentino region to within the Empire were accounted for, even if numbers may vary.

In sum, for all parties involved wartime aims kept shifting throughout the years to reach peace. For Austria, two events decisively changed the war course: Italy's entry into the war in 1915 and the death of Emperor Francis Joseph in 1916.<sup>106</sup> War with Italy brought few victories, but overall it meant a waning of military men and weaponry. With input from Germany, Austria saw greater success, but not enough to conclusively win battles and the overall war. Every nation witnessed the rise of displaced people with more and more attention and aid to house and feed them. With the death of Francis Joseph the empire saw the loss of their unifying figure; it meant the "irretrievable loss of the principal figure all ethnicities of the Monarchy could identify with."<sup>107</sup> In 1917, with the new emperor, Charles I of Austria, the monarchy could no longer go another year of fighting without meeting total internal collapse. He renounced any political role in Austria and, a few days later, in Hungary.

### Chapter Three – Evacuation and Transportation From Trentino to Northern Bohemia

The concrete moment when the Italian-speaking populations of the Austrian Empire were told they must evacuate and their moment of transportation to their destinations can be used to understand the relations between Austria and the Italian-speaking inhabitants. In this chapter, a discussion of how the other Italian groups experienced the beginning of the move from their hometowns further within the Empire, specifically to the northern Bohemian parts of the Monarchy, can bring forth the issues of treatment and if simply the needs were met or not. Such needs as given food at the various locations, a place to sleep while waiting at the stations, and interactions with the local authorities and civilians, if they were helpful, cordial, or not. Sannicoló's diary will be examined and his reality in being evacuated and moved

---

<sup>105</sup> Stibbe, "Enemy Aliens, Deportees, Refugees," 493.

<sup>106</sup> Bischof and Karlhofer, *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*, 266.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 267.



from Rovereto to Jablonné v Podještědí. To conclude with Sannicoló's thoughts on having to be evacuated is both interesting and useful to see if the initial impetus of life as a refugee impacted negatively or positively his views on the Empire and his situation as an exiled person while in northern Bohemia.

The first sets of movement began immediately upon Italy's entry in the war on May 17, 1915. The initial emphasis to remove civilians was placed on those locations where active warfare was occurring, or soon would be. While Italy had entered the war for rather "selfish reasons of territorial conquest", the Italians were unprepared when it came to effectively removing the population from the warzone; however, the Austrian government was.<sup>108</sup> The first partial evacuation was of the Istria and its surroundings, then came that of the Trento region, following with Trentino, and finally with the Isonzo and Caporetto defeats.<sup>109</sup> Once it was clear the places were destined to become warzones, the evacuations went from partial displacement of people to complete evacuations. Because evacuations were a direct result of military activity, the flows of people, whether preemptive move or not, created a great demographic turmoil.

Before the First World War, travel was not a commonplace occurrence. Even if they were living under the same Habsburg rule, the inhabitants of the empire and would not have crossed paths unless for some instances of interactions could have occurred between the two nationalities, either for "seasonal work" or rarely, for pleasure, since the majority of the people did not even leave their towns.<sup>110</sup> As Antonio Gibelli stated, the experience of the war was far from egalitarian. It was not "felt in the same way, but [...] each person lived through it and had to pay different prices, everyone was overwhelmed by its upheaval."<sup>111</sup> This meant that tensions could arise between the local populations and the incoming Italian groups, but because everyone understood and felt what it meant to be at war, there were some sentiments of a shared experience. Disregarding the prisoners of war and the political internees, the refugee population also were treated differently as they represented the "weaker

---

<sup>108</sup> Kramer, "The Radicalization of Warfare."

<sup>109</sup> Malni, "Profughi in Austria e in Italia," 96.

<sup>110</sup> Daniela L. Caglioti, "Aliens and Internal Enemies: Internment Practices, Economic Exclusion and Property Rights during the First World War. Introduction." *Journal of Modern European History* 12.4 (2014): Footnote 2 on page 448.

<sup>111</sup> Gibelli, *La Grande Guerra: Storie di gente comune*, 6.

stratus of the society,” mostly involving men unfit for military service, women, children, the sick, and the elderly.<sup>112</sup>

At the same time, inhumane treatment such as lack of adequate amount of food, clothing, and treatment while on the trains, was not just a consequence of being Italians and the organizers being Austrians, but it was a refugee reality. If there were no trains, there were marches that lasted several days in varying weather; when on trains, they were placed in cattle-wagons with little food or drink, and were forbidden to descend to relieve themselves until they stopped at a station.<sup>113</sup> This is where the Red Cross stepped in, and at stations help, food, and blankets were distributed while waiting to depart for their final destinations.<sup>114</sup> By June 1915, a month after proper evacuations started, efforts began to feel the strain of giving aid to the refugees while at the same time distributing them around to the areas of the Empire that needed them as laborers or to areas that had space enough to house a large group of Italians.<sup>115</sup> The more “fortunate” refugees were placed in Bohemia and Moravia, considered fortunate for being far from war fronts with relative freedoms.<sup>116</sup> Thousands of people were forced to evacuate within a few hours and leave behind what they “painstakingly built, protected, and loved throughout their history.”<sup>117</sup> The local populations welcomed them rather warmly, showing kindness and generosity.<sup>118</sup>

Before looking at the case of Sannicoló living in Jablonné v Podještědí a repetition of the other groups can indirectly give a comparative look for the situation and evacuation to a foreign land. Concentration camps were saved for prisoners of war and political internees and only a small number of the population that could not contribute in one way or other as workers.<sup>119</sup> Such camps were also used to host refugees from Galicia before Italy entered the war. From 1915, these barracks, sometimes made entirely in wood, were utilized to hold the large numbers of people, but it was mostly used to place them temporarily while the Austrian Ministry of

---

<sup>112</sup> Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia,” 105.

<sup>113</sup> Kramer, “The Radicalization of Warfare.”

<sup>114</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 5.

<sup>115</sup> Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia,” 96.

<sup>116</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 5.

<sup>117</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 10. “L’esodo forzato di migliaia di persone che nel giro di pochissime ore...avevano dovuto lasciare quanto avevano faticosamente costruito, protetto e amato nel corso della loro storia.”

<sup>118</sup> A closer look will be given in later chapters on locals’ help and interactions, starting with Chapter Four on Food, Housing, and Clothing: The Basic Necessities.

<sup>119</sup> Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia,” 102.

Interior ultimately located them.<sup>120</sup> The first Italians were placed in these wooden barracks towns, such as Mitterndorf, that were capable to hold 20-30,000 people. Such places were equipped with various buildings that were set up as stores, bathrooms, kitchens, and laundry rooms, as well as with hospitals, day care centers, for schooling, churches, postal services, and even equipped with orphanages and prisons; these camps had become home away from home.<sup>121</sup> Another camp in Austria, Braunau, was constructed in June 1915, but as the war carried on, men and effort dwindled down. By November, around 4,000 refugees arrived at the camp to find that many of the buildings were not yet completed, which made life difficult.<sup>122</sup> Of the eleven kitchen rooms promised, only four were in function. While the hospital wards were ready, the laundry rooms were not, so cleanliness soon became an issue. Another issue soon emerged in these artificial cities: there was a concentration of consumers, but a lack of producers.<sup>123</sup> The need for certain things outweighed what was readily available and the maintaining of the newcomers through subsidies was difficult to organize.

The government in these camps maintained the Italian refugees if they could not help themselves in the foreign land. The other refugees were dispersed in smaller groups to various communities of the dual monarchy to industrial areas, like in Bohemia. Those that were moved to industrial areas were given a daily subsidy, but they were also considered able to work, so they were also treated as forced laborers, or “proletariats in reserve.”<sup>124</sup> They were used to bridge the gap created in the production sectors. The Austrian government stated it was a launch of workers, while instead it was simply a deportation of people that could still work and contribute in some way.<sup>125</sup> In some towns the workers enjoyed relative freedom, but on the whole, the more unfortunate of workers worked in deplorable conditions and were denied redistribution to better areas within the empire. As the war went on, the need for work became more necessary, so the Bulletin began to list ads in search of workers.<sup>126</sup>

---

<sup>120</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 14.

<sup>121</sup> Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia,” 102.

<sup>122</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 16.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia,” 102.

<sup>125</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 13.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

Compared to camps, the working groups of Italians could maintain themselves and thus lived in better conditions, since they could enjoy greater liberty to find work and food for their families.<sup>127</sup> The Italians that did not fit in the above description were placed in villages and towns around the empire, many ending up in Bohemia and Moravia. Without being told much on their destinations, groups of Italian-speaking refugees, for example those women, children, and the elderly from Val di Ledro were forcibly evacuated and placed in new places with foreign-sounding names such as: “Buštěhrad, Chyňava, Doksy, Dřetovice, Nový Knín, Milín, Příbram, Ptice, Svárov, Všeň, and so on” for an indefinite amount of time, without knowledge of the language, customs, and behaviors of the locals.<sup>128</sup> Inhabitants from Tiarno region mostly went to Bohemia and Moravia, such as: Prostějov, Turnov, Drsovice, or Vrahovice, as Italians already occupied lands in Bohemia and Lower Austria.<sup>129</sup> Evacuation was temporarily suspended when the Austrian government began to have insufficient measures to manage the distribution of people, which meant there was a great dispersion of refugees at the barrack camps.<sup>130</sup> When the committee for aiding refugees on the Italian Front was created in Vienna in July 1915, evacuation measures were allocated to Italian charities or Italian priests working at the confine of Austrian borders and to the Red Cross stationed at various train stations between Italy and the Bohemia, Moravia, and other parts of the Empire.<sup>131</sup>

Sannicoló was moved on November 1915 and he would end up in northern Bohemia in the city of Jablonné v Podještědí in the Liberec region, by the border with Germany. Sannicoló wrote down his memory of the evacuation of other regions, as they had to arrive in Rovereto to take trains to Austria and beyond. On May 27, 1915 he recalled large groups of nearby areas of Lizzanella, Lizzana, and Marco arriving in the city awaiting their destinies, and soon he would be one of those people.<sup>132</sup> For Sannicoló and his fellow Trentines there was no doubt the war with Italy started with the continual arrival and passage of trains through Rovereto.<sup>133</sup> His own notice of

---

<sup>127</sup> Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia,” 103.

<sup>128</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 20.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 212.

<sup>130</sup> Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia,” 96.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>132</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 5, 153. “Questa mattina per tempo cominciano ad arivare in Città direti alla stazione numerosi grupi di gente dei paesi vicini cioè di Lizzanella, Lizzana, e Marco.”

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, 138.

evacuation was placed on his door in early November with dates fixed for the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of November. Despite having seen large groups departing further in the Empire, in his diary Sannicoló seemed to doubt his own city's evacuation, saying, "I returned home doubting if it were true, but I had to convince myself that it was the truth, because on the front door I found the decree of evacuation."<sup>134</sup> The weight of the truth was later confirmed when he saw women on the streets "crying" from the news.<sup>135</sup> When he was told to leave on the 16<sup>th</sup> rather than on the 20<sup>th</sup>, Sannicoló did not seem to be upset by the news, as he packed his few belongings. The refugees were told to bring a small bag with weight that did not exceed ten to fifteen kilograms, or else they would risk having to leave it behind.<sup>136</sup> Similarly, Sannicoló was forced to pack in haste the few belongings he thought to bring and told to stay prepared to depart or else face punishment, without the chance to tell loved ones that stayed behind in hospitals they would be departing.<sup>137</sup>

At this point, Sannicoló's situation echoed that of other Italians. They were told they would leave sooner than originally told and treated in a rough manner by the military. By the time of his forced departure, management erupted in chaos with larger groups of people forced onto the platforms to then cram into wagons made for animals.<sup>138</sup> The refugees, as echoed in Sannicoló's diary, were placed on trains leaving from Mori, Rovereto, and Trento to various destinations beyond Brenner without knowledge of where they would end up.<sup>139</sup> Sannicoló must have been of an advanced age to not worry that he would be required to participate in the war effort, but he commented often, at the moment of evacuation, that departing with him were many elderly people. He said that the squares in the small town filled up with more and more people making it difficult to move, with many old people "whose age predicted with certainty that this would be their last trip and they would not return

---

<sup>134</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 5, 149-150. "Tornai subito ha casa sempre dubitando se ciò fosse vero, ma doveti convincermi ben presto che era la pura verità, perche sula porta di casa trovai appicato il decreto di evacuazione."

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., Vol. 5, 149.

<sup>136</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 50

<sup>137</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 6, 169. "Il 16 venne l'ordine dal comando militare che si doveva partire ancora quella notte altrimenti si sarebbe tutti puniti."

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., Vol. 5, 154. "E cosi radunati tutti alla stazione, venivano caricati in Vagoni delle merci in quanti piu potevano per vagone, uomini, donne, fanciulli e bambini."

<sup>139</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 4. And Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 5, 162. "Furono tre i treni di profughi che passarono dalla stazione di San Michele diretti verso il Brenner, per quali paesi poi chi la sa?"

home.”<sup>140</sup> He never made such a prediction about himself, but rather only worried he would not see his beloved *patria* – homeland – due to the war continuing with seemingly no end. He often wrote of his *patria* with nostalgic or melancholy style but at the same time he never critiqued the Austrians and his time in Jablonné v Podještědí. He used words such as “beloved”, “our homeland”, “our Trentino”, or “our dear faraway home.”<sup>141</sup> There is a slight indication of bitterness for the war destroying their home, when he wrote in one of his final entries, on September 17, 1917, “Homeland [...] we hope to see it one day free from every oppression.”<sup>142</sup> That could mean from the fighting rather than Austrian or Italian control, as it was the case that they had relative autonomy under Austria, but once under Italy – and subsequently the rise of fascism – there would be the centralization process that would remove the autonomous status the region had enjoyed for a long time.

Sannicoló’s transportation from Rovereto to ultimately Jablonné v Podještědí was carried out in the same fashion as the other Italian refugees to other parts of the Empire. Treatment varied with each military authority and each border patrol. With the memories by the Val di Ledro refugees, the editor of the book, Dario Colombo, stated that pregnant women were placed in better wagons with more space and better heating, while traveling from to Bohemia.<sup>143</sup> At the same time, however, at another station along the way, witnesses remember seeing an officer approach a child that was struggling up the train stairs and throwing him roughly “as if a piece of wood” into the wagon; this behavior caused the child to die eight days later from lack of adequate medical attention.<sup>144</sup> Sannicoló did not recount such vicious incidents, but due to the sheer number of refugees per group being evacuated, he might have missed some moments or failed to write them down. The idea of self-censorship came to mind, but he never mentioned such moments not even briefly or hastily, so it is difficult to conclude if self-censorship was a strong element in his thinking and thus in his writing.

---

<sup>140</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 5, 155. “molti vecchi la cui età faceva prevedere quasi con sicurezza che questo sarebbe stato il loro ultimo viaggio e che piu’ non avrebbero fatto ritorno. Frattanto dopo lungo aspettare un treno che mai non veniva...la fola di gente sempre aumentava sicche il piazzale, latrío e le salle d’aspetto erano piene in modo talle da non poter nemeno muoverssi.”

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., Vol. 8 and Vol. 16.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., Vol. 21, 722. “La patria ...speriamo anche di vederla libera da ogni oppressione.”

<sup>143</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 170.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 69.

Sannicoló's experience of his transportation from Rovereto to Bohemia on the whole might be similar to the reality of many of the Italian refugees, but his diary differs in his attitude towards his new path in life. The level of mistreatment often cited in general literature does not appear so forcefully in his recount. His diary began with his voyage to the foreign empire's territories. He was told to board the train to San Michele, which took him to Bolzano, then to Brenner, to Innsbruck, without stopping until train reached Salzburg for the night. He arrived at Salzburg on November 17 around 6:30pm and his group of refugees was immediately placed in temporary barracks.<sup>145</sup> At this moment the first distinction from his experience to the general experience emerge. Most accounts detail the temporary destination in Salzburg as a place where they were mistreated and underfed. In general literature, the station of Salzburg proved difficult as they were forced off the train and fed miserable portions of broth, and were given some coffee or tea and milk for the children.<sup>146</sup> Sannicoló instead described his arrival in time for the dinner service and they gave him coffee and polenta, he ate with "good appetite", and was free to examine the barracks.<sup>147</sup> Despite being a temporary location, Sannicoló described it as a "large wooden building that can hold up to 300 people, fitted with plenty of water and illuminated by electric lights."<sup>148</sup>

The experience of sleeping in large room crammed with people was the same for all refugees. They were forced to sleep on lice-ridden beds or, as Sannicoló did, slept on a table.<sup>149</sup> Similarly, all refugees slept badly due to the cold, the noise, and from the worry of not knowing where they were headed.<sup>150</sup> The barracks were crammed with people from various regions and mostly women, children, and the elderly, and as Sannicoló marveled, he saw a woman of 96 years old traveling with them.<sup>151</sup> As well as not knowing where they would end up, the refugees also did not know how long they would stay in the temporary location; however, Sannicoló's

---

<sup>145</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 1, 6.

<sup>146</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 62.

<sup>147</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 1, 7. "Qui giunti proprio al momento in cui distribuivano la cena, si dovette acquistare 5 Gamelle e ci diedero caffè e polenta, si mangiò di buon appetito, e poi si cominciò ad esaminare la Baracca."

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 7. "Un ampio fabbricato di legno capace di contenere circa 300 persone, provisto in abbondanza di acqua e illuminato a luce elettrica."

<sup>149</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 212. And Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 1, 9.

<sup>150</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 1, 9.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

experience does not seem altogether negative while he waited. He described in detail what he was given for breakfast and lunch, which he consumed again with “good appetite.”<sup>152</sup> He recalled later the reason for being detained in temporary camps as the Committee of Refugees waited for an “adequate number of persons to distribute to their final destinations.”<sup>153</sup> The treatment by the local authorities was not violent, albeit at times rough. He was given coffee and bread but ordered to prepare for their next departure.<sup>154</sup> He was then forced unto a wagon made to hold goods, but it was furnished with “comfortable benches and a stove with a pile of carbon” for the passengers to furnish with.<sup>155</sup>

On November 18 he departed for Vienna and, similarly to other cases, Sannicoló was left in the dark as to where their final destination was. While the situation was dire and uncomfortable, Sannicoló’s attitude and thoughts are not always pessimistic and he appeared almost neutral in writing the war progression without strongly or openly favoring either Austrian or Italian victories. Upon his arrival on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November in Vienna he marveled at the train “station’s grandiosity and the superb buildings of the capital.”<sup>156</sup> Unlike in other accounts that declared the authorities did not feed them, or that only “nice” locals would, Sannicoló had a different experience in Vienna.<sup>157</sup> In the long wait at the station he was fed adequately and the stoves in the wagons were re-supplied with carbon for the trip to Prague.<sup>158</sup> As with Vienna, his thoughts toward Prague are the same. Upon entering Prague, they could see the grand train station, “a building that was really magnificent and profusely illuminated with electric lights, beautiful and big built.”<sup>159</sup> Food during

---

<sup>152</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 1, 10.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., Vol. 14, 451-2. “A Salisburgo, nella grande Baracca che serve di tappa e di punto di riunione dei...profughi del Trentino per passarvi un giorno...il commissariato dei Profughi attende di avere un numero adeguato di persone per poi spedirli a destinazione definitiva, così può darsi che i primi arrivati si fermano quattro o cinque giorni mentre gli ultimi si fermano soltanto una notte.”

<sup>154</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 11. “E sono le tre pomeridiane del 18 novembre ora in cui si portarono caffè e pane col ordine di tenerci pronti per la partenza.”

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., “Verso le ore 4 il treno fu pronto, ma non come quello di prima perché questo era composto di vagoni dalle merci, però forniti di comode panche e rispettiva stufa con una cassa di carbone.”

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 13. “Verso le ore 8 antimeridiane del 19 novembre ci troviamo nella stazione di Vienna. Stazione questa veramente grandiosa dalla quale si intravedeva fra la nebbia i superbi palazzi della Capitale.”

<sup>157</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 60.

<sup>158</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 1, 13.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 16. “Ci si presentò alla vista la grandiosa stazione di Praga...Stazione veramente magnifica illuminata a profusione a luce elettrica, con bellissimi e grandi fabbricati tutti con buon ordine disposti.”



evacuation and transportation was often described as meager and mostly from the kindness of locals, but in Prague, Sannicoló was satisfied at the service and quantity saying, it was “very gentlemanly and plentiful consisting of excellent soup, meat, sausages, bread, and coffee.”<sup>160</sup> Refugees in Prague were not mistreated, as Sannicoló wrote: they were treated courteously while waiting to board the train to their definite location. He said of the Prague authorities, “they have civil and courteous manners and they treat us well, too bad we do not know the language.”<sup>161</sup>

On his final leg of the journey, the long days being on uncomfortable trains and unsure of their future, Sannicoló, as well as the refugees, were hoping for their final destination. The only reprieve from the dreariness of the train rides and uncertainty was with the infrequent stops, the local populations’ kindness in bringing them food. At the penultimate station, they were allowed off the train and were handed food, described as “gifts by the local people.”<sup>162</sup> Finally after a few days of travel, he arrived in Jablonné v Podještědí on November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1915.<sup>163</sup> His first view of the new city upon exiting the trains was the platform and main square crowded with people that came to learn of the arrival of the Italian refugees.<sup>164</sup> In sum, Sannicoló’s experience of evacuation and his transportation from Rovereto to Jablonné was presented in an overall open attitude towards his new reality, although he wrote of growing fear of his homeland undergoing destruction and sadness at leaving. It was similar in varying treatment when at different stations, but Sannicoló’s recount of food made it seem that for at least the first year of evacuation – or for Sannicoló’s group of refugees – they were given enough food and train rides made as comfortable as could be, receiving attention and warm welcome from local populations upon arrival.

---

<sup>160</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 1, 16. “Appena arivati ci fu’ distribuita una cena verramente Signorile ed abbondante, consistente in eccelente minestra carne e sazzieta’ salciese pane e caffè.”

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 17. “La gente ha qui modi civile e cortesi e tratano bene, peccato che non si conosce la lingua.”

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 20. “Giunti ad una certa stazione ci vene distribuito un buon caffè col late e due panini col buro, dono della gente del paese.”

<sup>163</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 21.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 22.

## Part II

### Chapter Four – Food, Housing, and Clothing: The Basic Necessities

Food, housing, and clothing are the basic necessities of life that all refugees sought when they were in the host countries. When discussing the refugee situation, looking at these basic needs is necessary to see the degree they were met by the state or by the locals and to understand where treatment bordered mistreatment or if the refugees could fare well enough in their new locations. By analyzing Sannicoló's experience, it can be concluded that the relations and interactions with the locals during the time of war was of mutual respect and sympathy, rather than outright hate and frustrations.<sup>165</sup> Utilizing Sannicoló's reality can outline how the Italian-speaking refugee lived and can demonstrate the overall positive daily life of the Italian-speaking refugee in Jablonné v Podještědí.

Food scarcity, with the duration of the war, affected everyone, but in some cases the refugees suffered greater famine, as they were the last to receive food rations. In other cases, scarcity affected everyone equally, but the Italian refugees were granted, through the subsidy, a certain quota or rations of food that allowed with certainty the obtaining of the basic quantity deserved. In general, life for the refugees was hard to get used to, having gone from being able to cultivate their own gardens and keep their own foods to the inability of gardening and the illegality of preserving food. The state subsidy was insufficient throughout their stay in the Empire, which meant food and clothing were always the bare minimum to survive, but not enough to ward off hunger or weather conditions for good. Certain Italian refugees lived in deplorable housing and for weeks only had the clothes they arrived in from summer, which became worrisome when winter began.<sup>166</sup> The quality of food, different from their usual diets, was also a source of complaint for the Italian refugee population.

While they did not have enough food to stop from feeling hungry, in various villages there was always production of certain foods, such as potatoes, that

---

<sup>165</sup> On a side note, in the following chapters and discussions, I will use the term local populations, peoples, or inhabitants of Bohemia when reviewing what Sannicoló wrote, because Sannicoló rarely called the locals by their ethnicity or nationality and so it is difficult to accurately determine if he meant Czechs or Germans. He often simply wrote *loro*, "they", as well as through the use of the verbs in their 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural, and from what he described it was clear he meant the locals, but not which one. The only allusion to being predominantly German was his frustrations that all news sources were written in German, which the refugees could not read, but he does not always expressly write the *Czechs* or the *Germans*.

<sup>166</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 74.

contributed to food rations being adequate enough to feed the locals and the refugees.<sup>167</sup> When the people could, they also procured their own foods by hunting, or gardening, what they could find in the new vegetation and fields in their new homes.<sup>168</sup> This led, in some occasions, to some Italians resorting to hunting and eating frogs, which made the local populations view the refugees as “dirty” or “gross.”<sup>169</sup> With the establishment of the Commissariat for Italian refugees, requests for more food were addressed and met as much as the Commissariat could afford to give. In one case, Italians from Val di Ledro asked the Commissariat for 100 kilograms of polenta – a cornmeal mush – and it was given to them to divide amongst themselves.<sup>170</sup> It may vary with each camp and village, but in general Italian refugees received daily black coffee, barley soup with potatoes or beans, pasta, various legumes, and bread.<sup>171</sup> Twice a week, meat and cheese were also distributed to the refugees. Even if the purchase of food was a growing problem, with prices of flour, potatoes, cheese, and others increasing, the refugees’ complaints were met as much as they could by the Commissariat. The Commissariat could only go so far in providing for the refugees, though, because soon enough the biggest conflict was from the lack of food and the inability to obtain the basic staples, which created “another war front” right at home in the cities far from fighting.<sup>172</sup>

In addition to the help guaranteed by the state and the Commissariat, many of the Italian populations found themselves in villages where the locals were kind in helping the Italian population settle into life in the new territory. Italians could procure more food by providing extra hands in the fields or in factories. A twelve-year-old Italian boy from Mezzolago living in Kladno, Central Bohemia, remembered receiving a liter of extra milk out of charity from the owner of the local factory. Touched by the gesture, he offered to help govern the horses of the owner in compensation for an extra ration of food.<sup>173</sup> In another similar case, a boy remembered accompanying his sisters that offered to clean houses for an extra slice of

---

<sup>167</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 117.

<sup>168</sup> Malni, “Profughi in Austria e in Italia,” 102.

<sup>169</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 212.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>171</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 16.

<sup>172</sup> Maureen Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 31.

<sup>173</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 117.

bread.<sup>174</sup> Such instances show that food, while not being abundant was also not entirely a scarcity and that Italian refugees were able to procure a small amount in various ways. Despite being far from the war fronts, or the larger cities, did not mean an abundance of food, or that there was no scarcity in these border regions. The food became scarce by his second year there, 1916, as well as other commodities, making it difficult to eat adequately. As Maureen Healy wrote, in some areas, the atmosphere of aggression, suspicion, and paranoia was borne out of food condition rapidly deteriorating.<sup>175</sup> Sannicoló's diary did not have moments of aggression over food, but that does not mean that the local population, and the Italian-speaking refugees, suffered the consequences of rationed life in other parts of the empire.

Looking at Sannicoló's comments on the food situation, in the city of Jablonné v Podještědí, the overall experience was similar in that food became a growing scarcity for all, but being an Italian refugee did not prove to be a disadvantage from receiving what little there was. An element that does differ from other accounts is the ability of Sannicoló and his family of working to procure extra portions of food or slices of bread. His advanced age does not allow him to work in homes or on the fields to manage livestock or cultivate food, but it does not negatively affect his ability to obtain food. Similarly to all cases, his main way to procure food was through the state subsidy allotted to the refugees. With the request by other Italians to the Commissariat for more food, the complaint positively affected the subsidy given to all Italian refugees. Sannicoló wrote in May 19, 1916 that all Italian inhabitants of Jablonné v Podještědí received an increase in the subsidy by the council of the provincial government.<sup>176</sup> On top of the increased aid, the Italians in Jablonné also received the delayed payment promised back in April 1915. From 90 cents they now were guaranteed 1 crown, but as Sannicoló wrote, "it's little for us, but it's always something that helps us to pull forward with less effort the boat of our poor existence."<sup>177</sup> In his diary entry of September 1, 1917, Sannicoló wrote of another rise in subsidy, then up to two crowns per day, established by the Commissariat in July 1917. Furthermore, for those refugees that could not work either due to their

---

<sup>174</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 117.

<sup>175</sup> Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 158.

<sup>176</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 8, 268.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., "Da 90 centesimi che si percepiva adesso si riceve una Corona, e poco e vero ma per noi e sempre qualche cosa che ci aiuta a tirare innanzi con meno fatica la barca della nostra povera esistenza."

advanced age, or for being children, families received four crowns per person daily, which was a good amount, enough to live by.<sup>178</sup> In addition to this, with the war came inflation, which added to the increasing prices for commodities.<sup>179</sup>

Linked with the subsidy is food and its ever-present presence in refugee discourse. In another entry, dated September 15, 1917, Sannicoló again wrote that the subsidy given was least of their worries. He wrote, “For us refugees [...] we do not fear for the subsidy as it is sufficient, nor do we fear for the lack of fuel because we have a nice pile of dry wood sheltered well at home [...] what we do fear is the inability of having a sufficient amount of food, even if of poor quality.”<sup>180</sup> According to Sannicoló’s remarks, the food farmed and cultivated in the city of Jablonné v Podještědí was most likely similar to the situation in other villages. Along with the growing strain of war, this can contribute to an understanding how most villages lived through the war.

Upon arrival in Jablonné v Podještědí, food was still enough to not have to worry about going hungry, so Sannicoló gave an interesting insight in what was locally farmed in 1915. The local population produced grain, potatoes, turnips, cabbage, kohlrabi, and even fodder such as sugar.<sup>181</sup> He noted that they did not cultivate certain foods such as beans, which he found strange since they had the “perfect climate” to grow them; but because the locals have different customs, they “do not know their use.”<sup>182</sup> This is interesting, as it goes beyond what the state declared it would give and it allowed for the villages to cultivate their own vegetables, so that the locals and the refugees could enjoy a variety of foods or some extra types of food from their own gardens. Of course, own cultivation of various foods was not enough to ward off hunger, and very soon the effects of the lack of it were felt everywhere. Coupled with this was the strain the military government placed on the villages when the convoys traveled to various districts in search of animals, food, and things the locals had hidden from the government, or were suspected of having failed

---

<sup>178</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 21, 707.

<sup>179</sup> Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 139.

<sup>180</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 21, 720-1. “Non si teme gia pel denaro che adesso il sussidio sarebbe se non lauto almeno sufficiente, e nemmeno si teme per il combustibile perche abbiamo un bel mucchio di legna secche e ben riparata in casa, dunque da questo lato non temiamo...quel che si teme si è di non potere avere a sufficiente misura generi alimentari, sia pure di qualità scadente.”

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., Vol. 2, 49-50.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., Vol. 2, 50.

to hand over all produced. As Sannicoló wrote, “what do they think they will find in a country that was strong enough to produce but was exploited to the bone.”<sup>183</sup> This thought shows the common sentiment or solidarity towards the state and about the war, as the locals are those that are exploited and forced to comply with military orders.

In his entry of January 1, 1916 the situation looked grim as they began to lack the basic necessities, such as flour, which two months prior was in abundance in Jablonné v Podještědí with relatively low prices. By January 1916 the prices were raised, and would continue to rise throughout the war, putting a strain on everyone. As Sannicoló simply stated, “ultimately, hunger is everywhere for both man and livestock.”<sup>184</sup> Certain foods, such as potatoes, a large part of the local cuisine, became scarce, and the population felt the effects. The rations promised by the state became smaller and smaller until it was believed that by April 1917, potatoes would be altogether gone.<sup>185</sup> In some cases, the Italian-speaking refugees complained of being discriminated against. With the decline in food rations, the Italians were the last to be given food, after the military and the locals and other refugees. In Jablonné v Podještědí, this was not the case, as everyone equally suffered the setbacks and lack of basic foods; it was simply missing in stores. The refugees and locals had the subsidy or tickets to obtain food in quantities that would have been sufficient; but when the card was presented, they either obtained a much smaller portion or they were told the store lacked it entirely.<sup>186</sup> This was due to the shared experience – between the locals and the refugees – of living under military orders, having to hand over what they produced to feed the armies on the various fronts. While also feeding the armies, this was part of the war, as political rhetoric of sacrificing food to show support, so even if the locals could not fight, they could contribute to the war effort by handing over what the armies needed.<sup>187</sup>

By undergoing the same reality, the Italian population in Jablonné v Podještědí was not blamed for the lack of necessities, as food and livestock was taken by the military for the army. The Commissariat and the state constantly addressed the

---

<sup>183</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 19, 622.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., Vol. 17, 575.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., Vol. 16, 518.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., Vol. 19, 615-6.

<sup>187</sup> Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 43.

issue of meat production, as it made up for the local diet and was of substantial nutritional value in time of war. In 1916 Jablonné, meat and potatoes were still available but at a high price “such that you have to forget about it and leave it” and risk having the meat and livestock sequestered by the army.<sup>188</sup> In a tragic anecdote, which contributed to the diminishing ability for food, Sannicoló recalled a storm lightning that killed three cows and that their meat had darkened to be “absolutely inedible”, so they had to be buried without the locals obtaining the ever-precious meat and milk.<sup>189</sup> On top of the sequestration such tragic events led the famine to becoming ever present.

At the same time though, the locals and refugees alike in Jablonné v Podještědí did not suffer from such a dire situation, since throughout the war they still lived in a relatively peaceful and stable location far from the war front. Similarly to other camps, meat was in stores twice a week, albeit always of low quantity and high prices. Sannicoló complained, as others had, that the quality of the food had worsened; coupled with the high price, this meant people left stores empty-handed after standing for hours in line.<sup>190</sup> A difference from other cases is the move to eliminate the days without meat and allow the butchers to remain open, which would benefit those that had accumulated money, but this would mean the rapid decline in livestock to compensate for more meat, so ultimately this move was halted.

Local restaurants in Jablonné v Podještědí, being far from the war front and not in a big city, enjoyed relatively more food, causing many to go dine there. Since Sannicoló’s and the other Italians’ arrival, the war had been going on for two years, and Jablonné v Podještědí still could boast abundance in the restaurants. In time, the restaurants would also suffer from lack of food, selling only soup and forcing customers to bring their own bread.<sup>191</sup> In restaurants, beer was also diminishing. Since beer was mainly a locals’ drink, as Sannicoló declared that Italians preferred wine, the lack of beer production could not be attributed to the Italian presence and not cause the locals to hold resentment towards the newcomers, as breweries were restricted by

---

<sup>188</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 3, 90.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., Vol. 9, 290.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., Vol. 19, 614.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., Vol. 19, 639-40.

the military in favor of making bread.<sup>192</sup> In time, as other factories closed down, so would the beer factories from lack of the necessary prime materials.

Despite these shortcomings that every village felt, the food situation was similar for all, and it can be determined that Italians in Jablonné v Podještědí were not seen negatively or being held responsible for the food shortages. In other towns, the situation was similar to what Sannicoló described. A friend from Rovereto who was placed in Chodová Planá told him the situation was similar to the one in Jablonné v Podještědí.<sup>193</sup> Prices in “Kuttenplan” were equally high for the time; butter was 8 crowns per kilogram, oil went for 12 crowns a liter, and meat went for 5.50-6 crowns for one kilogram.<sup>194</sup> Unlike in camps and for internees, refugees could travel if they procured their own tickets and means of getting somewhere, so for Christmas of 1916, Sannicoló had a visit from a friend from Vienna, where the situation was worse than in Jablonné v Podještědí.<sup>195</sup> Bread had a high price and was also found on the black market when stores ran out at a much higher cost. The situation in Vienna was also worse for the military, as their rations of bread and meat were being reduced in the new year. Moreover, in Jablonné v Podještědí, Italians were not on the same level as the local barracks that held Russian prisoners of war. The Italians received aid from the state and from charity organizations, the prisoners received only from the state, which was much worse as it was poor and bad whereby they really suffered from hunger.<sup>196</sup> Ultimately, with regards to food, Italians in Jablonné v Podještědí and other similar villages fared better than other camps or other refugees in the barrack cities. In February of 1917, Sannicoló echoed the words said to him that in “Bohemia we live in relative abundance compared to other parts of the Monarchy especially in large cities where hunger is the order of the day.”<sup>197</sup>

The second basic necessity for the refugees was protection from the elements with adequate housing and living conditions. His first comment was on the distance between the houses and the districts the Italian-speaking refugees were being distributed in. Upon arriving in Jablonné, they were held in temporary barracks until a

---

<sup>192</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 14, 448.

<sup>193</sup> Sannicoló wrote the Germans names, Kuttenplan.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., Vol. 6, 194.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., Vol. 15, 486-7.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid., Vol. 6, 194.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid., Vol. 16, 534. “E con tutto questo qui in Boemia dicono che si vive in una relativa abbondanza in ragione delle altre parti della Monarchia in modo particolare nelle grandi Città dove la fame è all’ordine del giorno.”



soldier “that spoke Italian perfectly told us we would be placed better than the others.”<sup>198</sup> They were moved into an accommodation with another Italian family, named Pelosi – with one of the Pelosi family member being the old lady of 96 years of age – and were put to live with a local woman in her home.<sup>199</sup> He added that they shared the home with a family living on the ground floor with their young children, which make sleeping at times difficult when the children would cry. His only discomfort in sharing a house with other families was being cramped in “this brothel” which makes it difficult to sleep.<sup>200</sup>

His description of the home made it sound as if it was better than what he expected, because he wrote they were put in a “nice big room” with a stove for heating and were handed out cases of carbon to feed the stove.<sup>201</sup> The local woman – which he never names, only using *padrona*, or mistress of the house – promised them tables and provided them with chairs and benches. When it came time to sleep the first night, the refugees looked at each other in confusion with the idea they would have to sleep on the bare tables, but the another local woman went to the various homes “with a sled of straw” to hand out to the newcomers, promising to bring blankets when possible.<sup>202</sup> His first night in Jablonné passed “pretty well”, and because he does not describe other nights as particularly bad or the housing situation as declining, it can perhaps be assumed the housing requirements were adequate enough for him to not wish for better conditions. The only other mention was the lack of carbon available as the war went on to be distributed to everyone to heat up the homes, but – as discussed in a later chapter – his only comments on scarcity of carbon was in regards to schools having to close for lack of proper heating for the students. In addition, he commented on how the house had a pump for the water to use in the kitchen and as water for the livestock. He was also grateful that he did not live in the

---

<sup>198</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 1, 23. “Assicurandoci un soldato che parlava perfettamente l'italiano che noi saremo collocati meglio di tutti.”

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., Vol. 4, 121.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 23.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 25. “Poi si era in pensiero del come si avrebbe dormito...saressimo stati costretti a butarci sule nude tavole, una il dubbio durò pocco perche non passarono molti minuti che si apri la porta ed era una donna con una **slita** di paglia, per noi e per l'altra famiglia vicina. Prometendoci che quanto prima avremo ricevuto paglierici e coperte.”

barracks because they suffered from malnourishment and contagious diseases such as “typhus, cholera, or smallpox” ran rampage.<sup>203</sup>

He does not describe in detail the housing situation, except for his initial thoughts upon arrival, but he does showcase the first glimpse of the differences between the locals and their customs in terms of their homes set up, which were quite shocking for him. The aforementioned stove he described, he added it was also used to cook food, “which seems to be a custom for the entire country.”<sup>204</sup> He was then rather scandalized at how the locals lived, writing, they have “custom here that I found very deplorable that in the winter season, they use the one room as the kitchen, the living room, the dining room, and as the bedroom”, adding, “where they sleep in indecent promiscuity, male, female, adults, and children, with no regard to hygiene and morality [...] this breaks any law.”<sup>205</sup> Despite this “deplorable” habit, though, Sannicoló wrote of the locals as “one of the best people, old-fashioned, courteous, hospitable, and charitable” because they try to “render less pathetic our position as refugees away from our beloved homeland.”<sup>206</sup> He often repeated, “we cannot complain” because the people are charitable and “they are nice to us without any overtones of nationalistic hate, in sum we could be perfectly happy if it weren’t for the thought of our faraway home that makes us suffer” and the lack of knowing the language.<sup>207</sup>

The third basic necessity that the refugees looked to obtain a good quantity of was clothing. By looking at clothing from Sannicoló’s case, it can be determined if Italians in villages were mistreated or if they were not respected and their wishes not met by the local authorities. Clothing soon became a pressing issue, as refugees were

---

<sup>203</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 8, 282. “Infelici agglomerati a miliaja in Barrache di legno mal nutriti con letti da cani adesso che si avvicina l’estate e con esso i grandi calori, se si insinua fra loro qualche malattia contagiosa come tifo colera o vajolo.”

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 24.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 28. “Qui ano il costume che a me sembra assai deplorable così usano almeno nella stagione invernale (che come costumano nele altre stagioni lo ignoro) quello cioè, che un solo locale per loro serve da cucina, da camera, da lavoro, da sala da pranzo e quel che più monta da camera da letto, ove dormono alla meglio in sconcia promiscuità maschi e femmine piccoli e grandi, con qual riguardo all’igiene e alla moralità lo immagini il benigno lettore...questa rompe ogni legge.”

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 28-9. “Tranne questa usanza che a me sembra deplorable ma che per essi non lo è per nulla affatto e una delle migliori gente fatta sullo stampo antico, cortese ospitale e benefica... Essi cercano e questo lo si vede benché non sel comprenda di renderci meno penosa la nostra posizione di Profughi lontani dalla Patria amata.”

<sup>207</sup> Ibid., Vol. 2, 33-4. “Noi nella nostra qualità di Profughi ci troviamo bene e non possiamo lamentarci è invero la gente e della migliore che si possa trovare buona, caritatevole, che ci vuol bene senza ombra di odio di partiti naziali, in somma noi saremmo tranquilli, se non fosse il pensiero che ci tormenta la patria lontana.”

mainly evacuated during the summer period, and with winter coming they had only the clothes they had on them suitable for summer. In the confusion of evacuation, with the orders of packing a small bag, many did not bring enough clothes to begin with. On top of that, despite being both relatively cold countries in the winter, the climate in Central Europe would prove to be a serious menace to the health of the young children and of the elderly. The first winter out of Italy resulted in a high number of deaths due to respiratory diseases.<sup>208</sup>

In cities like Jablonné v Podještědí, the main issue for the first year was clothing rather than food, as the harsh winter rains, wind, and snow would soon come.<sup>209</sup> Sannicoló wrote on April 4, 1917 that above the hunger that haunts everyone, there “is the complete absence of any other items necessary for the existence such as boots, clothes, and others.”<sup>210</sup> In fact, a year earlier in January 1916, the Bulletin for refugees told its readers to not ask the Commissariat for blankets, shoes, and so on, since they had nothing to hand out.<sup>211</sup> This meant it was up to the local authorities to provide for the refugees. Each family received a voucher to present to the fabric vendor and clothes maker to obtain adequate clothing for the various seasons. Clothing was guaranteed by the state, as the state would pay the sellers to make the clothes for the refugees; but as war went on, the clothing materials became worse in quality and durability.<sup>212</sup> When local producers could not make a certain item or they lacked materials, clothes were made in centralized clothing department stores – or Konfektionsindustrie – whereby clothes would be uniformly made there, to be then distributed to various regions, but always in a small quantity that left many empty-handed.<sup>213</sup>

In his entry of January 10, 1916, Sannicoló described in detail the effort done to provide them with the clothing they were guaranteed for by the state. He began with, “This day was dedicated almost exclusively to getting the clothes that we were

---

<sup>208</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 11.

<sup>209</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 173-4.

<sup>210</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 18, 581. “E prima di tutto la fame che tutti tormenta, e la mancanza quasi assoluta di tutti gli altri articoli necessari per l'esistenza cioè vestiti stivalli ed altro.”

<sup>211</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 11.

<sup>212</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 76.

<sup>213</sup> Maria Makela, “The Rise and Fall of the Flapper Dress: Nationalism and Anti-Semitism in Early-Twentieth-Century Discourses on German Fashion.” *The Journal of Popular Culture* XXXIV.3 (2000): 186.

promised since our arrival.”<sup>214</sup> They were told to wait in the main square of the city for their interpreter “who was an expert and practical in this business that knew several languages.”<sup>215</sup> This shows that even in small villages, far from the big cities, there was an effort to facilitate the Italian refugees by providing services or aiding them in obtaining clothes and food when they could not speak the language or make and farm it themselves. Sannicoló made it sound like it was in any case a charity by the local authorities as he wrote, “we must not go well dressed when it comes to getting clothes from charity.”<sup>216</sup> Whether just charity or pushed by the state to do so, the locals’ involvement in organizing the large group of refugees to obtain articles of clothing that risked being scarce for themselves can show a greater propensity that Italian refugees in many villages were not mistreated and miserable while in the Bohemian and Moravian parts of the Empire.

Sannicoló went on to say the refugees were given a list of items promised to them. The men obtained a full suit, with a jacket, pants, and vests, and the women got a dress, skirt, and stockings.<sup>217</sup> They each also got a ticket to present to the tailor to take their correct measurements. This again can show the length the locals went to integrate the Italian refugees as they could have simply left them clothes in the wrong size. Once at the tailor, the tailor took their measurements “promising, through the interpreter, that within 14 days we would all be served.”<sup>218</sup> On January 16, 1916, the shoemaker made his rounds to the various homes that hosted the Italian refugees to take their measurements for new boots. Similarly to the tailor, the shoemaker promised, “as soon as possible we would all be fully served.”<sup>219</sup> And on May 17,

---

<sup>214</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 4, 105. “Questo giorno fu dedicato quasi esclusivamente per ottenere i vestiti che fin dal nostro arrivo ci avevano promessi.”

<sup>215</sup> Ibid., “Col nostro interprete, certo Gulielmo, da Leviso di Val Lugana, uomo loto esperto e pratico in questi afari e che conosce più lingue.”

<sup>216</sup> Ibid., Vol. 4, 106. “Non bisogna andar ben vestiti quando si tratta di andar ha prendere un vestito per carità.”

<sup>217</sup> Ibid., Vol. 4, 107.

<sup>218</sup> Ibid., Vol. 4, 110. “Quivi il Sarto...ci prese ad uno ad uno la misura prometendo per mezzo dell’interprete...che entro 14 giorni saremo tutti serviti.”

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., Vol. 4, 114. “Un signore vestito con eleganza, e di modi gentili di persona bene educata...egli ci prese la misura prometendoci che al più presto possibile saremo tutti completamente serviti.”

1916, each refugee received two shirts and underwear, “so now we are equipped.”<sup>220</sup> The bare minimum guaranteed to refugees was ultimately given.

It may not mean they were content with the quality and quantity, but what was promised was distributed. As with food, clothing also suffered shortages with the war continuing. Materials like fabric began to triple in cost and becoming of poorer quality. This caused clothes to damage and fall apart with wear and for repairs to be a temporary solution. Lack of materials of quality and quantity affected everyone. While they were guaranteed boots, they did not receive their boots when promised since Jablonné v Podještědí and the villages nearby lacked leather for the shoes’ sole, which was taken in the military requisition.<sup>221</sup> This again can show that the lack of items towards the refugees was not due to locals holding back materials, since the local population themselves suffered from the same requisitions of the war. Items in stores soon became a scramble to get even if sizes were not exact. On April 20, 1917, Sannicoló wrote of going to Postřelná to find abandoned boots, but once there they were gone.<sup>222</sup>

Similarly, the quantities of tobacco and alcohol, a pleasurable necessity for many at the time, diminished in Jablonné v Podještědí and nearby villages. Sannicoló walked to Mimoň or to Brniště to find tobacco, but all stores were lacking.<sup>223</sup> At the same time, his thoughts in the diary do not come as severe misfortune of being a refugee outside of their ‘beloved’ homeland. Prices for all items of necessity had risen to high costs and the people could not afford them. What he wrote in September 1917, two years since his arrival in Jablonné, really demonstrated the idea that Italian refugees were not mistreated. He wrote in his entry for September 10<sup>th</sup>, “Luckily, we refugees have the right to receive clothes and shoes from the government, and through the hassle of asking we get them, otherwise if we had to think of clothing it would be a serious matter we could not address.”<sup>224</sup> Overall, the situation of food and clothing was dire for everyone, but the refugees, as seen through Sannicoló’s diary entries,

---

<sup>220</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 8, 265. “Oggi abbiamo ricevuto dopo tanto attendere le camicie e mutande, cioè due camicie e due paja di mutande per ciascuno...così ora anche di questo siamo provvisti.”

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., Vol. 8, 266-7.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., Vol. 18, 594-5. Sannicoló wrote German name, “Postrum.”

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., Vol. 18, 578-9. German names of Niemess, and Brims.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., Vol. 2, 716. “Per fortuna noi profughi abbiamo il diritto di ricevere vestiti e le calzature dal governo, e a forza di domanda e di seccatura cosa si ottiene e si può e si può vestirsi alla meglio altrimenti se si dovesse pensare anche al vestito sarebbe cosa seria e non ci si potrebbe arrivare.”

were not disadvantaged from receiving the basic necessities because they were refugees or because they were Italian – at that point well into the conflict with Austria.

## Chapter Five – Ethnolinguistic Tensions, Interactions with Locals, and Religious identity

In the next chapter, in order to observe the interactions between Italians and the local population from Sannicoló's diary, it is worth looking at the preliminary situation in northern Bohemia before and during the war – not just at the situation upon the arrival of the Italians, but at the tensions present in these regions. These tensions came mostly because of the large minority of Germans on the territory of present-day Czech Republic. A brief mention of the history between Germans and Czechs in Bohemia can help in shaping the framework of interactions during the dire war. The interactions of the large neighboring minorities can be interesting to keep in mind when looking at the refugee reality in these lands at the time of war, because of the amount of clashes that could have occurred, or did occur, in lieu of being around various nationalities with different customs. In addition, a look at the religious identity of the local populations can also show whether the religious needs of the Catholic Italians would be met, once the basic needs of food and clothing were met.

Relations between Czechs and Germans have roots that date back from the thirteenth century, and perhaps even earlier, since the “very beginning of the Czech state and the birth of the German states.”<sup>225</sup> Some important events should be mentioned to show how deep-rooted tensions were between the two nationalities, which influenced future interactions with other groups. By the sixteenth century Bohemia had begun to prosper, but relations with Germans remained cordial.<sup>226</sup> Tensions, especially in the border regions where ethnicity and nationality were blurred, with many individuals having ties to both, became concrete with the rise of Johann Gottfried Herder's romantic nationalism and the idea that historical nations of Central Europe – the Czechs, Poles, and Hungarians – could interpret their “histories

---

<sup>225</sup> Zdeněk Beneš and Václav Kural, *Facing History: The Evolution of Czech-German Relations in the Czech Provinces, 1848-1948*. (Prague: Gallery for the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic, 2002), 12.

<sup>226</sup> Bideleux and Jeffries. *A History of Eastern Europe*, 258.

as a continuous struggle for freedom and against foreign, and in particular German, hegemony.”<sup>227</sup> Another great source of growing tension came in the form of a publication by Josef Jungmann and his Czech-German dictionary in 1830s, which marked a great milestone in the development of the Czech language.<sup>228</sup>

Each step in the development of literary Czech and of Czech national awareness meant an increase in the tensions between Czechs and the Habsburg-German ruling class. The Czech historian and politician František Palacký – also known as the father of the nation – published between 1836 -1857 a five-volume *History of Bohemia*, which was based on the “Herdian premise that history of Bohemia was a ceaseless battle between the German and Slav elements.”<sup>229</sup> The spring of nations of 1848 also played a decisive role, not just for small nations like the Czechs, but also for the whole of Europe. In terms of tensions between Czechs and Germans, it is important to mention the political activity that trickled down to the masses and caused strife, especially in border regions such as the area where Sannicoló was transferred. The events of 1848 strained relations because it was made clear “that neither the Habsburgs nor the Austrian Germans had any wish to concede even limited political autonomy and liberties to Bohemia.”<sup>230</sup> The Austro-Prussian War of 1866 also contributed to a shift in power away from Austria – with Germans unifying and Italy annexing the Austrian province of Venetia.<sup>231</sup>

Czech nationalists were left disillusioned and frustrated, especially when Germans rejected reforms, such as the Kazimierz Badeni Language Ordinances of 1897, which would have granted Czechs equal parity with Germans – and in some regions of Bohemia a near-monopoly – in public administration and allow for bilingualism in politics, as well as schooling in Czech.<sup>232</sup> Some of the more “mature German milieu may have been ready to respect Czech cultural autonomy,” but they were not ready to accept a complete program of Czech independence.<sup>233</sup> While the

---

<sup>227</sup> Lonnie R. Johnson, *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996), 133.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>230</sup> Bideleux and Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe*, 318.

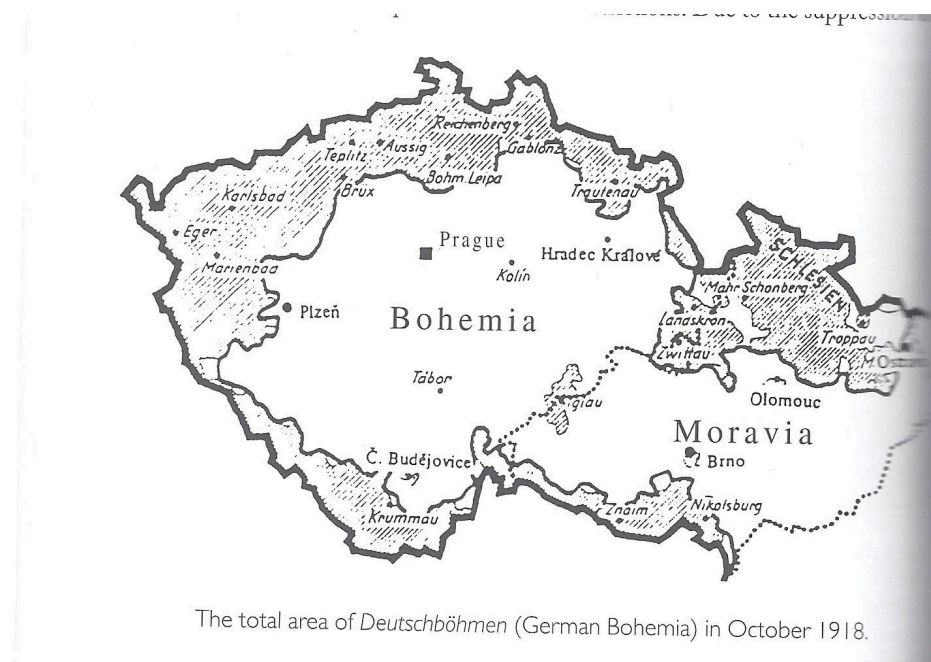
<sup>231</sup> Oscar Halecki, *Borderlands of Western Civilization: A History of East Central Europe*. Originally published in 1952 (Ronald Press Company), renewed in 1980 (Safety Harbor: Simon Publications), 356; and in Johnson. *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*, 152.

<sup>232</sup> Bideleux and Jeffries. *A History of Eastern Europe*, 357.

<sup>233</sup> Beneš and Kural, *Facing History*, 27.

Czechs cooperated with the language reform, Germans engineered its fall and prevented its full realization.<sup>234</sup> Tensions had also solidified with the Compromise of 1867 between Austria and Hungary creating the Dual monarchy instead of a Triple Monarchy, and so after the failed reforms of Badeni, Franz Joseph and his Ministers “virtually gave up the quest for definitive solutions to Austria’s so-called ‘nationality problems’.”<sup>235</sup> Czechs were growing disheartened by what the empire could do for them, and in many cases were not happy with the influx of refugees transported by the Austrians.

Map showcasing the regions of Germans in Bohemia.<sup>236</sup>



The language frontier did not change in Bohemia and even economic stability did not lessen the mutual dislike; with the approaching of the First World War, tensions were high. As mentioned previously in the introduction, according to the 1910 census there were 37% Germans and 63% Czechs in the whole of Bohemia.<sup>237</sup>

<sup>234</sup> Piotr S. Wandycz, *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*. (2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2001), 171.

<sup>235</sup> Bideleux and Jeffries. *A History of Eastern Europe*, 357.

<sup>236</sup> Map taken from Zdeněk Beneš and Václav Kural. *Facing History: The Evolution of Czech-German Relations in the Czech Provinces, 1848-1948*. (Prague: Gallery for the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic, 2002), 78. Even if the map dates 1918, it still displays the census of 1910 in the regions inhabited by Germans in the border regions of Bohemia. Jablonné v Podještědí was in the stretch of land with a large German population, but it cannot be concretely determined through Sannicoló’s diary if he interacted more with Germans or Czechs.

<sup>237</sup> Berend, *History Derailed*, 261.



While the whole of Bohemia could boast Czechs in the majority, in reality in the borderland regions, Germans still enjoyed majority in various sectors, such as with the occupational field.<sup>238</sup> The structure of work forces in 1910 showed German majority; 30% of Germans were in agriculture, 42% in industry, and 12% in trade and transport, while the Czechs were 44% in agriculture, 31% in industry, and 9% in trade and transport.<sup>239</sup> Czechs were also frustrated with Austria-Hungary, as they had no influence on the empire's foreign policy in spite of being a large minority in the empire.<sup>240</sup> As there were deserters in Italy and other armies, even among Czechs there were deserters of the Austro-Hungarian army, especially early in the war.<sup>241</sup> They had no say about the placement of refugees on their lands, so in many cases levels of mistreatment and lack of integration continued and reinforced tensions and differences in nationalities.

With this in mind, Sannicoló's diary could give some indication, with concrete examples, of tensions – if any – in northern Bohemia with the local German population. His experience in the contacts with both nationalities upon entering Bohemia was of some knowledge of the differences between Bohemians and Germans, but what he saw put them on the same level in terms of social standing as he wrote, “everywhere you see groups of Bohemian and German workers, but wearing dirty rags and full of lice with suspicious looking faces.”<sup>242</sup> This is a rare moment in the diary that he wrote of Bohemians and Germans in the same sentence, often omitting the distinctions entirely when writing about the locals of Jablonné v Podještědí.<sup>243</sup> With the lack of clear categorization of the nationalities he encountered it can only be deduced, or surmised that perhaps he meant Bohemians as the local

---

<sup>238</sup> Wandycz, *The Price of Freedom*, 156.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*. (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 2004), 162.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>242</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 4, 129-130. “In somma da pertutto moto e scuadre di lavoratori Boemi e Tedeschi tutti stracioni sporchi e pieni di pidochi girano intorno con facce poco rassicuranti.”

<sup>243</sup> Volumes IV and V overlap, or blend, and it is not absolutely clear if this is a memory when in Jablonné or if it was his recollection of when he first entered the Bohemian territory, because he jumped around topics. In Volume IV, he initially was talking about preparations for a fair in Jablonné, but then ended with his memory of witnessing individuals getting arrested if they looked suspicious. While it is not clear in what location he was referring to, it can again perhaps be concluded he did not mean Jablonné as he never mentioned of another arrest of a suspicious looking individual in Jablonné. Another deduction was that Volume V commenced with the devastations of fields in Rovereto and the talk of evacuations, but the beginning of the diary, Volume I, was his personal evacuation and transportation to Jablonné.

civilians and the Germans as the soldiers, or the men in uniforms, at a time before finally reaching Jablonné, because he does not make this distinction while in Jablonné.

Despite the suspicious looking faces, Sannicoló never gave the impression of fearing his status as a refugee, and as an Italian. There was no cloud of judgment of intense hate towards his new neighbors. On the other hand, his diary does not escape, nor does it lack, the dislike for the differences he noticed in the local population's customs and also the dislike for the Austrian military advances in Italy and the war damaging their homeland and continuing with seemingly no end. To return to the tensions between the local Czechs and Germans, Sannicoló does not seem to notice such a strong antagonism, perhaps because the war does not, or did not, hit them the way it was felt elsewhere, so that the local inhabitants could continue to farm and cultivate food for their families.<sup>244</sup> At the same time that the locals do not see the repercussions of war on their lands, they also share – with the Italian refugees as well – the tragedy of war with their loved ones gone to fight, sick, or dead, and so the locals collectively desire peace and the return of their family members, instead of blaming each other for the war, or using the other as an excuse for the war negatively impacting their situation.<sup>245</sup>

Sannicoló also does not differentiate if the help and treatment bestowed on the refugees by the locals was by Czechs or Germans, and instead thanked the locals as a collective unit, which can show that the mixed nationalities worked together and did not go out of their way to either show their dislike for the refugees or their favor. After the first winter, Sannicoló wrote on January 1916, “we have to thank God, that in these foreign lands, we have found a good neighborhood, among kind people that care for us and when they can they make sure we aren't missing anything.”<sup>246</sup> His overall impression on the local population as a whole was that they were positive and

---

<sup>244</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 2, 39. “Quest'anno in questi paesi che della guerra non sentirono come noi almeno lagricoltura le funeste conseguenze fanno un raccolto sodisfacente sia di frumento, come di segale, e patate tale che ne sono tutti contenti per quanto si può esserlo in questi bruttissimi tempi.”

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., “ma questa e gente rassegnata e buona e nissuno si lagna con inutile querimonie...Desiderano però anch'essi che questo presto cessi e che venga la sospirata pace e che ritornino in senno alle loro famiglie i suoi cari per godersi inssieme uniti il fruto delle loro fatiche.”

<sup>246</sup> Ibid., Vol. 3, 93. “Noi nella nostra sventura dobbiamo ringraziare Dio, di aver in questi paesi stranieri, trovato un buonissimo quartiere fra mezza a buona gente che ci vuol bene e che come puo ci ajuta sicche fin qui non ci è mai mancato nulla.”

serious individuals, they only talked when they had something to say, and that they were sincerely tied with love to the Monarchy and to the Emperor.<sup>247</sup>

Differing aspects of identity formation – such as religious identification and customs and traditions – are also a great source of knowledge to see if there was a rising tension with the newcomers due to the differences between the locals and the refugees, or if there was still a cooperation to meet the refugees' needs. Religion was important for the Italian refugees as they were of the Catholic faith, but religion was also present in the region Sannicoló and his group of refugees moved to. Due to the large German minority, tensions in regards to religious identity also occurred. In the vast territory the church was administered on system of archiepiscopal provinces, under the jurisdiction of an archbishop.<sup>248</sup> In the border regions, as opposed to in larger cities, clashes between religions were less severe due to presence of individuals with mixed nationalities and identities. From the thirteenth century, relations between Czechs and Germans became quite cordial, and by the sixteenth century Catholics and Bohemian Protestants could “pride themselves on their mutual tolerance.”<sup>249</sup> Despite the Czech portion of the population potentially having a strong and distinct identification with the Hussite form of Protestantism, with the overwhelmingly large German minority of these border regions of Catholic background, and their advantage in various sectors, by the seventeenth century, many Protestant Czechs had converted to Catholicism, in the Catholicization of the empire as a means to strengthen power in the lands, making religious clashes less frequent by the time the Italian Catholic refugees came to Jablonné v Podještědí.<sup>250</sup>

Sannicoló and other refugees of the area and region were perhaps lucky to have been placed in a city or camp where religious needs could be easily met because of the locals' strong religious Catholic identity. In those camps or areas where Sunday masses were not offered or customary, the Secretariat was useful to have their needs met. Italian priests that had traveled with the refugees headed the local operations.

---

<sup>247</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 7, 241. “La popolazione di qui è gente seria e positiva che non parla mai a caso ne senza una ben fondata ragione, ed è inoltre sinceramente legata con amore alla Monarchia ed al Imperatore.”

<sup>248</sup> Cölestin Wolfgrüber, “The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 2. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), 2 Dec. 2015. <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02121b.htm>>. And Johann Peter Kirsch. “Ecclesiastical Province.” *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 12. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911. 2 Dec. 2015. <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12514a.htm>>.

<sup>249</sup> Bideleux and Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe*, 258.

<sup>250</sup> Johnson, *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*, 142.

The Italian priests traveled around to various villages to meet the Italian-speaking refugees' religious needs by doing mass, and they also helped, served, and gave advice to the refugees.<sup>251</sup> They helped refugees integrate and to make the experience in a foreign land less traumatic. It was their task "to create stairs for the refugees to reach the authorities and be heard and given aid," which worked when it came to building schools for the Italian children.<sup>252</sup> The Italian priests became the intermediary between the refugees and both the local and military authorities, since they had knowledge of the German language and culture and worked around that. Providing the services and sharing religious identity, the Italian population learned new rituals and traditions. At the same time there was also a mutual exchange from both populations. A priest from Pieve and Tiarno wrote in the fall of 1915 that while the local people were kind, clean, rich, honest, and educated, because they do not have catechism in some of the regions, they do not go to mass, they are not so chaste, and that they do not have religious processions the "Italians can be useful to them but not the other way around."<sup>253</sup> The region may not have been religious as the Italian refugees, but their needs were met and respected when Italian priests traveled around to various villages to offer mass in Italian.

During the various religious holidays, Sannicoló described the locals as being of great service without having to be asked. During his first Christmas in Jablonné the locals went around to hand out Christmas trees to the refugees. He wrote, "We thought we would pass a sad Eve, but it was not so because late in the evening, [locals] stopped by and placed a small tree for the table and they lit small candles and sang in their language a hymn to baby Jesus."<sup>254</sup> Beyond what the refugees were guaranteed from the state, the locals also distributed their own gifts to them: pants, undergarments, shirts, socks, caps, tobacco, aprons, and so on.<sup>255</sup> Sannicoló

---

<sup>251</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 17.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>253</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 246.

<sup>254</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 2, 57-9. "Ma per noi poveri profughi pareva che passa triste anche la vigilia, ma non fu' così perche la sera ... entrò una donna, la qual fatta mettere la tavola nel mezzo della stanza...si seti aprire la porta di casa...un drapallo di gente uomini, donne, ragazzi, e ragaze, fra i quali il Signor capo Comune, e la nostra Vechia padrona di casa: i quali a suono di campanello entratono con un bell'alberreto di Natale il quale posero sopra il tavolo e acese le piccole candelle che vi erano sopra intonarono nella loro lingua un ino ha Gesu' Bambino."

<sup>255</sup> Ibid., Vol. 2, 59. "Distribuirono a noi tutti per ciascheduno un pacho contenente cose utili, come a dire, per gli uomini un pajo pantaloni, mutande, camicia, calze, manicoti, berreta, pipa e tabbaco, tanta da fumo...Per le donne poi cose utili per loro come sottane camice grembiali calze sciarpe eccetera."

concluded his entry with thanks for the nice locals that made them feel welcomed during the holiday in their first Christmas away from Rovereto.

Another indication of the strong religious identity in the region, and not a great source of conflict, was the amount of times Sannicoló noticed a church on his walks and the amount of services and songs sung by the locals, while also noticing the differences between the way things were done in Rovereto and in Jablonné. One such difference he noticed at a funeral: after singing the prayers, the people would walk to the cemetery, because it was not custom to bring those that passed away into the church.<sup>256</sup> The shape of the church was also worth noting, with the Baptistry found in the center of the church, while in Rovereto it was usually found at the end of the church.<sup>257</sup> An indication of the region being predominantly German, was that the services were sung in German, except in those times that an Italian priest traveled to Jablonné, which made it “really great to hear Italian in a place that you only mostly hear German, which we do not understand.”<sup>258</sup> He also noted how many people used the local church of Jablonné. On August 10<sup>th</sup> 1916 he wrote that despite it being wartime, many took the day off and came to Jablonné to pay tribute to their patron saint since it was the only church that many depended on.<sup>259</sup>

Sannicoló also mentioned the locals’ attachment to religion in his entries of July 2, 1916 and September 3, 1916. On July 2<sup>nd</sup> he wrote that through their traditions and carrying on with services and festivals, the “citizens of Gabel, wanted to demonstrate their profound and great attachment to the Catholic religion, and religious traditions that were passed down from fathers to children.”<sup>260</sup> Felt by all citizens of Jablonné was the event on September 3<sup>rd</sup> when the military stripped the towns of their bells from the bell towers to send to make cannons, which left an

---

<sup>256</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 6, 174.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., Vol. 7, 223.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid., Vol. 6, 182. “Oggi ad due pomerediune fa qui in Gabel il Curato di Gardumo...anche lui profugho...cia invitati tutti nella Chiesa Decanale per legerci la pastorale del nostro Vescovo, raccomandandoci di non mancare. Ci andai dunque e con me molti altri perche fa molto bene il sentire parlare italiano in questi paesi dove non si sente altra lingua che la tedesca che non si capisce.”

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., Vol. 12, 406-7. “Questo giorno tutti si astenero dal lavoro in omaggio al loro santo Patrono e volero con tutta la possibile solenità festegiarlo, perche bisogna notare che tuti i vilagi dei dintorni dipendono dalla Chiesa Decanale di Gabel la quale forma con essi una solla parochia.”

<sup>260</sup> Ibid., Vol. 10, 361. “La cittadinanza di Gabel, volle anche dimostrare i dimostro’ efetivamente il suo profondo e grande attaccamento all religione catolica a quella religione che fu quella di loro padri e trasmessa ad essi in eredità... che potessero ai loro figli lasciare.”

ominous impressions on the inhabitants.<sup>261</sup> Sannicoló's observations highlight the cohabitation reality, as he discussed the differences he saw with what was done there and home in Rovereto. His diary also proved interesting because despite his situation being evacuated and living in times of war, he was open to discovering and seeing his surroundings. So while the customs may have been "perfectly opposites" it was also "ridiculous if you live in a place without at least some attempts to get to know the new country, as in to come to know of the locals' uses, customs, the products of the soil, those of the industry, the geography, etc."<sup>262</sup> One such example of learning of new customs was for Easter when the local populations would paint eggs and gift them to each other.<sup>263</sup> Sannicoló noted this difference as well, writing on April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1916, that he saw it was custom for groups of children would carry baskets with them and go around to homes and stores to receive "sweets, eggs, and other."<sup>264</sup>

Sannicoló's situation in his first year away from home was a source of detailed comments on the many episodes he experienced. Looking at his comments on the varying customs gives light to how well the refugees integrated or were allowed to maintain traditions during the First World War. The initial reaction to the local population, which is echoed in other recounts, was they were kind, curious, and helpful towards the new arrivals. Upon their arrival, the refugees were greeted with kindness and treated with courtesy by the girls of the Red Cross.<sup>265</sup> They were then placed in ample homes, while it was not the case of many refugees that were placed in cramped accommodations. In the distant city of Jablonné were also stationed soldiers that spoke Italian to act as translators with the locals.<sup>266</sup> The locals made sure the refugees had the things they needed, even if not abundant or of quality. After handing them the straw for the bedding, Sannicoló wrote that the locals did try to make the

---

<sup>261</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 12, 423-4. "Questo giorno fu nefasto per la Città di Gabel e paesi finitimi Vilagi...che impressionó sinistramente i sui abitanti, in questo giorno furono tolte le campane dai campanili e inviati alle fabbriche per farne canoni."

<sup>262</sup> Ibid., Vol. 3, 66. And Volume 3, Page 70. "Sarebbe ridicolo che uno dimorasse per un tempo piu o meno lungo in un paese senza almeno tentare seconde le sue forze di conoscerlo. Conoscere cioè i suoi usi, i suoi costumi, i prodotti del suolo, quelli del industria, la confemazione geografica de paese, eccetera."

<sup>263</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 180.

<sup>264</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 7, 208-9. "Questa mattina si vede girare per la città grupi di ragazzi e fanciulle colle loro borsette, i quali entravano nelle case e nei negozi dove ricevevano dolci uova ed altro."

<sup>265</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 22.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid., Vol. 1, 23-4. "un soldato che parlava perfetamente l'italiano che noi saremo collocati meglio di tutti...doppo mez'ora si arivo al nostro aloggio, una bella stanza grande con quatro finistre pitturati e provvista di stufa."

situation less painful for the refugees away from the beloved homeland, “which we are very grateful.”<sup>267</sup>

In sum, by looking at the vast history of ethnolinguistic tensions between Czechs and Germans, along with the religious identity as a factor of conflict, the religious needs as well as Sannicoló’s initial thoughts upon arrival show the overall situation to be that of positive interaction and integration into local society and life was made easy with the willingness of locals to help, even when not openly asked to. Similarities, such as religious identification and the war affecting everyone, overrode differences at times. While it may not be the sole reason for their positive integration, it does show that for Sannicoló and his group of refugees, life during the war was not of extreme mistreatment and poverty.

## Chapter Six – Leisure and Thoughts on War

Sannicoló’s experience may not have been identical to recounts of other villages and camps, but it was not unique. If cases of mistreatment towards the Italian refugees were more prominent in the every day life, Sannicoló would have mentioned them in his diary entries and would have used them as examples of how life was even more miserable due to lack of goods and the mistreatment occurrences. His experience could be a reflection of these regions that were far from the war front and away from main cities where more political activities were taking place. Besides being helpful and cordial with the Italian-speaking refugees, there was relative freedom of movement as in pass-times like taking walks to nearby towns, attending the local fairs, the ability to work, and education for the children. This especially contrasts with Sannicoló’s remarks on the Russian prisoner camp. The treatment in this chapter is measured in how much freedom the refugees had to roam around exploring the foreign city, as well as the news from the war they obtained, if the news were particularly negative towards the Italian army and if Sannicoló’s thoughts on the empire show his disdain for the empire or not. At the same time, such comments on the empire and the emperor can also demonstrate how the local populations felt towards their emperor. By looking at the leisure opportunities along with his thoughts

---

<sup>267</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 1, 29. “Essi cercano e questo lo si vede benche non sel comprenda di renderci meno penosa la nostra posizione di Profughi lontani dalla Patria amata, e noi che sentiamo tutto il peso di questa triste posizione di esuli lontani dal paese natio gli siamo assai grati.”

on the Emperor Francis Joseph, and on war in general, the chapter will aim to determine if Sannicoló was partial towards an Austrian, or Italian victory or if he remained neutral in tone and style when discussing the progress of war. Doing so can help to understand the reality of an Italian-speaking refugee of the Habsburg Empire since the continuation of war could have brought a straining of relations between the locals and the refugees.

The refugee status in Jablonné v Podještědí did not close off the refugees in one particular area of town. They had the possibility to take walks around their own city and to visit the nearby towns. Sannicoló had the chance to explore his surroundings and to walk to nearby cities of Postřelná, Mimoň, and Brniště to name a few.<sup>268</sup> He began to voice his wish to explore his surroundings upon his arrival to Jablonné v Podještědí, but since he arrived when it was winter, his wish had to be postponed to the spring due to the weather and lack of good boots.<sup>269</sup> What made his diary useful in extracting the daily reality of life as a refugee was his positive attitude trying to make his time go by with activities. Due to the relative freedom to walk around, Sannicoló often wrote he wished for spring and summer so that he could take walks to make the time pass faster.<sup>270</sup> He also had an open attitude to exploring; he wrote that time passed faster in exile when the weather allowed for walks. Life there was tranquil due to being far from the “theater of war” and since they could not feel the weight or fatal consequences of the war and they could provide for their families, boredom was the next issue to address.<sup>271</sup> During the winter months, Sannicoló lamented on the lack of things to do to make the time pass by while waiting for the weather to clear enough to take proper walks to nearby areas. On May 13, 1916 he wrote of leaving home “without a certain aim but only to slay the boredom that

---

<sup>268</sup> Sannicoló wrote in his entries the German name of the cities, which are Postrum, Niemes, and Brims.

<sup>269</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 2, 41. Ma per ora per me e impossibile per due motivi, primo il tempo come già dissi sempre incostante secondo e questo più grave dell'altro quello cioè che sono senza stivali, e finche non ricevo quelli che ci ano promesso non posso colle scarpe di pano andare molto lontano.”

<sup>270</sup> Ibid., Vol. 2, 41-2.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., Vol. 7, 237. “Qui in Boemia ragna una certa tranquillità, lontani come sono dal teatro della guerra non ne risentono come altrove tutto il peso e le conseguenze funeste, e fin qui...poterono provvedersi il necessario per campare la vita, pure sono poche le famiglie che non abbiano da piangere qualcuno de suoi figli ho sia campi di battaglia o feriti negli ospitali o prigionieri di guerra, quindi distrutta la pace e la felicità per molti anni.”



frequently attacks, for the reason there are no other means of distraction.”<sup>272</sup> It seemed there were no limitations or restrictions to their movements while in Jablonné v Podještědí, as he would otherwise have lamented the fact that he was told or ordered not to take walks in certain parts of town. The only limiting factor was weather. During the warmer months, he decided on a whim to take walks to nearby cities. He wrote in his entry of May 31, 1916, “because there was fresh air, I thought good to take a walk to a surrounding village [...] I found myself on the road that leads to Postrum, so I decided to visit it, and then return to Gabel.”<sup>273</sup> This can be a reflection of the situation of an Italian refugee in these cities. The relative freedom they were given meant for potential less clashes with the locals as they were allowed to carry on as if they lived there.

Another particular occasion of Sannicoló’s ability to take walks was his idea to reach the German border to be able to say he saw Germany. In his entry of June 8, 1916, he wrote “since being in Gabel, the thought was milling in my brain to take a trip to the border of Germany, or more precisely the Kingdom of Saxony, which I heard was not that far, but I have not yet for the reason I did not know the way.”<sup>274</sup> He also wrote that he would take the walk whenever the weather was favorable, and on June 8<sup>th</sup> the occasion arose to walk to the German border. He wrote about his walk at the end of the day writing, “the day was fresh and airy and right after midday I took my cane and began walking.”<sup>275</sup> The liberty and spontaneity can also be an indication of the treatment towards the Italian refugees; that they were not blocked from moving around, nor abused when they encountered locals. An example of this was his interaction with two old men that he encountered on the road two kilometers from Jablonné. He wrote that they greeted each other and when they realized he was Italian, they stopped what they were doing to chat with him. Sannicoló does not specify if they were of Czech or German origin, but this can show the lack of

---

<sup>272</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 8, 256. “Oggi sono uscito di casa senza uno scopo determinato ma solo per amazzare la noja, che assale di frequente per il motivo che non si a un ocupazione onde distrarsi.”

<sup>273</sup> Ibid., Vol. 9, 297-8. “essendoci l’aria fresca pensai bene di fare una passeggiata in qualche Vilagio dei dintorni... sulla via che conduce a Postrum, allora deciso di portarmi in quel Vilagio...che si trova a pochi distanza da Postrum, per far poi ritorno a Gabel.”

<sup>274</sup> Ibid., Vol. 9, 310. “Da alquanto tempo che mi trovo qui in Gabel mi frulava...nella testa il pensiero di fare una gita fino al confine della Germania, o più precisamente del regno di Sassonia, che sapeva essere non molto lontano, ma sempre mi tratenai per il motivo che io non sapevo qual strada prendere.”

<sup>275</sup> Ibid., Vol. 9, 311. “Presi la decisione che il primo giorno favorevole avrei effettuato anche questa gita, ed oggi appunto si presenta l’occasione, con una giornata fresca ed ariosa, e subito dopo mezzo giorno presi il bastone e mi misi in cammino.”

discrimination from one of the ethnicities. Both ethnicities of the locals were technically at war with Italians, yet the locals of Jablonné did not negatively interact with the refugees, as Sannicoló never wrote he experienced or heard of mistreatment from either nationality towards the exiled Italians.

Sannicoló continued his day's entry by mentioning the friendly attitude the two locals showed him by asking him where he was from. Sannicoló wrote that they talked for a while, whereby the local told him that when he was younger he had visited various places "of our [Italian-speaking] lands, such as Rovereto, Trento, Riva, Ala, Milan, and Brescia," and in that occasion learned a bit of Italian to help Sannicoló on his quest to walk to the German border.<sup>276</sup> They pointed Sannicoló in the right direction and declared the mountains he saw were of "our Emperor" but beyond them there was the German border.<sup>277</sup> The desire to see the border hammered him to move on until he approached a grand house, which he discovered it was the Financial Police Building. Trying to walk further he was stopped by an old guard that spoke German and was told he could not move forward. This episode was interesting in regards to treatment as was seen in their interaction. The guard, who spoke German, stopped him, but seeing Sannicoló did not know German, the guard attempted to speak Italian and they began chatting amiably about Sannicoló's stay in "Gabel". The man told Sannicoló he was instructed to not allow anyone through due to being in wartime, even when Sannicoló tried to explain his desire of seeing the German border.<sup>278</sup> The guard simply told him the distance to the first city passed the border point was Žitava, or Zittau. Content to having walked to the German border, Sannicoló turned around and walked back to Jablonné v Podještědí.<sup>279</sup> His freedom to spontaneously take walks, and walks towards the German border, shows that the refugees were not forcibly enclosed and guarded by soldiers. They were not

---

<sup>276</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 9, 313. "Allora egli mi disse che fu anche lui nella sua gioventù nei nostri paesi cioè a Trento, Rovereto, Riva, Ala...anche a Milano, Brescia, e Pesciera, e fu appunto in quel occasione che aprese un poco l'italiano."

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., "Additando con la mano disse, vedete quei monti la giu lontani quelli sono ancora del nostro Imperatore ma segnano l'estremo limite...del Impero, perche subito dietro il monte incomincia quello Germanico."

<sup>278</sup> Ibid., Vol. 9, 319-20. "Mi spiegò che trovandomi in prossimità del confine...Germanico li era impossibile lasciarmi proseguire più oltre, essendo in questo tempi di guerra proibita severamente il lasciar passare il confine a chi che sia."

<sup>279</sup> Ibid., Vol. 9, 321. "Lo indicò col ditto, alla distanza di forse cento metri quello e il termine che separa i due Imperi, e poco lungi si trova Zittau Città della Germania ma io non posso mi scusi lasciarlo andare più oltre o questo non importa gli rispose il mio scopo era quello di vedere il confine e questo e raggiunto."

mistreated as they walked around, seen from the interactions with the locals in the field and the guard at the border. Another indication of the refugees not having to be accounted for, or registered daily with the local authorities, is that Sannicoló wrote in the same entry, because he had no rush to head back to Jablonné, he decided to visit a small lake.<sup>280</sup> He concluded his entry of June 8<sup>th</sup> by writing that he returned to “Gabel a little tired, but content and satisfied” with the desired explorations.<sup>281</sup>

In his diary, Sannicoló mentioned seeing a prisoner camp that held Russians and their lack of freedom, mistreatment, and distrust was stronger than towards the Italian refugees. In one of his walks to kill boredom he noticed the prison camp that had wire all around the camp.<sup>282</sup> While the Italians can roam freely and do not have to frequently check in or to notify their presence to local authorities, the prisoners were guarded by “sentry [...] and two soldiers with bayonets and they continuously march from one direction to another.”<sup>283</sup> He concluded that with all the guards, it seemed “impossible for the prisoners to escape.”<sup>284</sup> Despite the amount of guard and attention to keep the prisoners with the camp, Sannicoló did notice that they prisoners were relatively cared for as they lived in clean and heated barracks, since he saw smoke coming out of the chimney during the winter months and that they had double windows against the cold. They also could farm their own piece of land and cultivate vegetables.<sup>285</sup>

Another pass-time Sannicoló attended often with the locals and the other refugees were the local fairs. Two months after arriving, comments on the preparations for the first fair of the year took up Sannicoló’s various entries. He wrote on February 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1916 preparations were beginning for a fair to be held on the 6<sup>th</sup> and

---

<sup>280</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 9, 321. “Pensai di far ritorno a mio aggio senza prendermi fretta avendo a mia disposizione 5 ore. E questo fu quello che feci anzi avendone il tempo visitai un piccolo lago.”

<sup>281</sup> Ibid., Vol. 9, 322-3. “Ripresi la via per Gabel dove arivai un poco stanco ma contento e sodisfatto verso le sei e mezzo del pomeridiane.”

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., Vol. 3, 83. “Nel fare una delle solite passeggiate nei dintorni per cacciar lontana da me piu che sia possibile la noja...capitai ha caso in una localita dove sono in un accampamento costudili i prigionieri di guerra Russi, esso consiste in un vasto tratto di terreno tutto recinto da un stecato di assi e sopra ad esso un piccolo rettilineato di filo di ferro acculeato che gli gira tutt'intorno.”

<sup>283</sup> Ibid., Vol. 3, 84. “Un soldato vié sempre di sentinella e...due soldati con bajonets mastata lo perccorono continuamente da un senso all'altro.”

<sup>284</sup> Ibid., Vol. 3, 85.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., Vol. 7, Page 227-8. “Qui si trova lacampamento dei prigionieri di guerra Russi...entro questo recinto sono costruite le Barrache con molti cammini che nel passato inverno fumavano continuamente, e con molte finestre con vetrare doppie, vi sono anche spazzi di terreno libero che i prigionieri ridussero ad ortaglia dove coltivano insalata cipole ed altre verdure.”

it was the second fair that was held in Jablonné.<sup>286</sup> At the beginning of his stay, the stands sold various items from scarves, shoes, clothes of both wool and cotton, and all sorts of toys.<sup>287</sup> In May 1916, he wrote of preparations for a fair that would have included the nearby towns and other foreigners. Sannicoló welcomed the participation of other vendors that would have brought “life and variety to the fair” and such an event was “welcomed by the Trentino refugees [...] as a distraction from this monotonous existence and this never-ending boredom.”<sup>288</sup> Ultimately, Sannicoló concluded that a fair was held for each season for the chance to sell and buy things for the new weather.

At first, the fairs were set up with rides for children with swings in the shape of boats, which both killed the boredom that reigned and brought life back into the village with the sound of children laughing and having fun.<sup>289</sup> By his fourth fair, things were beginning to decline. He wrote in his entry of June 24, 1916 that the fair would not be done to bring people together but to allow for the locals to buy what was desperately needed.<sup>290</sup> Despite the frequency of fairs, the amounts of goods sold became less and less and the atmosphere more solemn than of jubilee. For example, he wrote on September 10, 1917 preparations were being done for the regular fair, “the only difference from last year and this one, we can see the effects of the war diminish even more the availability of supplies.”<sup>291</sup> He added there were less and less sellers as well, and those that have a stand are selling lower quality goods. Furthermore, because Sannicoló enjoyed taking walks, he noted that the “shoemaker

---

<sup>286</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 4, 118.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid., Vol. 8, 268-9. “I preparativi per la fiera continuano...si parla inoltre che questa volta vi parteciperanno anche molti mercanti...stranieri, i quali concorreranno certamente a dar maggio vita e varietà alla fiera, ad ogni modo l’atesa e grande in tutti, ma più di tutti nei profughi del Trentino per che quelli della Città ormai vi sono abituati, questo servirà se non altro di svago in questa esistenza monotona e noiosa sempre eguale e senza avvenimenti notevoli per distrarla e renderla meno penosa.”

<sup>289</sup> Ibid., Vol. 9, 288-9. “A parlare un po’ di varietà alla monotonia sempre eguale...[in] Città giunse qui ieri, ed oggi diede principio alle sue rappresentazioni una compagnia di santinbanchi, con giostra e barchette a modo di altalena...di giostra e di barchette col suono del solito organetto e continuò fino a notte fatta, con grande giubilo de fanciulli ed anche delli adulti che acorssero in buon numero.”

<sup>290</sup> Ibid., Vol. 10, 345-6.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid., Vol. 21, 713-4. “Oggi sulla grande piazza di Gabel si tenne il solito mercato di generi diversi, ma quale differenza dallo scarso anno e adesso, si vede che il prolungarsi della guerra diminuisce sempre più le poche provviste ancor disponibili.”

from “Niemes” was altogether not present at the fair,” when the previous ones he always had a stand.<sup>292</sup>

In other parts of the empire, the Italian-speaking refugees began to desire to work and move to other locations. The children found work helping the locals, such as working with the farm animals or domestic roles of cleaning homes and looking after children of the locals.<sup>293</sup> The nail makers from Val di Ledro were fortunate in that they were distributed around the empire for their knowledge or sought out to help contribute to the war effort making nails and even pitchers.<sup>294</sup> Sannicoló did not work due to his advanced age but he noted how hard working the local populations were. Due to all abled men being at war, his main comments were directed towards the local girls and women that picked up from where the men left off. His admiration for them continued throughout his time in northern Bohemia. He wrote they were “good women and girls, unassuming sort, they work all week half barefoot, but they dress up nicely for festive days.”<sup>295</sup> In his entry of March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1916 he wrote, “The women worked from when the sun came up to nightfall, because they are hard working and they do not fear fatigue, and they adapt to all sorts of heavy jobs.”<sup>296</sup> Unfortunately, as the war went on, the local women and children trying to carry on with life, have a routine, and contribute to their families suffered further setbacks with the various military rounds. The military would take away the already low number of horses used for farming and cows for food, that soon women also felt the repercussions of war, so they had to abandon the fields.<sup>297</sup> In terms of the reality of the Italian-speaking refugee when it came to working as a pass time and to contribute to their living in exile, Sannicoló did not offer his thoughts and observations as he never mentioned the Italians taking part in fields or factories.

---

<sup>292</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 21, 714. “I soliti mercanti di stivali che venivano da Niemes e che non sono mai mancati nei precedenti mercati questa volta non si fecero vedere.”

<sup>293</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale* 13.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

<sup>295</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 6, 185. “In somma in questi paesi vi sono brave donne, e brave ragazze, senza pretese di sorta, che lavorano tutta la settimana mezze scalze...poi nei giorni festive ed altri ricorrenze soleni si vestono sfarzosamente talche non sembrano più quelle povere contadine scalze dei giorno inanzima sembrano Signore e Signorine per bene.”

<sup>296</sup> Ibid., Vol. 6, 184. “Donne e ragazze da quando spunta il sole fino a notte sono intente al loro lavoro, perche qui le donne sono molto laboriose e non temono qualunque fattica, ma si addatano ad ogni sorta di lavori anche dei più pesanti.”

<sup>297</sup> Ibid., Vol. 16, 525.

Other villages and camps with Italian-speaking refugees around Bohemia created schools for the children and brought Italian teachers with them. As was the case of friendly locals in Jablonné v Podještědí, the local authorities in these other camps encouraged initiatives, which showed their thoughtfulness, caring, and sensitivity to the Italian-speaking refugee case. The Secretariat also organized drives for books, notebooks, and school materials for the children.<sup>298</sup> Sannicoló, on the other hand, discussed the situation for the local children and their schooling. While carbon was of ready amount to be handed out to the refugees, in time, it was becoming scarce. In his entry of January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1917 he wrote, “Here in Gabel there is a great scarcity of carbon and it seems to be extending to throughout the Monarchy [...] they are forced to teach some classes in the morning and some in the evening due to lack of carbon to heat all the classrooms at once.”<sup>299</sup> It was not only the schools that suffered, but many were lacking in wood, and tracks had to limit the trains coming in due to the lack of workers.<sup>300</sup> At a certain point, Sannicoló noted that schools closed from lack of proper heating and they would wait for warmer months.<sup>301</sup>

Sannicoló’s thoughts on the war and the emperor can be another indication of how relations between the locals and the refugees were. If they had differing views on the empire, there could be a higher chance of tensions between the two groups of people, but if they felt similarly towards their emperor then it can be interesting who they view as the enemy during the war and who the allies. Sannicoló felt attachment to the emperor as he often wrote “our emperor” when referring to news on war. He also wrote with affection for the monarch, often commiserating in the emperor’s long life of tragic incidents that culminated in the First World War. On August 18, 1916, he wrote, “Today is the birthday of our Majesty Emperor and the city is decked with flags in celebration and everyone is happy for the birthday of the Kaiser.”<sup>302</sup> Everyone in Jablonné was in celebration of their common emperor despite the

---

<sup>298</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 19.

<sup>299</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 15, 500. “Qui in Gabel si nota una grande scarsezza di carbone e a quanto sembra questa penuria si estende a tutta la Monarchia...si deve in queste scuole civiche e popolari tener lezione la mattina per alcune classi e la sera per oltre, appunto perche manca il carbone per riscaldare tutte le...classi.”

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., Vol. 16, 533.

<sup>301</sup> Ibid., Vol. 21, 720. September 15, 1917. “Adesso hanno aperto le scuole ma quando il freddo più innanzi incalza saranno costretti a chiuderle per mancanza appunto di carbone, come fu il caso dello scorso inverno.”

<sup>302</sup> Ibid., Vol. 12, 414. “Giorno natalizio di sua Maesta il nostro Imperatore la Città è imbandierata a festa e tutti sono alegri per il compleanno del Kaiser.”

monarch's misfortune in his private life of "pain and misery."<sup>303</sup> He continued his entry with his observation that "his subjects still looked to their venerable and venerated monarch," for peace, so that the emperor's destiny would not be "involved in war as he turns 86."<sup>304</sup> The locals dressed up for the occasion and "shook each others' hands exchanging greetings [...] thus dividing the joy and affection they nurture for their beloved Emperor."<sup>305</sup>

Respect and mutual affection for the emperor brought the people together once more in mourning when November 21, 1916 Sannicoló wrote the city heard news of the emperor's death. In his entry of November 22, he wrote, "This morning we received the sad news of the death of our beloved Emperor."<sup>306</sup> His extensive entry of November 22 outlined the monarch's life, often laced in tragedy, and the common sentiment of affection towards him. Despite being either from northern Italy or from northern Bohemia, they shared in their devotion to the monarch writing, "Every newspaper had a printed image of the venerated Monarch".<sup>307</sup> In summary, he wrote of the various trials the emperor went through, but the way he described them clearly showed his affection for their common monarch. He commiserated with the emperor of his "great misfortunes" in his private life to show that despite his difficulties of the death of his son, Rudolf, losing his wife, Elizabeth of Bavaria, in Switzerland and the assassination of Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo, the emperor tackled with a "strong spirit, serene, and admirable cold blood [...] and] he always raised to the task."<sup>308</sup> He maintained his serene spirit as he confronted with "manly courage" which was not a quality missed by his subjects.<sup>309</sup> Coupled with the way he described the affection of the local population in Jablonné, he also felt similarly towards the emperor in that the monarch loved his subjects and so the people loved him back. His death at the age of

---

<sup>303</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 12, 414.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., Vol. 12, 415. "Tutti gli sguardi e i pensieri dei sui suditi convergono al venerando e venerato Monarca il quale sperava di chiudere in pace i suoi giorni senza essere più coinvolto in guerra ma il destino volle altrimenti ed egli mentre compie 86 anni si trova coinvolto nella più grande guerra che registri la storia."

<sup>305</sup> Ibid., Vol. 12, 416. "Si scambiavano strette di mano ed auguri...dando così a divedere fosse la gioia e affetto che essi nutrono pel loro amato Imperatore."

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., Vol. 14, 455. "Questa mattina giunse qui la triste notizia della morte del nostro amato Imperatore."

<sup>307</sup> Ibid., "Tutti i giornali uscirono li statti in nero con la fotografia del venerato Monarca."

<sup>308</sup> Ibid., Vol. 14, 456. "Come Monarca egli ebbe una esistenza non priva di difficoltà e disinganni, ma Egli seppe sempre con animo forte sereno e sangue freddo ammirabili affrontarle...si mostrò sempre all'altezza del compito."

<sup>309</sup> Ibid., Vol. 14, 458. "Tutte queste grandi sventure il vecchio Imperatore seppe affrontare con virile coraggio e mantenersi sempre sereno fino alla morte."

“86 years, 3 months, and 3 days” while filled with tragedies, Sannicoló wrote that the Emperor did not miss the appreciation from his people.<sup>310</sup> The reverence for the monarch extended to his comment that is worth noting of the situation of the different nationalities, as well as the countries “of the most diverse traditions and customs” all his peoples were in agreement for their “love and veneration of their old Emperor.”<sup>311</sup> His long reign of 68 years as emperor meant he placed his “energy and love for the wellbeing and happiness” of his beloved subjects.<sup>312</sup> The respect and esteem for the emperor was not just felt among the subjects but it also extended around Europe, with how his “opinion and advice was appreciated by all.”<sup>313</sup> With the death of the emperor, the whole city was adorned with flags of mourning and the anthem of the monarch sung with great fervor, with the people rising to their feet moved and in tears. Such a reception was not given to the new emperor Charles I. With the new emperor’s birthday, some attempts at celebration were held in Jablonné, but as Sannicoló noted in his August 20<sup>th</sup>, 1917 entry, “it was celebrated here in Gabel, but modestly when compared to the previous year [...] when still lived the old emperor Francis Joseph.”<sup>314</sup> The affairs in Jablonné had turned solemn. While it was a moment of celebration for Francis Joseph, with Charles I, the city simply placed on the principle buildings “Austrian and German flags as a sign of true alliance.”<sup>315</sup>

Looking at Sannicoló’s entries on the war requisitions, on the men, and updates on the war can help shape how he viewed his time in Jablonné v Podještědí as a subject of the Habsburg Empire and his comments can reveal whether or not he thought he was in threat of being persecuted by the local and military authorities because of his Italian origin. As the war progressed with defeats and victories both by

---

<sup>310</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 14, 456. “La morte nella tarda età di 86 anni 3 mesi e tre giorni.”

<sup>311</sup> Ibid., Vol. 14, 458. “Non gli mancarono le soddisfazioni e fra queste la più grande e a Lui più gradita fu certo l’amore di tutti i suoi popoli indistintamente, ed è così veramente grande e degna di nota che popoli di nazionalità così diverse come paesi di usi e costumi i più disparati, tutti si trovassero d’accordo nel amore e venerazione pel loro vecchio Imperatore.”

<sup>312</sup> Ibid., Vol. 14, 457. “Lunghissimo regno che dorò 68 anni si adoperò sempre con tutta la sua energia ed amore per il bene e la felicità dei suoi amati suditi.”

<sup>313</sup> Ibid., “E questo rispetto e stima non si restringeva soltanto entro i confini del Impero, ma si estendeva a tutta Europa...il consiglio del vecchio e saggio Monarca era chiesto e da tutti molto apprezzato.”

<sup>314</sup> Ibid., Vol. 21, 681-2. “Il 17 corrente e scaduto il giorno natalizio di sua Maestà l’Imperatore e Re Carlo I. Esso fu festeggiato anche qui in Gabel, modestamente però in confronto del passato...quando ancora viveva il vecchio Imperatore Francesco Giuseppe.”

<sup>315</sup> Ibid., Vol. 21, 682. “Quindi la festa si ridusse al esposizione di bandiere sui principali edifici specialmente pubblici della Città, si intende sempre le bandiere austriache e germaniche in segno di fedele alleanza.”



the Italian army and the Austrian, especially on the Italian front, we can also obtain a degree of knowledge of the reality of an Italian-speaking citizen of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. By looking at the tone in which he wrote of victories from either Austria or Italy can perhaps indicate his allegiance or show his identity and what he felt of the Emperor's wins or losses and peoples.

Military requisitions became more present and severe as the war went on, as the military needed horses and food, and thus took these items away from the citizens. On January 19<sup>th</sup>, 1916, the first requisition of horses was carried out, which took away from the farmers the ability to farm effectively.<sup>316</sup> Soon enough, by July 10<sup>th</sup>, 1916, the army forces also requisitioned livestock; this would continue every month with a certain quota to meet. Soon enough the amount taken grew. In his entry of November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1916, 14 wagons of livestock were sent to Tyrol to be meat for the soldiers at the front.<sup>317</sup> 14 wagons seemed like a large amount to Sannicoló, but he reflected with the other villages of Bohemia forced to also give the military meant the soldiers at the front received food while the stores back at the home fronts "remained always closed" with lack of the basic foodstuffs.<sup>318</sup> Along with the meat, with the departure of the cows, milk also became a scarce commodity, and the little that remained, due to the inflation that came with war, meant higher price for a "worse quality of milk."<sup>319</sup> Sannicoló's comments on the sufferings of the local population and misfortunes from war, coupled with living in Jablonné v Podještědí himself, are shown through his entries as caring for the future of the "good people of Gabel." Without horses the fields would remain largely uncultivated, which slowed down transportation and trade, and, in turn, would mean "a grave damage for the whole country."<sup>320</sup> Coupled with food and livestock requisition, military authorities made rounds to locals' homes to take what was saved for their future "without regard to the misery and the locals

---

<sup>316</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 4, 115.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid., Vol. 14, 447.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid., Vol. 14, 448.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid., Vol. 14, 473. "Parti dalla stazione di Gabel altri 15 vagoni tutti pieni di bellissime vacche...poco per volta vano spopolandosi e già il latte...non se ne trova più così facilmente come prima ed è molto aumentato di prezzo, e con il lungo andare se le facende continuano così sarà sempre peggio."

<sup>320</sup> Ibid., Vol. 17, 555. "Senza cavali queste ampie compagne rimarebbero in gran parte incolte, ed essendo il cavallo quasi l'unico mezzo di trasporto delle merci da un paese all'altro e per la città rimarebbe inceppato lo scambio e il commercio fra un luogo e l'altro con grave danno per tutto il paese."

have to keep quiet about it.”<sup>321</sup> This was a shared fear and dislike for the military authorities taking things “regardless of the sufferings of so many poor people.”<sup>322</sup> In sum, it was not only the refugees that suffered from harsh treatments, as the situation was similar around Bohemia. If locals were found to be hiding food, they were denounced and fined.

Similarly, the military made rounds to take the men that were able to be soldiers. As the war went on, the military authorities are “satisfied with what they can find” since the only need is to “replace the fallen and the prisoners.”<sup>323</sup> The young men made able appeared “cheerful and sang out, but it won’t be long before they come to learn what it means to be a soldier in times of war.”<sup>324</sup> As they left on the train, the women cried, which would make anyone “moved to tears in compassion.”<sup>325</sup> It was not just the young men, but also the guards stationed at the barracks were told to go to the fronts. Unlike the young men that appeared happy, these older soldiers faces “read of a certain anguish and distress that they tried in vain to hide.”<sup>326</sup> Such comments on what was occurring with the requisitions showed Sannicoló’s and the others in Jablonné, that the “peace was still far away” and they would be forced to still live in exile.<sup>327</sup>

To look next at Sannicoló’s updates on the war can determine his view on the war as an Italian-speaking citizen of the empire. In his first month in Jablonné, in December 1915, he wrote negatively of the German authorities writing, “the

---

<sup>321</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 17, 548. “Commissioni di tutti i comuni del circondario girano di casa in casa di questi grossi contadini e proprietari...per vedere se ancora rimane qualche cosa ed all’uopo praticano perquisizioni severissime e quel che trovano viene requisito senza alcun riguardo ha miserie e i proprietari devono assetarsi e tacere se pur non vogliono andar sogetti a gravi inconvenienti, e tutto questo per approvvigionare l’esercito, mentre il resto della popolazione patisce chi più chi meno la fame.”

<sup>322</sup> Ibid., Vol. 17, 548. “E la guerra continua sempre senza riguardo ai patimenti di tanti poveri disgraziati.” And Vol. 17, 569. “Continua la più severa perquisizioni a domicili dei contadini benestanti per vedere se trovano ancora qualche cosa di nascosto, ed infatti non è raro il caso che trovano nascoste molte patate ed altri generi, i quali vengono immediatamente sequestrati e il proprietario denunciato all’autorità per la prescritta multa.”

<sup>323</sup> Ibid., Vol. 7, 239. “Ma ben pochi uomini validi potranno trovare dopo tante cernite dei passati anni ma ora...si accontentano di quello che trovano, perche i bisogni per rimpiazzare i caduti ed i prigionieri si fanno sempre più stringenti.”

<sup>324</sup> Ibid., Vol. 7, 207. “Adesso questi poveri giovani sono alegri e cantano ma non passera molto che proverano anchessi che cosa sia fare il soldato in tempo di guerra.”

<sup>325</sup> Ibid., Vol. 10, 356. “Essi sono allegri o fingono di esserlo, non è così dei loro parenti i quali sono abbattuti e molti specie le donne piangono da muovere a compassione i presenti.”

<sup>326</sup> Ibid., Vol. 6, 192. “Si leggeva sui loro volti [dei soldati] una certa tal quale angoscio e turbamento che invano tentavano di nascondere.”

<sup>327</sup> Ibid., Vol. 7, 240. “Questo significa che la pace è ancora molto lontana, e che saremo costretti a passare ancora Dio solo lo sa quanto tempo in Boemia.”

shameless lies that the Germans suggest in regard to our Trentino, calling us a population of beggars.”<sup>328</sup> He continued his critique with “how much better that these people before speaking boldly of others they looked a little in their home and they would find a festering sore as well.”<sup>329</sup> Yet, despite the early negative view of the Germans, he does not write so harshly about them in his diary entries after that. His entries on the war progression seemed rather neutral in tone, not biased towards either the Italian or Austrian victories. He mostly appeared to dread that with each passing battle and the entry of new powers it would mean another season or year away from his beloved Rovereto. Because he did not know German, much of what was offered as news sources was lost on the Italian-speaking refugees, but he did not seem to always mind as what was printed was what the military authorities wished the public to know.<sup>330</sup> This meant he lived in a certain bubble away from the war front and unable to receive Italian newspapers, until he subscribed to *Risveglio Tridentino*, which took its news from an English source.<sup>331</sup> The *Risveglio Tridentino* as any news source must be read through for bias, as it was news from an English paper, but at the same time, the paper changed to the *Risveglio Austriaco* – which was an Austrophile daily, so news, while in Italian, had a bias towards the empire.<sup>332</sup>

Sannicoló wrote various updates but he often focused on what each new event would bring, as further destruction, ruins to a place, and raise the number of deaths.<sup>333</sup> The Bulletin also updated the Italian-speaking groups in the empire of the war progression, creating a list of correspondence between families living in cities or barracks with the soldiers at the front or in prisoner camps, but Sannicoló does not really reference the Bulletin, so the news he receives mostly came from Austro-German newspapers.<sup>334</sup> This meant a mostly biased amount of sources with attention on the Austro-German successes at war. An indication of such a moment was Sannicoló’s observation of the pride in the local population in his entries when there

---

<sup>328</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 3, 73. “Le spudorate menzogne che i tedeschi propalano in riguardo al nostro Trentino, chiamandoci una popolazione di pezzenti.”

<sup>329</sup> Ibid., Vol. 3, 78. “Quanto sarebbe meglio che questa gente prima di parlare sfacciatamente degli altri guardassero un poco in casa loro che non pennerebbero molto ha trovarci la piaga incancrenita.”

<sup>330</sup> Ibid., Vol. 3, 101.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid., Vol. 8, 252. “Proprio oggi lessi nel giornale il Risveglio Tridentino che riporta da un giornale Inglese.”

<sup>332</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 52.

<sup>333</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 6, 203. “Questo e certo doloroso perche le grandi bataglie sono aportatrici di rovine e di morte.”

<sup>334</sup> Morandi, *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*, 18.

was an Austrian victory. “Gabel would be in a state of jubilee” and the flags of Austria and its allies – Germany, Turkey, and Bulgaria – would be placed on the principle buildings of the city and during mass the anthem of the empire would be played and sung by the people.<sup>335</sup> He also commented on the unreliability of the newspaper sources, as both German and Italian ones would list their victories and the atrocities of the enemy. The Italian papers would write of their advantages on the front and reporting on the number of prisoners made by Austrian forces.<sup>336</sup> The only personal element in his diary was the fear of “our Trentino will be under another hard test.”<sup>337</sup> Overall, his neutrality does not showcase his personal stance on the war. He does not elaborate on either the Italian or Austrian victories, nor does he observe particular rise in mistreatment towards his fellow refugees when Austria suffers loss at the Italian army’s hands.

## Conclusion

Sannicoló and his experience, or reality, can help shed light on a largely forgotten area of the discussion of refugees. Sannicoló and his open attitude to the new surroundings, while missing his homeland, made for an interesting read when looking at the problem of interaction among diverse nationalities and during a time as heavy as war. Throughout history there were interactions between different ethnic groups, but Sannicoló’s case was interesting because it was during war when tensions were extremely high and paranoia and fear reigned daily life. Such a case as with Sannicoló, or with the other Italian-speaking refugees in Bohemia, can be an exceptional model of successful social integration among foreign populations. It is a story of forgotten peoples of 100 years ago, but it is a great and rich history, that can teach us that it was possible “to live in peace” even if initially there’s problems of

---

<sup>335</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d’un profugho*, Vol. 9, 305. “Si parla di nuovo di vittorie Austriache, e qui in Gabel in segno di giubilo furono esposte la bandiere Austriache germaniche Turche e Bulgare, sui principali edifici della Città, come al Capitanato al ufficio del Censo e sulle principali Birrerie eccetera. In Chiesa dopo la messa fu cantato lino del Impero con accompagnamento di organo in somma tuti in allegrezza e giubilo.”

<sup>336</sup> Ibid., Vol. 21, 695-6. “I comunicati Italiani al opposto parlano di non indifferenti vantaggi ottenuti in molti punti del ampio fronte dove oltrepassarono la prima e la seconda linea di difesa nemica, riportando molte migliaia... di prigionieri.”

<sup>337</sup> Ibid., Vol. 21, 725-6. “Con questa offensiva se è vero che verrà...attuata il nostro Trentino verrà messo un'altra volta ad una prova ben dura.”

communication, or lack of appropriate means to live, with war, and so on.<sup>338</sup> At the beginning it was all very difficult, for the refugees, Sannicoló, and for the hosting communities, but in many instances the ending was positive with successful integration.

The microhistorical look at Sannicoló's reality and situation of his life for two years in Jablonné v Podještědí aimed at understanding what it meant to be an Italian-speaking refugee in northern Bohemia, and why his integration was successful, or positive, in regards to the basic necessities – food, housing, and clothing – and leisure activities – fairs, walks, and mass. Histories of refugees in northern Bohemia have largely remained of interest to the communities directly affected, but with the commemoration of the First World War there was a resurgence of literature dedicated to the history of forgotten peoples. Going over the general overview of Italian-speaking refugees in other parts of the Empire, and of political internees and Italian prisoners of war, was the foundation to be able to focus on looking at the particular case of the diary, with emphasis on analyzing its content.

The aim was to look at what it meant to live the refugee reality and how daily life was used to attempt to answer why Sannicoló's integration with the locals, can be considered, on the whole, successful, and why the interactions were positive. Did Sannicoló ever write of moments where mistreatment towards his group of refugees stopped them from obtaining a basic necessity guaranteed by the state, or were they usually given what they asked for, and were treated with kindness and charity by the locals? Similarly, were they given the freedom and chance to participate in what the locals were doing – working or attending fairs – or were they ostracized and confined to a certain area as in a camp because they were citizens of the empire, but Italian-speaking and thus technically at war with Austria?

One initial consideration to take in mind as to why it was a successful integration could be the use of the terminology. The term refugee was used in the thesis to denote the forced evacuation of a group of people from an area due to removal from a war zone, a natural disaster, or from persecution. This was the case for the Italian-speaking regions. They were removed for their safety, because they were citizens of the empire and because the Emperor Francis Joseph cared for his people. There was no ill will for the emperor in Sannicoló's diary, made evident by

---

<sup>338</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 22.

his entry on the monarch's death, speaking with respect and affection for Francis Joseph, declaring that in his long reign as emperor meant he placed his "energy and love for the wellbeing and happiness" of his beloved subjects.<sup>339</sup> In this respect, the evacuation was not of Italian-speaking individuals, but of citizens of the empire; innocent civilians dragged into war against each other. While not looked at in depth, the Galician Jews case could be considered different, because while large groups were considered citizens of the empire, they migrated or were pushed back from the war fronts and, like a flood, made way further within the empire. It is difficult to group of the overall situation in description or terminology, because each occurrence dealt with a new group of people, or a new set of nationalities.

Galician Jews were victims of the war between Austria and Russia, and many were Austrian citizens.<sup>340</sup> Jews from Galicia and Bukovina that fled to the interior of the empire were thought to confirm their patriotism better and in a truer way than some Austrians, but at the same time their presence inflamed anti-Semitism, making their refugee status uneasy.<sup>341</sup> Italians, on the other hand, did not, in the same degree, flee further within the empire, but were forcibly evacuated by the incoming armies. This difference in terminology does not always match why they were considered successful in their integration, and Jewish refugees were not, because of the idea of the fear and paranoia that emerged with the incoming flows of large groups as spies for the enemies of Austria. Both Italians and Jewish refugees could be suspected of being spies and traitors, but looking at Sannicoló's diary, evidence of this fear was not present in the local authorities, or by the local civilian population. He does not compare his situation with other cases of refugees, as they were not present, or he did not interact with them.

The only mentions of another group of foreigners were Russian prisoners of war in a barrack camp, but there were no reported cases of disabuse that Sannicoló noted towards the prisoners. He wrote they were enclosed and that guards roamed the parameters, but they could grow their own vegetables and had heating, as Sannicoló wrote he often saw smoke come out of their lodgings during winter.<sup>342</sup> Malnourishment was the order of the day. While they had little food, it was the

---

<sup>339</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 14, 457.

<sup>340</sup> Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, 30.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid.

<sup>342</sup> Sannicoló, *Memorie d'un profugho*, Vol. 7, 227-8.

similar situation for all; the only difference was that the spread of disease was worse in prisoner camps due to lack of proper medical attention. Sannicoló's comments on prisoners with no entries on episodes of harsh mistreatment towards them, brings to the conclusion that the overall attitude and behavior in Jablonné on behalf of the locals taking in foreigners was not of severe abuse, hate, or mistreatment. There is no indication that Sannicoló knowingly kept out information; his tone and style make it sound as if he was reporting what happened since his last entry. Often, in his entries, he would ramble on mundane thoughts such as on the weather or the fruits he saw bloom, which concludes that there were mostly long days of no news worth reporting, including no cases of mistreatment towards the refugees, thus making it a successful integration.

The multinational border regions, while being grounds conflicts, can also raise tolerance for the "other," which could be another explanation as to why Sannicoló's case was one of success. This is coupled with the fact that they were distant enough from the war to not feel the ongoing tensions of the Habsburg army against the Italians or other enemies, nor were they potentially recipients of propaganda material to the degree that bigger cities would be or cities nearer to the fronts would be. This is speculation because Sannicoló, again, does not mention their presence in the least, obtaining only newspapers with brief updates on the events of war. Still they all knew or understood what it meant to lose family in the war, either at the front, or from disease, or due to that lack of proper medical attention, so the sense of unity in that case could have been a factor to their successful integration.

With the abled men off to war, those that remained were of the "weaker stratus" of society: the elderly, women, and children, so a sense of solidarity was present. Along with solidarity, the various groups of Italians also integrated best when they were active and resourceful.<sup>343</sup> When they could, they moved around for work and won the respect, or admiration, of the locals. When they were active, like Sannicoló who took walks to get to know his surroundings, they often encountered people on the road eager to show they knew a bit of Italian. This could make them seem less of a burden that had to be provided for, and more like a group of people that made them collectively feel like victims of the same devastating war.

---

<sup>343</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 12.

Another reason why it was a success was the way Sannicoló wrote of the locals. He often praised their kindness, hospitality, their welcoming and charitable nature – as when they came to them to hand out blankets, clothing, carbon, or Christmas trees – without ever any mention of moments of locals begrudgingly handing out what was guaranteed by the state or hiding basic staples from the Italian-speaking refugees in favor of the other locals. Food, clothing, and housing conditions were similar for both refugees and locals; thus, besides being met by the state as required minimums, the locals suffered from the same war with military requisitions scouring homes for hidden surplus of the basic necessities.

The common sentiment of war affecting their daily life and routines, and being fined for holding back materials, allowed for the mutual understanding that the seemingly never ending war affected them all rather equally. Along with this came the shared affection for their common emperor, which potentially could have also benefited Sannicoló and his group of refugees, as they were not politically active – if they had been perhaps they would have been imprisoned in camps – and not in nationalistic clashes because one side was in commiseration with the Habsburgs and the other side with the Italian cause. Because the peoples did not appear to be in harsh contrast in allegiance and in thought of victories in battles, it could be another reason as to why Sannicoló's case could boast of a positive outcome to the brief integration.

For further discussion of repatriation, and the success of integration post-evacuation, Sannicoló's diary unfortunately concluded on October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1917 and no further records of Sannicoló can be found to determine if he passed away while in Jablonné or if he was repatriated. To review the successful integration, a brief look will be done of the returning populations and their memories or sentiments of their time abroad. In many of the cases there were positive memories of their time away from Trentino despite the sufferings of war; in certain instances during the frantic desire to return home, some Italians were not all that happy to return home.<sup>344</sup> This was sometimes due to not wanting to leave behind family members that had died and were buried while abroad. One such moment was the memory of a woman from Locca, in Ledro, within the Trentino region, of her mother who was reluctant to leave her husband when he passed away in January of 1918 and was buried in Bohemia. She declared from that moment on, "my family felt closer ties with the green fields

---

<sup>344</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 272.



and of the city that he was buried in.”<sup>345</sup> Before leaving, the mother would visit the tomb every day knowing full well she would not revisit once she left, but she could not imagine abandoning her husband “in a foreign land.” No one could disregard the three or more years in the foreign lands of Bohemia, nor could they forget the charity and friendliness the local benefactors were to them in their stay.

Sannicoló may not have mentioned becoming friends with the locals, but in other cases friendships were formed and letters exchanged mostly between the women from both countries, a correspondence in a mix of languages: “Italian, Czech, German, and even Latin.”<sup>346</sup> They were letters with photos, of wedding announcements, of births, but also of the memory of the shared hardships of war and losing family to the war. And in even fewer instances, the returning refugees preferred the barracks, due to the difficult conditions found in Trentino with the even greater lack of provisions and devastations of their homes.<sup>347</sup> Some women from Rovereto were staying in Villa Lagarina, Trentino, but because “they suffered from hunger they demanded” to return to the barracks.<sup>348</sup>

Sannicoló’s style always remained neutral and was never strongly against a particular group of locals or against the empire. Sannicoló’s case was both unique and part of a collective experience; it is a largely forgotten history, due to the lack of sources on Italian-speaking refugees in northern Bohemia. It was unique because of the area study. Sannicoló lived temporarily in Jablunné v Podještědí in a region that had a great number of diverse nationalities, a place where centuries-long tensions between ethnic groups had been in place, and where borders and living quarters had shifted over the years. He wrote of his time and the locals in positive terms, constantly thanking them for their generosity and attention, focusing on commiserating the devastations of war instead of who would be at cause for it. At the same time, it was a collective experience because, ultimately, various recounts and memories of other Italian-speaking groups from Trentino to other parts of the vast empire – especially those living in villages and interacting with locals – would recall a cordial and kind local population that helped them feel welcomed and respected.

---

<sup>345</sup> Colombo, *Boemia*, 272.

<sup>346</sup> Ibid., 294.

<sup>347</sup> Malni, *Gli Spostati*, 317.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid.

## Bibliography

14-18, documenti e immagini della grande guerra. Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. 2010-2013.

<[http://www.14-](http://www.14-18.it/ricerca?searchFld=diari+&searchType=simple&paginate_pageNum=1)

[18.it/ricerca?searchFld=diari+&searchType=simple&paginate\\_pageNum=1](http://www.14-18.it/ricerca?searchFld=diari+&searchType=simple&paginate_pageNum=1)>

Acquistucci, Nazzareno. "Cucina e Fame nella Grande Guerra." *Civiltà della Tavola: Accademia Italiana della Cucina* July 2015: 12.

Agnew, Hugh. *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*. Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 2004.

Antoneli, Q., Leoni, D, Marzani, M.B., and Pontalti, G. *Scritture di Guerra*. N. 4 Trento, Museo Storico in Trento – Museo Storico italiano della Guerra in Rovereto, 1996.

Antoneli, Q., Leoni, D, Miorelli, A., and Pontalti, G. *Scritture di Guerra*. N. 5 Trento, Museo Storico in Trento – Museo Storico italiano della Guerra in Rovereto, 1996.

Astorri, Antonella, and Patrizia Salvadori. *Storia Illustrata Della Prima Guerra Mondiale*. Firenze: Giunti Editore, 1999. 68; 143-145.

Baravelli, Andrea. "War Aims and War Aims Discussions (Italy)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. July 7, 2015.

Benes, Edvard. "Central Europe after Ten Years." *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 7 (1928/1929), pp. 245-260.

Beneš, Zdeněk, and Václav Kural. *Facing History: The Evolution of Czech-German Relations in the Czech Provinces, 1848-1948*. Prague: Gallery for the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic, 2002.

Berend, Iván T. *History Derailed: Central and Eastern Europe in the Long Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley: University of California, 2003.

Bianchi, Roberto. "Social Conflict and Control, Protest and Repression (Italy)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. October 8, 2014.

Bideleux, Robert, and Ian Jeffries. *A History of Eastern Europe: Crisis and Change*. London: Routledge, 1998.

Bischof, Günter, and Ferdinand Karlhofer. *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*. Innsbruck UP, UNO, 2014.

Brewer, John. *Microhistory and the Histories of Everyday Life*. Berg, 2010. No. 5. Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München Center for Advanced Studies. Accessed: December 8, 2015.

Bussoni, Mario, and Riccardo Baudinelli. *La Grande Guerra Percorrendo I Fronti Degli Italiani, Dalla Lombardia Alla Slovenia*. Vol. 1. Parma: Il Giornale, 1982.

Caglioti, Daniela L. "Aliens and Internal Enemies: Internment Practices, Economic Exclusion and Property Rights during the First World War. Introduction." *Journal of Modern European History* 12.4 (2014): 448-59.

Calcott, W.R. "The Last War Aim: British Opinion and the Decision for Czechoslovak Independence, 1914-1919." *Historical Journal* 27.4 (1984): 979-989.

Cappellano, Filippo. "Warfare 1914-1918 (Italy)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, and Heather Jones. October 8, 2014.

Carioti, Antonio, and Paolo Rastelli. *24 Maggio 1915: L'Italia È In Guerra*. Milano: Corriere Della Sera, 2015.

Cazzullo, Aldo. *La Guerra dei Nostri Nonni, 1915-1918: Storie di Uomini, Donne, Famiglie*. Milano: Mondadori, 2014.

Chabod, Federico. *L'Italia Contemporanea: 1918-1948*. 14<sup>th</sup> ed. Torino: Giulio Einaudi, 1961.

Cohn, Samuel. "Review, The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12.3 (1982): 523-5.

Colombo, Dario. *Boemia: L'esodo della Val di Ledro: 1915-1919*. Tione di Trento (TN): Centro Studi Judicaria, 2008.

Commissariato Generale Onoranze Caduti in Guerra. *Sacrari e Cimiteri Militari Italiani All'Estero: Caduti di Tutte le Guerre*. Roma: Ministero della Difesa, 1999.

Corni, Gustavo. "Occupation during the War." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. July 28, 2015.

Cornwall, Mark. *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000.

Crampton, R.J. *Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century – And After*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Routledge, 1994.

Dalponte, Lorenzo. *1915-1918, il clero dei profughi trentini*. Trento: Vita Trentina, 1996.

Davies, Norman. *Europe: A History*. London: Pimlico, 1997.

- Degli Esposti, Fabio. "War Finance (Italy)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. September 7, 2015.
- Dekel-Chen, Jonathan, David Guant, Natan M. Meir, and Israel Bartal (Editors). *Anti-Jewish Violence: Rethinking the Pogrom in East European History*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2011.
- Dentoni, Maria Concetta. "Food and Nutrition (Italy)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. December 18, 2014.
- Dominioni, Paolo Caccia. *1915-1919: Diario di Guerra*. Milano: Mursia, 1993.
- Dornik, Wolfram. "Conrad von Hötzendorf and the 'Smoking Gun': A Biographical Examination of Responsibility and Traditions of Violence against Civilians in the Habsburg Army." In Bischof, Günter, and Ferdinand Karlhofer. *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*. Innsbruck UP, UNO, 2014. 55-74.
- Dvornik, Francis. *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*. London: Polish Research Centre, 1949.
- Ehmer, Josef, Annemarie Steidl, and Hermann Zeitlhofer. *Migration Patterns in Late Imperial Austria*. Rep. no. 3. Vienna: Commission for Migration and Integration Research, n.d. Ser. 3.
- Engel, David. "World War I." YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe. November 5, 2010. 13 October 2015.  
<[http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/World\\_War\\_I](http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/World_War_I)>
- Ermacora, Matteo. "Civilian Morale." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. August 10, 2015.
- Ermacora, Matteo. "Review of: Daniele Ceschin, Gli esuli di Caporetto. I profughi in Italia durante la Grande Guerra." *Deportate, esuli, e profughe – DEP*. (5-6). Università Ca' Foscari Venezia. December 2006. October 28, 2015. 389-392.
- Europeana: 1914-1918*. Co-Funded by the European Union. 2013.  
<<http://europeana1914-1918.eu/en>>
- Evans, R. J. W. *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe C.1683-1867*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006.
- Favrod, Charles-Henri, and Andrea Cairone, eds. *Guerra e Pace: John Phillip, Testimone del Novecento*. Firenze, Fratelli Alinari, Fondazione per la Storia della Fotografia, 2008.

- Frizzera, Francesco. "Gorizia, Battle of." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. April, 7 2015.
- Gadda, Carlo Emilio. *Giornale di guerra e di prigionia con il diario di Caporetto*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Milano: Garzanti Elefanti, 2015.
- Gatrell, Peter. "Professor Peter Gatrell – Personal Details." *Manchester.ac.uk*. The University of Manchester, 7 Oct. 2015.  
< <http://www.manchester.ac.uk/research/Peter.gatrell/>>
- Gatrell, Peter. "Refugees." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Michael Neiberg and Sophie De Schaepdrijver. December 8, 2014. 1-17.
- Gatrell, Peter. "Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War." *Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration, and Diaspora*. 2008. 82-110.
- Gatrell, Peter. "Refugees – What's Wrong with History? With Peter Gatrell." *Soundcloud*. The Refugee Studies Centre. 7 Oct. 2015.  
<<https://soundcloud.com/refugeestudiescentre/refugees-whats-wrong-with-history-peter-gatrell>>
- Gatrell, Peter. "Resettlement." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. July 28, 2015.
- Gatrell, Peter. *The Making of the Modern Refugee*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013.
- Giardina, A., G. Sabbatucci, and V. Vidotto. 3. *L'eta' Contemporanea*. Roma: Editori Laterza, 1988.
- Gibelli, Antonio. "Children and War (Italy)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. October 8, 2014.
- Gibelli, Antonio. *La Biblioteca Della Grande Guerra 1914-1918: La Grande Guerra degli Italiani*. Vol. 3. Milano: MediaGroup, 2014. 124-131.
- Gibelli, Antonio. *La Grande Guerra: Storie di gente comune*. Roma: Editori Laterza. 2014.
- Gilmour, David. *The Pursuit of Italy: A History of a Land, Its Regions and Their Peoples*. London: Penguin, 2012.
- Ginzburg, Carlo, John Tedeschi, and Anne C. Tedeschi. "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know About It." *Critical Inquiry* 20.1 (1993): 10-35.

- Gorgolini, Luca. "Prisoners of War (Italy)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. April 22, 2015.
- Grazioli, M., Ioppi, S., and Turrini, M. *Profughi, La popolazione dell'Alto Garda in Austria, Boemia e Moravia*. Arco: Il Sommolago, 1996.
- Grillini, Anna. "Caporetto, Battle of." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. April 28, 2015.
- Halecki, Oscar. *Borderlands of Western Civilization: A History of East Central Europe*. Originally published in 1952 (Ronald Press Company), renewed in 1980 (Safety Harbor: Simon Publications).
- Halecki, Oscar. *The Limits and Divisions of European History*. Indiana: U of Notre Dame, 1962.
- Hämmerle, Christa, Gabriella Hauch, and Heidemarie Uhl. *1914, 2014: World War I Centenary*. Rep. Comp. Verena Moritz, Helmut Konrad, and Manfred Rauchensteiner. Vienna: Austrian Federal Chancellery, 2013.
- Hanna, Martha. "War Letters: Communication between Front and Home Front." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. October 8, 2014.
- Healy, Maureen, Dana Bronson, and Musa Jemal. "Social Conflict and Control, Protest and Repression (Austria-Hungary)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. January 27, 2015.
- Healy, Maureen. *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire: Total War and Everyday Life in World War I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Helan, Pavel, and Marco Moles, eds. *L'Unità d'Italia: Un Intreccio di Storia Tra Tevere e Moldava?* Prague: Progetto Repubblica Ceca, 2012.
- Hermann, Irène, and Daniel Palmieri. "International Committee of the Red Cross." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. July 24, 2015.
- Herrmann, David G. "The Paralysis of Italian Strategy in the Italian-Turkish War, 1911-12." *The English Historical Review* 104.411 (1989): 332-356.
- Höbelt, Lothar. "Francis Joseph I, Emperor of Austria." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. March 27, 2015.
- Hoerder, Dirk. "Migration and Cultural Interaction Across the Centuries: German History in a European Perspective." *German Politics and Society* 26.2 (2008): 1-23.

Hoffmann-Holter, B. "Abreisendmachung." *Jüdische Kriegsflüchtlinge in Wien 1914 bis 1923*. Wuen-Köln-Weimar, Böhlau, 1995.

Holborn, Louise W. "The Legal Status of Political Refugees, 1920-1938." *The American Journal of International Law* 32.4 (1938): 680-703.

Holmes, Deborah, and Lisa Silverman. *Interwar Vienna: Culture between Tradition and Modernity*. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2009.

Horn, Martin. "Economic Planning before 1914." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. October 8, 2014.

Horne, John. *State, Society, and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997.

Hudson, Manley O. "Present Status of the Hague Convention of 1899 and 1907." *The American Journal of International Law* 25.1 (1931): 114-117.

Imperial War Museums. Iwm.org.uk. 2015.  
<<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections-research>>

*International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. 1914-1918-online.net, Oct. 2014.  
<[http://www.1914-1918-online.net/06\\_first\\_world\\_war\\_websites/index.html](http://www.1914-1918-online.net/06_first_world_war_websites/index.html)>

*International Committee of the Red Cross*. ICRC.org.  
<<https://www.icrc.org/en>>

International Committee of the Red Cross. "Resolutions of the Geneva International Conference. Geneva, 26-29 October 1863." Treaties and State Parties to Such Treaties. *International Committee of the Red Cross*. ICRC.org.  
<<https://www.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/INTRO/115?OpenDocument>>

International Organization, "International Refugee Organization." *University of Wisconsin Press* 3.2 (May 1949): 351-53.

"Italy – WWI Centenary from the River Piave: Caporetto, Refugees, Exile. Interview with the Italian Historian Daniele Ceschin." *World War I Bridges*. 27 Mar. 2014. 25 Sept. 2015.  
<<http://www.worldwarone.it/2014/03/caporetto-refugees-exile-interview-with.html>>

Janos, Andrew C. "The Politics of Backwardness in Continental Europe, 1780-1945." *World Politics* 41.3 (1989): 325-58.

Johnson, Lonnie R. *Central Europe: Enemies, Neighbors, Friends*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996.

Jones, Heather. *Violence against Prisoners of War in the First World War: Britain, France, and Germany, 1914-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013.

Judt, Tony. "The End of the World." Rev. of the *First World War* by John Keegan. *New York Times: Online* 27 June 1999. The New York Times. The New York Times Company.

< <https://www.nytimes.com/books/99/06/27/reviews/990627.27judt.html> >

Keane, John, and Jenő Szücs. "Three Historical Regions of Europe." *Civil Society and the State? New European Perspectives*. London: Verso, 1988. 291-332.

Keegan, John. "The First World War." *The New York Times: Online*. The New York Times Company, 1999.

Kerner, Robert Joseph. "Austro-Hungarian War-Aims in the Winter of 1915-1916 as Revealed by Secret Documents." *The Journal of International Relations* 10.4 (1920): 444-470.

King, Jeremy. *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848-1948*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2002.

Kirsch, Johann Peter. "Ecclesiastical Province." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 12. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911. 2 Dec. 2015.  
<<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12514a.htm>>.

Kramer, Alan. "The Radicalization of Warfare." *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007. 50-68.

Krizman, Bogdan. "Austro-Hungarian Diplomacy before the Collapse of the Empire." *Journal of Contemporary History* 4.2 (1969): 97-115.

Kuprian, Hermann J.W. "'Entheimungen': Flucht und Vertreibung in der Habsburgermonarchie während des Ersten Weltkrieges und ihre Konsequenzen." *Der Erste Weltkrieg im Alpenraum*. Edited by Hermann and Überegger Oswald. Wagner Innsbruck, 2006.

Kuprian, Hermann J.W. "Flüchtlinge und Vertriebene aus den österreichisch-italienischen Grenzgebieten während des Ersten Weltkrieges." *Österreichisches Italien-italienisches Österreich?* Eds: Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig and Marco Meriggi. Vienna: 1999. 737-752.

Laboratorio di Storia di Rovereto. *Gli Spostati: Profughi, Flüchtlinge, Uprchlici: 1914-1919*. Vol. 1. Rovereto: Laboratorio di Storia di Rovereto, 2015.

Leoncini, Francesco. *Il Patto di Roma e la Legione Ceco-Slovacca: Tra Grande Guerra e Nuova Europa*. Kellermann, 2014.

Leoni, Diego e Camillo Zadra. *La città di legno: profughi trentini in Austria 1915-1918*. Trento, Temi, 1981.

Litta-Visconti-Arese. The Duke of. "Unredeemed Italy." *The North American Review* 206.743 (1917): 561-74.



Little, Branden. "State, Civil Society and Relief Organizations for War." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. September 22, 2015.

Lowe, C.J. "Britain and Italian Intervention, 1914-1915." *The Historical Journal* 12.3 (1969): 533-548.

Lunzer, Renate. "Making Sense of the War (Italy)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. July 28, 2015.

Magris, Claudio. *Il mito absburgico nella letteratura Austriaca moderna*. Roma: Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi. Roma, 1963.

Makela, Maria. "The Rise and Fall of the Flapper Dress: Nationalism and Anti-Semitism in Early-Twentieth-Century Discourses on German Fashion." *The Journal of Popular Culture* XXXIV.3 (2000): 183-208.

Malni, Paolo. *Gli Spostati: Profughi, Flüchtlinge, Uprchlici: 1914-1919*. Vol. 2. Rovereto: Laboratorio di Storia di Rovereto, 2015.

Malni, Paolo. "Il Rimpatrio dei profughi nel Friuli orientale (1918-1919)." *Il Territorio*. December 1998. 31-44.

Malni, Paolo. "Profughi in Austria e in Italia: Una Storia dei Vinti, Una Storia del Novecento." *La Violenza Contro la Popolazione Civile Nella Grande Guerra: Deportati, Profughi, Internati*. Comp. Bruna Bianchi. Milano: Unicopli, 2006. 95-113.

Mamatey, Albert. "The Situation in Austria-Hungary." *The Journal of Race Development* 6.2 (1915): 203-217.

Maranesi, Nicola. *Avanti Sempre: emozioni e ricordi della guerra di trincea, 1915-1918*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2014.

Marazzi, Alessandro. "Rifugiati." *L'Enciclopedia*. Vol. 17. Roma: La Biblioteca di Repubblica, 2003. 305.

Mascher, Daniel. "Profughi." *La Vita Quotidiana Durante la Prima Guerra Mondiale*. Bolzano: Sovrintendenza Scolastica, Settembre 2005.

Mentzel, W. *Kriegsflüchtlinge in Cisleithanien im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Dissertation. Geistwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien. Wien, 1997.

Micich, Marino, Linda Colosimo, and Emiliano Loria. *Il Giorno Del Ricordo: Istria Fiume Dalmazia, La Storia, le foibe e l'esodo*. Documentation from Archivio Museo storico di Fiume. Roma: Associazione per la Cultura fiumana, istriana e dalmata nel Lazio, 2009.

Moles, Marco, and Pavel Helan. *L'Unità' d'Italia: Un Intreccio di Storia Tra Tevere e Moldava?* Praga: Progetto RC. 2012.

Montefiore, Simon Sebag. "Extermination States: Review of Kramer's Dynamics of Destruction." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, 4 Nov. 2007. 20 Oct. 2015.

Morandi, Ruggero. *Profughi della Prima Guerra Mondiale*. Comune di Arco, Archivio Storico.

Morelon, Claire. "A Threat to National Unity? The Urban-Rural Antagonism in Prague during the First World War in a Comparative Perspective." *Österreich-Ungarns "Großer Krieg" Im Vergleich Frontwechsel*, 2014. 325-342.

Moretti, Enrico. "Social Networks and Migrations: Italy 1876-1913." *International Migration Review* 33.3 (1999): 640-57.

Moritz, Verena. "The Treatment of Prisoners of War in Austria-Hungary 1914/1915: The Historiography of Prisoners of War in the Late Habsburg Empire." In Bischof, Günter, and Ferdinand Karlhofer. *1914: Austria-Hungary, the Origins, and the First Year of World War I*. Innsbruck UP, UNO, 2014. 233-249.

Muigg, Mario. "The Austrian Federal Ministry of the Interior in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century." *SIAG-Journal: Zeitschrift für Polizeiwissenschaft und polizeiliche Praxis*. (3): March, 2013. 11-17.

Newman, John Paul. "Nationalism." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. September 8, 2015.

Nicolle, David. *The Italian Army of World War I*. Oxford: Osprey. 2003.

Ogg, Frederic A. *Towards a Central European Harmony*. *Current History*, vol. 40, n. 2/1934, pp. 238-242.

Okey, Robin. "Central Europe/Eastern Europe: Behind the Definitions." *Past & Present* (1992): 102-33.

Orzoff, Andrea. *Battle for the Castle: The Myth of Czechoslovakia in Europe, 1914-1948*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009.

Palla, Luciana. *Scritture di Donne: La memoria delle profughe trentine nella prima guerra mondiale*. DEP: Deportate, esuli, profughe. 2004.

Panayi, Panikos. "Imperial Collapse and the Creation of Refugees in Twentieth Century Europe." *Refugees and the End of Empire*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. 3-27.

Pánek, Jaroslav, Oldřich Tůma, and Et Alii. *A History of the Czech Lands*. Prague: Charles U, 2011.

Pavan, Camillo. *I Prigionieri Italiani dopo Caporetto*.

Patrouch, Joseph F. *Queen's Apprentice: Archduchess Elizabeth, Empress Maria, the Habsburgs, and the Holy Roman Empire, 1554-1569*. Vol 148. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

Pieropan, Gianni. *Storia Della Grande Guerra Sul Fronte Italiano: 1914-1918*. Milano: Mursia, 1988.

Pisa, Beatrice. "Propaganda at Home (Italy)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. July 28, 2015.

Polívková, Zdenka. "Tyrolství Italové na Chyňavsku v letech 1915-1919." *Minulosti Berounska 12*. Edited by Jiří Topinka. Státní okresní archiv Beroun, 2009. 69-91

Pogány, Ágnes. "War Finance (Austria-Hungary)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. August 4, 2015.

Pogány, Ágnes. "War Requirement Acts." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. August 12, 2015.

Procacci, Giuliano. *Storia Degli Italiani*. Vol. 1. Bari: Editori Laterza, 1968.

Procacci, Giuliano. *Storia Degli Italiani*. Vol. 2. Bari: Editori Laterza, 1968.

Proctor, Tammy M. "The Everyday as Involved in War." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. October 8, 2014.

Rechter, David. "Galicia in Vienna: Jewish Refugees in the First World War." *Austrian History Yearbook* 28 (1997): 113-130.

"Refugees." *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. *Encyclopedia.com*. 1968. September 25, 2015.

<<http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/refugee.aspx>>

Roberts, J.M., and Odd Arne Westad. *The Penguin History of the World*. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Penguin, 2013.

Rothenberg, Gunther E. *The Army of Francis Joseph*. West Lafayette, IN. Purdue University Press, 1998.

Roušar, Jaroslav. *The Czech Republic and its Professional Armed Forces*. Ministry of Defence of the Czech Republic. Prague: 2006.

Rogers, Lyman W. "On the Italian-Austrian Front." *Fine Arts Journal* 37.1 (1919): 5-10.

- Salza, Alberto. "Migrazioni." *L'Enciclopedia*. Vol. 13. Roma: La Biblioteca di Repubblica, 2003. 821-828.
- Salza, Alberto. "Profughi." *L'Enciclopedia*. Vol. 16. Roma: La Biblioteca di Repubblica, 2003. 579-580.
- Sannicoló. *Memorie d'un profugho*: 1915, novembre 16-1917, ottobre 6.
- Sayer, Derek. *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History*. New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1998.
- Šebková, Eva. *Italští uprchlíci ve školních kronikách bývalého politického okresu Boskovice*. Sborník muzea Blankso, 2004.
- Scheer, Tamara. "War Surveillance Office (Austria-Hungary)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. August 12, 2015.
- Scheuch, Hanno. "Austria 1918-55: From the First to the Second Republic." *Historical Journal* 32.1 (1989): 177-199.
- Schorske, Carl E. *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture*. New York: Vintage Books, 1981.
- Schrover, Marlou. "Migration and Mobility." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. September 18, 2015.
- Scolé, Pierluigi. "War Losses (Italy)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. September 22, 2015.
- Scott, James Brown. *The Hague Conventions and Declarations of 1899 and 1907, Accompanied by Tables of Signatures, Ratifications, and Adhesions of the Various Powers and Texts of Reservations*. New York: Oxford UP, 1915.
- Simpson, John Hope. "The Refugee Problem." *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1931-1939)* 17.5 (1938): 607-628.
- Simral, Vit. "The Habsburg Legacy: Rokkanian Perspectives on East Central European Politics between the Two Wars." *Review of History and Political Science* 2.2 (2014): 29-61.
- Sharp, Alan. "The Paris Peace Conference and its Consequences." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. September 18, 2015.
- Smith, Denis Mack. *Storia D'Italia: 1861-1958*. Vol 1. Bari: Laterza, 1964.
- Smith, Denis Mack. *Storia D'Italia: 1861-1958*. Vol 2. Bari: Laterza, 1964.

Sondhaus, Lawrence. "Civilian and Military Power." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. August 26, 2015.

Spitzer, Leo. *Lettere di Prigionieri di Guerra Italiani 1915-1918*. Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 1976.

Stiaccini, Carlo. "War Letters (Italy)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. July 29, 2015.

Stibbe, Matthew. "Enemy Aliens and Internment." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. July 28, 2015.

Stibbe, Matthew. "Enemy Aliens, Deportees, Refugees: Internment Practices in the Habsburg Empire, 1914-1918." *Journal of Modern European History* 12.4 (2014): 479-98.

Stola, Dariusz. "Forced Migrations in Central European History." *International Migration Review* 26.2 (1992): 324-341.

Stone, Norman. "Army and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1900-1914." *Past and Present* 33.1 (1966): 95-111.

"Storia." Opera Bonomelli. OperaBonomelli.it. 7 June 2012. 27 Oct. 2015.

<<http://www.operabonomelli.it/storia>>

Sweeney, Rennie. "Book Review: Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire." *The Vienna Review*. 30 May 2013. 11 Dec. 2015.

Taylor, A.J.P. *The Course of German History: A Survey of the Development of German History Since 1815*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Taylor, A.J.P. *The Habsburg Monarchy: 1809-1918*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1948.

The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920), "The Hague Convention Extending the Principles of the Red Cross Convention." *World Affairs Institute* 61.8 (September 1899): 194-95.

The Advocate of Peace (1894-1920), "The Hague Convention of July 29, 1899." *World Affairs Institute* 66.12 (December 1904): 225-226.

The American Journal of International Law, "Some Technical Points Regarding the Hague Conventions." *American Society of International Law* 9.1 (January 1915): 191-95.

Thorpe, Julie. "Displacing Empire: Refugee Welfare, National Activism, and State Legitimacy in Austria-Hungary in the First World War." In Panayi, Panikos and

- Virdee, Pippa (eds). *Refugees and the End of Empire*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. 102-126.
- Turnock, David. *The Economy of East Central Europe 1815-1989: Stages of Transformation in a Peripheral Region*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Valiani, Leo. "Italian – Austro-Hungarian Negotiations 1914-1915." *Journal of Contemporary History* 1.3 (1966): 113-136.
- Wandycz, Piotr S. *The Price of Freedom: A History of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Weiss, Paul. "The International Protection of Refugees." *The American Journal of International Law* 48.2 (1954): 193-221.
- Wheatcroft, Andrew. *The Enemy at the Gate: Habsburgs, Ottomans, and the Battle for Europe*. New York: Basic, 2009.
- Wilcox, Vanda. "Italian Front." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. October 8, 2014.
- Williamson, Jr., Samuel R. "War Aims and War Aims Discussions (Austria-Hungary)." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. August 4, 2015.
- Wingfield, Nancy M. *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2007.
- Winter, Jay. "Historiography 1918-Today." *1914-1918 Online: International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Section Editors Ute Daniela, Peter Gatrell, Heather Jones. September 18, 2015.
- Winter, Jay. *The Cambridge History of the First World War*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014.
- Wolfsgrüber, Cölestin. "The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 2. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907. 2 Dec. 2015. <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02121b.htm>>.