

Zgodovinski časopis

HISTORICAL REVIEW

ZČ | Ljubljana | 75 | 2021 | št. 3-4 (164) | str. 303–588



Javier Á. Domingo and Luigi Finocchietti, *Saint Jerome in Rome. Historical and Archaeological Hypotheses* • Vesna Badurina Stipčević, *Le Vite e la Traslazione di san Girolamo nei testi croato-glagolitiici* • Andrej Nared, *Der brief ist nicht ausganngen. Razmišljanja o(b) zlati buli, ki je Kranjci niso dobili* • Izidor Janžekovič, *Etnični »stereotipi« v zgodnjenovoveški Evropi: ruska in turška narodna noša* • Martin Boček, *Cunard Line and its operations within the Habsburg Monarchy* • Gary B. Cohen, *Historical Scholarship on the Habsburg Monarchy (1526–1918) in North America* • Irena Selišnik, *Status državljanstva ob nastanku nove Države SHS. Strategije izbire* • Aleš Gabrič, *Prepoved izida romana Branka Hofmana ali šestletna noč do poznega jutra*

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Ljubljana

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Redakcija tega zvezka je bila zaključena 2. novembra 2021.

Prevodi: Saša Mlacović (angleščina, nemščina)

Oblikovanje in oprema: Vesna Vidmar

Sedež uredništva in uprave: Oddelek za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani,
Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija, tel.: (01) 241-1200,
e-pošta: info@zgodovinskicasopis.si; <http://www.zgodovinskicasopis.si>

Letna naročnina: za leto/letnik 2021: za nečlane in zavode 32 €, za društvene člane 24 €,
za društvene člane – upokojence 18 €, za društvene člane – študente 12 €.
Cena tega zvezka v prosti prodaji je 16 € (z vključenim DDV).

Naročnina za tujino znaša za ustanove 45 €, za posameznike 35 €
in za študente 25 €.

Plačuje se na transakcijski račun: SI 56020 1 000 12083935
Zveza Zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana,
Slovenija
Nova Ljubljanska banka, d.d., Trg Republike 2, 1520 Ljubljana LJBAS12X

Sofinancirajo: Publikacija izhaja s finančno pomočjo Javne agencije za raziskovalno
dejavnost RS

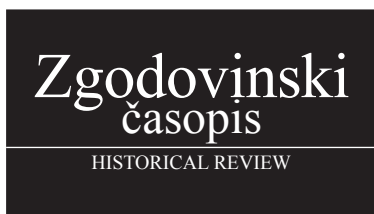
Prelom: ABO grafika d.o.o. – zanj Igor Kogelnik

Tisk: ABO grafika d.o.o., Ljubljana, december 2021

Naklada: 780 izvodov

Zgodovinski časopis je evidentiran v naslednjih mednarodnih podatkovnih
bazah: Scopus, European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH),
Historical Abstracts, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences,
ABC CLIO, America: History and Life, Bibliography of the History of Art,
Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies.

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ISSN 0350-5774	
UDK	949.712(05)
UDC	

BULLETIN OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SLOVENIA (HAS)

International Editorial Board: Kornelija Ajlec, PhD, (SI), Tina Bahovec, PhD, (SI), Bojan Balkovec, PhD, (SI) (Technical Editor), Rajko Bratož, PhD, (SI), Ernst Bruckmüller, PhD, (AT), Liliana Ferrari, PhD, (IT), Ivo Goldstein, PhD, (HR), Žarko Lazarević, PhD, (SI), Dušan Mlacović, PhD, (SI) (Deputy Editor-in-Charge), Božo Repe, PhD, (SI), Franc Rozman, PhD, (SI), Janez Stergar (SI), Imre Szilágyi, PhD, (H), Peter Štih, PhD, (SI) (Editor-in-Chief), Marta Verginella, PhD, (SI), Peter Vodopivec, PhD, (SI), Marija Wakounig, PhD, (AT)

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The editing of this issue was completed on November 2, 2021.

Translated by: Saša Mlacović (English, German)

Design: Vesna Vidmar

Headquarters and Mailing Address: Oddelek za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia, phone: +386 1 241-1200, e-mail: info@zgodovinskiasopis.si; <http://www.zgodovinskiasopis.si>

Annual Subscription Fee (for 2021): non-members and institutions 32 €, HAS members 24 €, retired HAS members 18 €, student HAS members 12 €.

Price: 16 € (VAT included).

Subscription Fee: foreign institutions 45 €, individual subscription 35 €, student subscription 25 €

Transaction Account Number: SI 56020 1 000 12083935
Zveza Zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, Aškerčeva 2, 1000 Ljubljana,
Nova Ljubljanska banka, d.d., Trg Republike 2,
1520 Ljubljana LJBAS12X

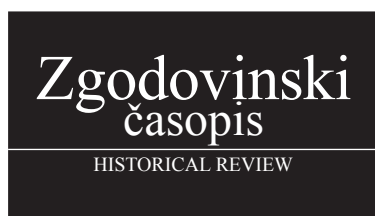
Co-Financed by: Slovenian Research Agency

Printed by: ABO grafika d.o.o., Ljubljana, December 2021

Print Run: 780 copies

Historical Review is included in the following international databases: Scopus, European Reference Index for the Humanities (ERIH), Historical Abstracts, International Bibliography of the Social Sciences, ABC CLIO, America: History and Life, Bibliography of the History of Art, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies.

<http://www.zgodovinskiasopis.si>
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ISSN 0350-5774	
UDK	949.712(05)
UDC	

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Razprave

Martin Boček

Cunard Line and its operations within the Habsburg Monarchy

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Cunard Line and its operations within the Habsburg Monarchy

The article depicts and analyses shipping in the Habsburg Monarchy. It is closely related to the overseas companies, one of which was Cunard Line. This shipping company was founded in the 19th century and as one of the first with other shipping companies occupied an important position in emigration traffic from the European continent. Thanks to the established shipping lines to North American ports, especially to New York, the company soon began the focus on the transport of migrants from Austria-Hungary and could also build large steamboats designed for migration transport.

Key words: Cunard Line, Trieste, Rijeka, Habsburg Empire, Emigration

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Cunard Line in njeno delovanje v habsburški monarhiji

Članek opisuje in analizira plostvo v habsburški monarhiji. Poblížje obravnava prekomorske družbe, ena izmed njih je Cunard Line. Omenjeno pomorsko podjetje je bilo ustanovljeno v 19. stoletju in skupaj z nekaterimi drugimi je imelo pomembno vlogo pri emigraciji iz Evrope. Zahvaljujoč uveljavljenim povezavam s severnoameriškimi pristanišči, posebej z New Yorkom, se je družba kmalu osredotočila na prevoz migrantov iz Avstro-Ogrske in gradnjo velikih parnikov za njihov transport.

Ključne besede: Cunard Line, Trst, Reka, habsburško cesarstvo, emigracija.

Introduction¹

The topic of emigration and the diverse methods of migrant transportation is one which is becoming increasingly topical today, in particular in regard to ongoing migration processes. Population movement has always been a part of human nature, and the question which remains is only about distance travelled, and how migrants are admitted to destination countries. The issue of migration from the Old Continent in the 19th and early 20th century is closely related to socioeconomic processes which occurred both in Europe and the United States of America, where the largest number of migrants headed at the start of the 20th century. In the past, religious, political and especially economic reasons played their role, and were usually behind a decision to emigrate. The large flows of people who wanted to travel overseas offered a lot of room for competition for potential customers from the second half of the 19th century to shipping companies, with migration itself becoming increasingly important and essentially turning into the core business for individual shipping lines.

Beginning in the 1880s, the Habsburg Monarchy represented one of the source countries of migrants, and on their journey overseas its citizens could choose from a number of shipping lines which offered different services and ticket prices. One of the largest companies providing passenger transport from the very beginning of the period of mass migration out of Europe and which had offices in the Habsburg Monarchy was *Cunard Line*. Its ships regularly sailed from British ports from the first half of the 19th century, and its founder, Samuel Cunard, was one of the first to realise the opportunity available in transporting passengers. The company led for many years in transporting emigrants to the USA in particular, and it offered its services initially to Irish passengers. Over time, company representatives began to seek new markets, mainly due to a fall in emigrants from Western Europe. Emigrants from Southern, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe began to take their place in terms of emigrant numbers, most of whom were from Italy, Russia and the Habsburg Monarchy.²

The monarchy's liberal system and developed legal system meant that following 1867 there were no major delays involved in deciding to leave the monarchy and move to another country, including overseas. For most of the second half of the 19th

¹ This study has been produced under the Student Grant System *Selected problems in the history of sailing from the Habsburg Monarchy overseas* (SGS-2018-24) at the Department of Historical Sciences, Faculty of Arts, University of West Bohemia in Pilsen.

² Boček, *S naději za oceán*. p. 29.

century, governments in Vienna took a fairly lax position in regard to emigration, with most effort going into monitoring and restricting if necessary companies involved in agitation, i.e. in attempting to persuade the monarchy's citizens into unconsidered emigration. However, with the increasing "emigration fever" at the start of the 20th century, all European countries including the Habsburg Monarchy, looked to resolve the increasing emigration, mainly by combating emigration propaganda. There was also the question of the wording of the emigration laws within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, as these were not entirely explicit. Issues arose as to whether citizens were directly entitled to being issued with a passport, with holding a passport authorising monarchy citizens to emigrate. Central authorities were essentially of the opinion that citizens did not have express legal entitlement to issuance of a passport, although in practice where citizens were not facing prosecution and were not subject to military service, they were entitled to freely travel and there was no reason not to issue them with a passport. Thus, the Habsburg Monarchy created the space and very good conditions for individual shipping lines to offer their services to potential emigrants. In 1897, a law was written which would have directly prohibited the work of emigration agencies, and restricted the sale of steerage tickets and advertising encouraging emigration. In the end, the decree never came into force, but the state apparatus did begin to undertake more checks on emigration out of the monarchy, and by the time the First World War broke out there had been a number of anti-emigration laws discussed in the Vienna parliament.³ It wasn't until the First World War broke out that the freedom to emigrate finally ended, with the monarchy gradually enforcing strict passport control at its borders and the issuance of passports being restricted.

Compared to the Hungarian laws, Cisleithanian laws were considered more liberal, with liberalisation of Transleithanian emigration laws not really occurring until the start of the 20th century. Although in March 1903 a restrictive patent restricting emigration passed the Hungarian parliament, in the end its provisions were not implemented and instead emigration laws became more liberal in Hungary, despite the warnings of former Hungarian Prime Minister, Kálmán Tisza. The changes in Hungary's emigration laws, however, were closely related to the establishment of the *Cunard Line* route directly from the Habsburg Monarchy to ports on the American coast in the first decade of the 20th century, i.e. a time which was the essential culmination of emigration out of the Old Continent to the USA.⁴

Cunard Line enters the stage

Cunard Line was one of the first shipping lines to implement regular sea routes between Europe and North America. Until the mid-19th century, regular ferry services were not common, with ships waiting in port until they were full and only

³ Bednar, *Österreichische Auswanderung*, p. 43.

⁴ Dubrovic, *Emigration*, p. 61.

then setting sail. This changed in October 1817 when a company called the *New York Packet Company* was established, its ships sailing the route between New York and Liverpool departing on a precisely determined day and time. Another company which began offering similar services was *Black Ball Line*.⁵ Samuel Cunard, whose ancestors had come from the city of Krefeld in Germany and had arrived in North America in 1683 with the original surname of Kunders and whose family had eventually anglicised their name to Cunard, also began to take an interest in the regular transportation of passengers and post.⁶ Some of his family then moved to Canada to remain loyal to the British Crown; Samuel Cunard himself was born in Nova Scotia in 1787. He was still quite young when he got involved in the family business, and ran *Abraham Cunard & Sohn* with his father from 1808, a company which was focused on the trade in iron ore, coal and wood and which owned a number of ships for transporting these materials.⁷

Later, in 1833, Samuel Cunard set up the new *Halifax Steam Navigation Company* with his two brothers, which began providing passenger and mail transport between Quebec and cities on the East Coast. The company's ships were so strong that they were even able to cross the Atlantic Ocean. This fact helped them to gain a lucrative contract for carrying mail between Europe and the New World, with another Cunard company being set up for this purpose, originally called the *British and North American Royal Mail Steam Packet Company*, in 1837.⁸ Thus from 1840, Cunard was able to run a subsidised mail route, for which he received a sum of £55,000 annually. He subsequently invested this sum in building new high-quality steamships, prioritising safety and speed in particular. The British Admiralty, however, which paid the grant, doubted that the ships would be built on time. Cunard made use of his contacts and his entrepreneurial spirit, convincing British officials and acquiring a contract for 7 years.⁹ On 4 July 1840, the modern *Britannia* ship and Cunard's combined steamships were deployed on the regular line between Liverpool and Boston. These ships were equipped steam boilers and sails, and were able to complete the journey in around two weeks, compared to the standard 40 days for ships powered only by sails.¹⁰ On this sailing, the steamship carried 63 passengers and the sailing took 12 days, with the *Britannia* arriving in Halifax a few days before its planned arrival time.¹¹

The subsequent period saw an upswing for the company, with Cunard investing in buying more ships and setting up new routes, while also managing to hold on to speed records. Following his death in 1865, his heirs took over his share of the company. The company subsequently lost a profitable subsidy for mail transportation, and was also facing stiff competition in the transportation of migrants. In

⁵ Laakso, *Across the Oceans*, pp. 55–57.

⁶ Thiel, *175 Jahre Cunard*, p. 8.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 10.

⁸ Hyde, *Cunard*, p. 8.

⁹ Wiese, *Giganten der Meere*, pp. 37–38.

¹⁰ Hyde, *Cunard*, p. 15.

¹¹ Thiel, *175 Jahre Cunard*, pp. 8–14.

order to survive, the company was reorganised in 1879 and renamed the *Cunard Steamship Company*, or the *Cunard Line* for short. Despite some difficulties, the company managed to do well overall and remained one of the largest shipping companies, although in the early 20th century American banker John Pierpont Morgan began to invest in shipping transport. Morgan purchased other shipping lines, creating a syndicate called the *International Mercantile Marine Co.*, into which he also wanted to incorporate the *Cunard Line*. The company found itself in a tricky position, but the British government stepped in, providing a grant, and the shipping line acquired funds for building new steamships, as well as annual grants to run them. *Cunard Line* subsequently invested in the two fastest steamships of their time, the *Mauretania* and *Lusitania*. The former held the record for the fastest sailing of the Atlantic Ocean for 22 years, and in the period prior to the First World War the company was one of the largest transportation companies in the world.¹²

Cunard Line in the Habsburg Monarchy

Due to its position in Central Europe, emigrants from the Habsburg Monarchy preferred the German ports of Hamburg and Bremen, with Antwerp, Rotterdam, Le Havre and Liverpool alternatives. Due to poorer accessibility and distance, ports in the south of the continent found themselves at a disadvantage, and this was the case for both Trieste and Rijeka. British ports were also less-used by emigrants due to their distance and entry requirements for emigrants from other European countries. The British company *Cunard Line*, was also focused on transporting its own, mainly Irish, emigrants and emigrants from Scandinavia. Nevertheless, with increasing migration from the Habsburg Monarchy, European shipping lines began to focus increasing attention on the area, endeavouring to establish themselves on its market.

Due to the Habsburg Monarchy's dual system, each part of the empire organised its shipping transport essentially independently. Over time, the monarchy's two most important ports, Trieste and Rijeka, became established, having acquired the status of free ports in 1719, with ships able to sail there without hindrance.¹³ While Vienna focused on its port in Trieste, the government in Budapest directed its attention to Rijeka (Fiume): "From 1872, the Budapest government invested around 13 million gulden [equivalent to 155 million Euro] in its main port, and the port was also linked by railway to Budapest via the city of Karlovac in 1873, connecting it up to the European rail network."¹⁴ The government provided systematic support to linking the port to other European ports, and businessman Luigi Ossoinack decided to make use of this positive environment when he returned to his native Rijeka in 1873. He had previously co-operated with British companies, including the *Cunard Line*, establishing important contacts for the future. The Bu-

¹² Long, *The Story of Transportation*, p. 29.

¹³ Szilley, *Österreichs volkswirtschaftliche Interessen*, p. 12.

¹⁴ Gatscher-Riedl, *Rot Weiss Rot*, p. 18.

dapest government wanted to invest funds in its national enterprise which would create a counterbalance to *Österreichischer Lloyd*. Thus, the *Adria Steamship Company* was founded in Rijeka, focused mainly on freight transport and ports in the Mediterranean and Western Europe.¹⁵ With increasing migration from the monarchy, Rijeka became of increasing interest to professional emigration agencies, although Rijeka's representatives did not want to support such business, mainly out of fear of transiting migrants, but in 1903 the Hungarian government decided to begin talks with *Cunard Line* about a regular route between Rijeka and New York.¹⁶

For some time, the Budapest government had discussed the issue of regulating emigration and managing emigration flow through their domestic port because they were aware of the financial losses involved in not taking part in migrant transportation with most Hungarian emigrants heading to the USA via the port in Genoa at the beginning of the 20th century. Although Hungarian representatives attempted to find their own carrier to secure the transportation of emigrants, the only Hungarian company which could be considered was *Adria*, a company set up in 1882 and focused mainly on freight transport. Although it was now operating a regular route to Latin America, it did not have the capacity needed to transport a large number of people to the USA. As such, in September 1903 the Hungarian Prime Minister authorised a temporary permit for *Cunard Line* for the route to New York. The agreement also originally involved close co-operation between *Cunard* and *Adria*, in order to pacify domestic public opinion. The original draft contracts included a plan to create one company, called *Cunard-Adria Line*, which was also designed to mitigate the fact that the Hungarian government was awarding this profit-making project to a foreign company, but due to mutual disagreements, the planned company was not set up in 1904.¹⁷ What remained was continuing co-operation in terms of business representation. *Cunard* agreed with the Hungarian government and *Adria* representatives that their information offices would co-operate with each other, something that was mainly of benefit to *Cunard*, because *Adria* had a number of agencies in many smaller Transleithanian towns.¹⁸ Since 1878, the Budapest government had also been able to regulate transportation of its Hungarian migrants on the basis of an agreement with the government in Vienna, and did not have to allow Austrian companies onto its market.¹⁹

At the end of September 1903, Hungarian government representative and Commissioner for Emigration Issues, Bele Gonde, arrived in Rijeka to complete the arranged agreement with *Cunard Line*.²⁰ The final version was signed by both parties in 1904, representing a fundamental step towards the Hungarian government creating a line for emigrants in Rijeka, in co-operation with the British company, and for a change in emigration laws channelling a large proportion of migrants from

¹⁵ Ibid. pp. 19–21.

¹⁶ Bednar, *Österreichische Auswanderung*, p. 160.

¹⁷ State Archives in Rijeka ("SAR"), S. A. *Adria*, no. 184/34.

¹⁸ Dubrovic, *Emigration*, p. 99.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 101.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 99.

the monarchy through the domestic port.²¹ It also suited the Budapest government that at the end of 1903, *Cunard Line* left the *North Atlantic Conference* cartel which the other large companies transporting migrants were involved in.²² Opponents of the agreement with a foreign company tried to express the wish to involve their own company, called the *Hungarian Company for Maritime and River Navigation*, because as they said: “In the end, healthy competition can be nothing more than of benefit for emigrants and for our city [Rijeka] as a whole.”²³ *White Star Line* was also planning to get into the market, earmarking three ships for a route between Mediterranean ports and the USA. Rijeka was to be one of its stops, but in the end the company did not implement their plan.²⁴ The already-operating Austrian company, *Vereinigte Österreichische Schiffahrts-Aktien-Gesellschaft*, *vormals Austro-Americana & Fratelli Cosulich*, or *Austro-Americana* in short, was also to be neutralised, demonstrating the rivalry within the dual monarchy.

Expert in ship transportation, liberal politician and landowner, Baron Friedrich Weichs-Glon: “The government made an error in allowing a contract to be concluded with *Cunard Line* to establish a licensed emigration connection from Trieste, instead of offering a hand and securing its own privileged position with its own shipping company working with the greatest effort, which is all the more important because the Hungarian government has prohibited *Austro-Americana* from picking up migrants in Rijeka.”²⁵ Hungary’s government subsequently rescinded the ban on *Austro-Americana* ships picking up Hungarian emigrants.²⁶ There was a large protest against *Cunard Line* and the Transleithanian government from German companies *Hamburg Amerikanische Packetfahrt Actien Gesellschaft (HAPAG)* and *Norddeutscher Lloyd*, because they perceived the monarchy as within their sphere of influence, and they managed to at least limit the operation of their British rival in Trieste. It would seem that these companies were partially behind a newspaper campaign which was launched following the relaxation of the Transleithanian emigration laws.²⁷ The companies organised under the *North Atlantic Conference* responded in kind to the hostile advertising against the British company. One objective was to influence the American government, which was determining its immigration policy by claiming that passengers from Rijeka, i.e. mainly immigrants, were in breach of American immigration laws. The German companies saw a problem in the fact that the British company had received guarantees from the Hungarian government which included permission to carry emigrants from Transleithania, but only where they emigrate using the domestic port of Rijeka. Articles were published in the United States of America warning

²¹ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, Abteilung Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (“OeStA/HHStA”), Ministerium des Äussern (1784–1924), Administrative Registratur (1830–1924), Aus und Einwanderung (1870–1919), Generalia E-G (1903–1914), F15, no. 31.

²² Riedl, *Die Organisation der Auswanderung*, p. 10.

²³ Dubrovic, *Emigration*, p. 99.

²⁴ SAR, Province of Pomorania, Ugarsko-hrvatsko primorje in Rijeka 1870–1918, no. 439.

²⁵ Weichs-Glon, *Österreichische Schiffahrtspolitik*, p. 32.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Riedl, *Die Organisation der Auswanderung*, p. 11.

against open immigration from Hungary, which directly spoke of an invasion of “Huns” from Hungary, such as a 1904 article entitled *That Invasion of the Huns*.²⁸ There was also concern about Hungarian emigration from some American politicians who feared problems with increased criminality. These were headed by American senator, Henry Cabot Lodge, who said that, “it is in absolute contravention of our public policy to allow any government to conclude a contract in this charter with transport companies who transport immigrants to the USA. Although the Hungarian government claims that it does not want its own people to emigrate, when they are actually emigrating it wants them to emigrate from their own Hungarian ports and under their own control, which will naturally result, as anyone can see, that only the worst of the Hungarian population shall come here from Hungary.”²⁹ The governments in Budapest and Vienna subsequently protested against this claim via their representative in Washington, Ladislaus Hengelmüller von Hengervárs. In his letters to the Foreign Minister, he spoke of Senator Lodge as a fanatic, and managed to convince politicians in the USA that there would be no invasion of “Huns”.³⁰

In the end, nothing stood in the way of setting up regular routes from Habsburg Monarchy ports to North America, and *Cunard Line* began a successful steamship operation on the route in November 1903. It deployed 11 ships on the line, with a company steamship leaving Rijeka every other Friday. The sailing to the American coast usually took 18 days, with three ships of the company’s fleet always sailing the route at any particular time.³¹ On 20 October 1903, the steamship *Aurania* sailed out of New York with 349 passengers on board heading for Rijeka and Trieste. The steamship was one of the oldest in the *Cunard* fleet, having been launched in 1883, and it could carry 500 passengers in first and second class, with 700 places for third-class passengers.³² Following a successful sailing, it set out on its return journey from the Adriatic coast on 10 November 1903 from Trieste, arriving in Rijeka on the same day, from where it headed for New York. Along the route, the steamship stopped in Venice, Palermo, Algiers port and Gibraltar. The British company’s regular service began with this first return journey. There were just 53 passengers on board, with the fault for this lying with *Adria* agents, who it was claimed did not promote *Cunard Line* enough.³³ There were problems with low passenger numbers from the very beginning of the regular service. The company considered the line quite important, and endeavoured to promote it and ensure it was full, as demonstrated by the fact that the shipping line deployed one of the most modern ships in its fleet to the route. On 18 December 1903, the *Carpathia* left Rijeka. This was a completely new steamship, having only been finished in May 1903, and its equipment, including a modern *Marconi* wireless telegraph, was

²⁸ New York Herald, 28 April 1904.

²⁹ Congressional Report, 23 April 1904.

³⁰ OeStA/HHStA, Ministerium des Äusseren 1735–1924, Administrative Registratur, Aus- und Einwanderung 1904–1918, F 15, no. 48.

³¹ Dubrovic, *Emigration*, p. 97.

³² *Ibid.* p. 41.

³³ Weichs-Glon, *Österreichische Schifffahrtspolitik*, p. 38.

amongst the shipping company's best. On the same day that the *Carpathia* set out for New York, the *Aurania* sailed from the American coast. At the start of the following year, *Cunard Line* added a third steamship, with the *Carpathia* temporarily assigned to a different route.³⁴

Due to continuing problems of poor use of the capacity of the routes, *Cunard* did not subsequently resist conclusion of an agreement regarding further closer co-operation with *Adria*, which transported passengers to European ports and also had offices there.³⁵ The previously signed agreement on stops in Trieste did not help *Cunard Line* either, because here they faced competition from *Austro-Americana*, behind which were German companies, meaning they were able to offer customers cheaper carriage than their British rival. In summer 1904, there was a change in the agreement such that *Cunard Line* finally had a monopoly in transporting Hungarian emigrants from the Transleithanian part of the monarchy. In return, the company promised to pay 10 crowns into an emigration fund for helping emigrants for every emigrant they carried. The Hungarian government again pledged to pay financial compensation if the company's transport capacity was not filled, a figure which was estimated at 30,000 passengers carried per annum. This was subject of great criticism: "That part of the contract on compensation seems almost fraudulent, resulting in the fatal expulsion of *Austro-Americana* from the Austrian market. Since [Cunard Line] receives 100 marks for every passenger if their quota is not met, yet the company can still pick up passengers in Greek, Italian and Spanish ports, this will also eventually lead to a loss of motivation to properly look after the local company."³⁶ *Austro-Americana* did not have a similar agreement with Vienna, although it would have appreciated one. Nevertheless, despite the protests, *Cunard Line* did not back down in regard to compensation. The government in Budapest had to pay compensation in 1907, when the prevailing economic crisis led to a rapid fall in emigration to the USA.³⁷

Over time, newer and faster steamships were deployed on the route, although these did not offer much comfort for passengers in the higher classes.³⁸ Although *Cunard Line* advertised that they offered more comfortable carriage for their passengers and emigrants were treated as third-class passengers because the company did not offer steerage tickets like other shipping lines, this also meant they were unable to reduce their price by much. This fact did not mean, however, that emigrants had higher comfort than they would have had in the ships of other companies who sold steerage tickets, for example. *Cunard Line* only used dividers to separate up that section of its steamships for emigrants, creating something approximating smaller cabins.³⁹ The steamships *Cephalonia* and *Pavonia* were deployed on the route in 1903, and the *Catalonia* was also to be deployed too, but in the end it was

³⁴ Dubrovic, *Emigration*, p. 101.

³⁵ Butler, *The Age of Cunard*, p. 197.

³⁶ Riedl, *Die Organisation der Auswanderung*, p. 16.

³⁷ Bednar, *Österreichische Auswanderung*, p. 161.

³⁸ Dubrovic, *Emigration*, p. 41.

³⁹ Markitan, *Triest als Auswandererhafen*, p. 17.

decommissioned before it could begin sailing this regular route and was replaced by the *Saxony*. Over time, all the steamships on the line were replaced, and the route was subsequently mainly served by the *Carpathia*, *Ultonia*⁴⁰ and *Pannonia* ships.⁴¹ Most *Cunard* ships deployed on this route held roughly 2,000 passengers, and over the course of a few years, the company managed to build up a stable transportation route, with regular departures of ships via the ports in Trieste and Rijeka.⁴² By mid-1904, in addition to the lines to New York and Boston, *Cunard Line* also had a regular connection to New Orleans.⁴³ Most passengers boarded in Trieste and Rijeka, with the steamships also stopping in Venice, Genoa, Naples, Palermo and Gibraltar, although the route of certain ships was gradually changed so that these stopped only in Palermo, mostly in order to restock, although according to Italian law third-class passengers were not allowed to board there. On the return route, the steamships most frequently stopped in Naples, and although Rijeka was a much smaller port than Trieste and *Cunard* tickets were more expensive, many more people boarded its steamships in Rijeka than in Trieste.⁴⁴

The ships *Pannonia* and *Slavonia* sailed the route most frequently, with the latter getting into difficulties in June 1909 on its route from New York to Trieste. Following seven days of sailing, it passed by Flores, one of the Azores islands, accidentally running into a rock, which ripped its hull open. The ship's lower decks began to fill with water, and the steamship could not go any further, although the ship did not sink. The crew sent out a distress call, and the following day the *Cunard Line*'s *Batavia* and *Norddeutscher Lloyd*'s *Prinzess Irene* steamships arrived at the stricken ship. The passengers and crew boarded these other ships, but the *Slavonia* was lost, with subsequent attempts at rescuing it failing, and it sank.⁴⁵ There were no other major disasters on the route. Over time, the fact that it was mostly only English-speaking crew working on the steamships began to become a disadvantage for emigrants, as it often resulted in many problems in communication.⁴⁶

With further modifications to their agreement on 20 April 1904, a directive came into force containing addenda on technical matters such as size of ship, passenger safety, accommodation and catering for emigrants in Rijeka, which was paid for by *Cunard Line* during the two-day wait for the ship to sail. In the event that the ship's capacity was not enough for all passengers, the company had to pay railway fares to another port and a sailing from there for New York for these passengers, all to be covered in the price of the *Cunard* ticket. On 6 October 1904, for example, a special train left Rijeka carrying 1,500 passengers for Antwerp, where they boarded

⁴⁰ The ship was rebuilt in 1904 from a freight steamship, subsequently providing up to 2100 places for passengers in third class. Butler, *The Age of Cunard*, p. 197.

⁴¹ Miller, *Picture History*, p. 7.

⁴² Butler, *The Age of Cunard*, p. 197.

⁴³ Kalc, Aleksej: Trieste as a Port of Emigration from East and Southeast Europe. *East Central Europe in Exile. Transatlantic Migrations*. Cambridge, 2013, p. 130.

⁴⁴ Dubrovic, *Emigration*, p. 101.

⁴⁵ Butler, *The Age of Cunard*, p. 198.

⁴⁶ Markitan, *Triest als Auswandererhafen*, p. 18.

the *Carpathia*.⁴⁷ Transporting passengers by rail, however, was not cost-effective and the company preferred to transfer passengers to the *Austro-Americana* ship, with *Cunard Line* paying for their transport for its own profits, since this remained more beneficial to them.⁴⁸ Another example of a way the company also tried to avoid financial losses was by giving out a form for passengers to fill in before the ship departed, which they would have to hand in when they arrived in America. If the passengers were illiterate, then a company employee would fill it in with them, thus avoiding any of their passengers from not being accepted in the USA. In addition to standard questions on personal data and health, the questionnaire also focused on literacy, how the funds for the journey were attained, and any political sympathies.⁴⁹

Other Transleithanian regulations, like Cisleithanian regulations, involved restricting travel for young men subject to military service. According to points in the agreement between the government and *Cunard*, fixed costs for ticket prices were clearly determined, with travel on ships with a maximum speed of 15 knots costing 180 crowns, and faster ships costing 200 crowns, while the trip was half price for children up to 12 years of age.⁵⁰ The agreement contained a total of 31 clearly defined paragraphs. On the basis of Paragraph 3, for example, the company was not allowed to deploy smaller ships on the route to New York with an internal volume of under 10,000 GRT⁵¹, and according to Paragraph 13m officials of the Habsburg Monarchy were to receive a discount on tickets of 25 % for transportation in first or second class to the USA.⁵² The agreement also stated that *Cunard Line* ships had to purchase food for the journey to North America at the port in Rijeka, representing great support for local traders.⁵³ There were special provisions regarding the restriction of emigration to Brazil in order to protect the interests of Hungarian company *Adria*, which operated a route there, to prevent it from making losses.⁵⁴

Cunard Line had to observe the determined rules even for Cisleithanian citizens boarding in Trieste. Hungarian Prime Minister István Tisza submitted the final agreement to parliament on 25 July 1904, valid for 10 years. According to a Budapest decree, all Transleithanian emigrants to North America were ideally to travel to North America via Rijeka with *Cunard Line*; thus the company acquired a monopoly position on the Transleithanian market.⁵⁵ Hungary's government also supported emigration via its own port through ensuring that when boarding at Rijeka,

⁴⁷ OeStA/HHStA, Ministerium des Äusseren (1784–1924), Administrative Registratur (1830–1924), Aus und Einwanderung (1870–1919), Transporte 1, 2 (1. Teil), Spezielle Fälle 136–212, F 15, no. 43.

⁴⁸ State Archives in Pazin ("SAP"), Archivisko gradivo 1868–1918, Kotarsko poglavarstvo (kapetanat) u Pazinu, no. 27.

⁴⁹ Chmelar, *Höhepunkte*, p. 54.

⁵⁰ Dubrovic, *Emigration*, p. 101.

⁵¹ Gross register tonnage (GRT), a unit used for expressing ship internal volume.

⁵² OeStA/HHStA, Ministerium des Äusseren (1784–1924), Administrative Registratur (1830–1924), Aus und Einwanderung (1870–1919), Transporte 1, 2 (1. Teil), Spezielle Fälle 136–212, F 15, no. 43.

⁵³ Kraljic, *Croatian Migration*, p. 55.

⁵⁴ SAR, Parobrodarsko društvo *Adria*, no. 184/22.

⁵⁵ SAR, Ugarsko-Hrvatsko Primorje in Rijeka, no. 2853/3–183.

emigrants needed only an emigration passport, whilst if they wanted to use other ports outside Transleithania, they were stopped by the border police who then subjected them to inspection and forced them to use Rijeka as their point of departure. Through this act, the government clearly favoured *Cunard Line*.⁵⁶ On the return journey, the company's steamships stopped at the first stop in Trieste, where most passengers from the USA disembarked and they continued on to Rijeka by train. This fact meant that the port in Trieste clearly dominated in terms of statistics on remigration.⁵⁷ However, although the first stop on the route to the USA was Trieste, most passengers boarded at the second stop in Rijeka. In the final years prior to the outbreak of World War One, the ships were often completely full, mainly due to higher rewards for emigration agents, and as such the route between Rijeka and Antwerp, where other *Cunard* steamships sailed west, was subsequently boosted. According to calculations, this route option would not be more expensive.⁵⁸

Thus massive and systematically organised emigration via the port in Rijeka started following the signing of the agreement between the Transleithanian government and *Cunard Line*, leading to growth in migration via Rijeka. An emigration hotel was set up there for 2,000 emigrants, located on the road between the train station and the port, but because it did not have enough capacity, other accommodation was built, providing accommodation for up to 500 people, with emigrants having bathrooms, a dining room, store with clothing and other goods, barber and newspaper vendor available to them.⁵⁹ However, *Cunard Line* did not build enough accommodation capacity for passengers boarding in Trieste, where customers often found private accommodation in a number of small inns. In 1913, the company was invited to secure a sufficient amount of new accommodation: "Cunard Line was invited to secure accommodation for its emigrants and to end the terribly unhygienic conditions which truly threaten the outbreak of an epidemic."⁶⁰

Transport via the ports of Trieste and Rijeka represented just a small proportion of the emigrants from Austria-Hungary. According to 1910 statistics, roughly 70 % of Austro-Hungarian emigrants to the USA travelled via Germany, 20 % via Belgium, Holland, Italy and France, and the remainder, i.e. 10 %, used the ports in the monarchy's south. These figures did not change much until the outbreak of the First World War.⁶¹ However, the importance of the Austro-Hungarian ports grew rapidly at the start of the 20th century, and roughly 25 % of all European emigrants overseas travelled via the ports of Trieste and Rijeka, with the largest proportion in this data comprising people from the Hungarian part of the monarchy and from Russia. A larger number of people left via Rijeka and sailed on *Austro-Americana* vessels, with less travelling on *Cunard Line* ships.

⁵⁶ Riedl, *Die Organisation der Auswanderung*, p. 11.

⁵⁷ Kalc, *Trieste as a Port*, p. 131.

⁵⁸ Dubrovic, *Emigration*, p. 38.

⁵⁹ Bednar, *Österreichische Auswanderung*, p. 163.

⁶⁰ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien, Abteilung Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv-Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv ("OeStA/AVA"), Handelsministerium, Schifffahrt (1906–1917), Auswanderung und Rückwanderung (Aw), Zl. 23001-31000, no. 1883.

⁶¹ English, *Die österreichische Auswanderungsstatistik*, p. 77.

Cartels

The subsequent promotion of all companies in Eastern and Southern Europe led to a continuous growth in emigrant numbers, although the *Cunard Line* route from Trieste and Rijeka was not always full. Especially when the company was beginning in Hungary, it had problems from German companies in particular who perceived the Habsburg Monarchy as under their sphere of influence. *HAPAG* and *NDL* subsequently used their resources to partially eliminate their British rival, which they succeeded in more in Trieste than in Rijeka. Due to their link to *Austro-Americana*, which was *Cunard's* greatest rival, German shipping lines slowly achieved their goal, reducing the profits of their British rival.⁶²

A price war broke out between companies mainly in the south of the monarchy when *Cunard Line* launched in the Habsburg Monarchy, with agents of German companies offering transportation to the USA to citizens of the monarchy for 80, or even 70, Austrian crowns, forcing *Cunard Line* to reduce its ticket price to 120 Austrian crowns, although it was unable to offer a lower price because of the agreement with the Transleithanian government and co-operation with *Adria* and the ten-crown payment into the emigration fund.⁶³

During the price war, which began in mid-1904 and went on for 8 months, the number of emigrants from Hungary also fell. The figure fell to 97,340 in 1904 compared to 120,249 emigrants in 1903. Following this, in 1905 when the price war culminated, the number of emigrants from Hungary grew rapidly to 170,430 people, although only a minority of those actually used *Cunard Line* services. Company representatives, as well as British Trade Secretary at the time, Gerald William Balfour,⁶⁴ were aware of the company's losses and decided to meet with cartel representatives to conclude an agreement that German carriers in particular could use *Adria* travel agencies and contacts, leading to a partial reduction in *Cunard Line's* monopoly on the Transleithanian market. Numbers of emigrants from Hungary subsequently began to rise rapidly, with 1907 a record year with 209,169 emigrants.⁶⁵ The agreement with the other companies was restored and Liverpool-headquartered *Cunard Line* acquired a share of 6 % of continental transport, although on its route from Rijeka the company had to partially retreat in that the tickets of other companies could now be sold in Hungary. In 1906, there were also new considerations made of going back to close connections with *Adria*, which the government in Budapest would support. In January of that year, a meeting between representatives of *Adria*, *Cunard Line*, *Norddeutscher Lloyd* and *Hamburg-America Line* (later the *Holland America Line*) took place in Berlin. The companies planned to create an association and set up a new steamship company with significant capital, however financial disputes meant that no final agreements

⁶² SAP, Arhivsko gradivo 1868–1918, no. 115/27.

⁶³ SAR, Pomorska oblast za Ugarsko-hrvatsko primorje u Rijeci 1870–1918, Vozni red Parobrodarskog društva Cunard Line, no. 439.

⁶⁴ Gerald was the brother of the then-British Prime Minister, Arthur Balfour.

⁶⁵ Riedl, *Die Organisation der Auswanderung*, p. 12.

were signed.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, in the end *Cunard Line* signed a separate agreement with *Adria* in 1911 allocating the routes transporting emigrants from Hungary to European ports. The agreement was also valid for all Austro-Hungarian shipping companies who were involved in emigration, although essentially only applied to *Austro-Americana*. The agreement was to come into force in 1914, but the outbreak of war meant that in the end it was of little import.⁶⁷

In 1907, another price war broke out, and this time *Cunard Line* faced competition in the form of a shipping trust created in 1902 by American banker and financier, John Pierpont Morgan. It was a free association of a number of shipping companies, which received very strong financial backing from Morgan. The trust, called the *International Mercantile Marine Company (IMMC)* was troubled by the commissioning of two new *Cunard* steamships, the *Mauretania* and *Lusitania*, which at the time represented the cutting edge of shipping transport, although according to agreements at the time the construction of such large ships was first to be discussed with other shipping companies. Within a short period, in February 1908, disputes were settled at a meeting of representatives of all the main shipping companies in London through a complex agreement which was more focused on details than any previous agreement had been. In this new agreement, the companies agreed mutual guarantees on the share of transport of emigrants from European ports to the USA and Canada and modified other agreements between companies in regard to size of steamships, determination of prices, routes and frequency of sailings for individual ships. According to the agreement, *Cunard* was able, for example, to increase the capacity of its route between Rijeka and New York. The agreement was extended a number of times until February 1911, generally automatically unless a particular company expressly withdrew.⁶⁸ In 1911, company representatives called another conference in London, at which one issue dealt with was Hungarian emigrants, who according to an agreement with the Budapest government could also use German shipping lines. These were able to organise emigrant trains from Rijeka, although the Transleithanian government continued to provide guarantees to *Cunard Line* on its share of transportation of Hungarian migrants to the USA until 1914, when the issue was planned to be reopened.⁶⁹

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⁶⁶ Sondhaus, *The Naval Policy*, p. 188.

⁶⁷ Mayer, Winkler, *In Allen Häfen*, p. 141.

⁶⁸ Riedl, *Die Organisation der Auswanderung*, pp. 17–18.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 22–23.

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POVZETEK

Cunard Line in njeno delovanje v habsburški monarhiji

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Že dolgo pred vstopom družbe Cunard Line na trg habsburške monarhije je cesarstvo predstavljalo prostor, v katerem so lahko delovala tuja pomorska prevoznaška podjetja. Čeprav je vlada na Dunaju podpirala lastno avstrijsko pomorsko podjetje, tj. Österreichischer Lloyd, ni preprečevala delovanja v državi drugim ladijskim družbam, ki so se osredotočale predvsem na prevoz potnikov. Kljub temu, da je nekaj avstrijskih družb že delovalo, le-te niso kazale veliko zanimanja za prevoz na zahod, predvsem zato, ker vlada ni želela subvencionirati teh linij. Pa vendarle sta se na začetku 20. stoletja v monarhiji uveljavili podjetji, ki sta emigrantom, namenjenim na zahod, nudili prevoz iz lastnih pristanišč. Ko je Cunard Line, katere predstavniki so izkoristili priložnost, ki jim jo je ponudila ogrska vlada, vzpostavila neposredno povezavo z Reke in iz Trsta, so bili interesi družbe Austro-Americana resno ogroženi. V obdobju, ki je sledilo, sta se družbi zapletli v srdit boj in skušali svojim potnikom nuditi boljše pogoje in več udobja. To je pomenilo, da sta se obe pristaniški mesti, Trst in Reka, lahko še naprej razvijali, zahvaljujoč velikemu pritoku migrantov, ki so se odločili za pot čez lužo in negotovo prihodnost. Zaradi odločitve ogrske vlade je bilo avstrijsko podjetje odrezano od donosnega prevoza migrantov. Vlada v Budimpešti je dala prednost britanskemu tekmecu pred avstrijskim in z njim sklenila pogodbo o prevozu emigrantov, kar je družbi dvignilo vrednost. Čeprav je v predhodnem obdobju vlada skušala regulirati emigracijo iz Translajtanije, je sklenila, da to ni učinkovito ter se odločila za vzpostavitev povezave z velikim pomorskim podjetjem. Eden od razlogov za to je bilo dejstvo, da priložnost, ki jo je ponujala, ne bi padla v roke družbe, ki jo je podpirala vlada na Dunaju. Tako se je translajtanska vlada obrnila na veliko britansko družbo in ji ponudila dobičkonosen posel prevoza emigrantov.

Zato je na začetku 20. stoletja družba Cunard Line vstopila na trg monarhije z občutno prednostjo in zagotovljenim transportom, čeprav ni zmogla popolnoma izkoristiti ponujenega kljub prizadevanju svojih zastopnikov. Začetki družbe na Reki niso bili lahki in kmalu so se pokazale ambicije drugih podjetij, zainteresiranih za dobičkonosen prevoz emigrantov čez lužo, v novo življenje. Zahvaljujoč svoji poziciji na evropskem trgu in kartelnim pogodbam si je družba Cunard Line zagotovila svoj položaj v monarhiji. Obdržala ga je do izbruha prve svetovne vojne leta 1914, ki je popolnoma spremenilo prevladujoče trgovsko okolje.

ISSN 0350-5774



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ZČ | Ljubljana | 75 | 2021 | št. 3-4 (164) | str. 303–588