

War and Citizenship

What did it mean to be an alien, and in particular an enemy alien, in the interstate conflicts that occurred over the nineteenth century and that climaxed in the First World War? In this ambitious and broad-ranging study, Daniela L. Caglioti highlights the many ways in which belligerent countries throughout the world mobilized populations along the member/non-member divide, redefined inclusion and exclusion and refashioned notions and practices of citizenship. She examines what it meant to be an alien in wartime, how the treatment of aliens in wartime interfered with sovereignty and the rule of law, and how that treatment affected population policies, individual and human rights and conceptions of belonging. Concentrating on the gulf between citizens and foreigners and on the dilemma of balancing rights and security in wartime, Caglioti highlights how each country, regardless of its political system, chose national security even if this meant reducing freedom, discriminating between citizens and non-citizens and violating international law.

Daniela L. Caglioti is Professor of Modern History at the University of Naples Federico II and President of the Italian Association for the Study of Contemporary History. She has published on migration, class, voluntary associations, minorities, enemy aliens and citizenship in wartime.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-48942-3 — War and Citizenship
Daniela L. Caglioti
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Human Rights in History

Edited by

Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, University of California, Berkeley
Samuel Moyn, Yale University, Connecticut

This series showcases new scholarship exploring the backgrounds of human rights today. With an open-ended chronology and international perspective, the series seeks works attentive to the surprises and contingencies in the historical origins and legacies of human rights ideals and interventions. Books in the series will focus not only on the intellectual antecedents and foundations of human rights, but also on the incorporation of the concept by movements, nation-states, international governance and transnational law.

A full list of titles in the series can be found at:
www.cambridge.org/human-rights-history

War and Citizenship

*Enemy Aliens and National Belonging from the
French Revolution to the First World War*

Daniela L. Caglioti
University of Naples Federico II



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-48942-3 — War and Citizenship
Daniela L. Caglioti
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108489423
DOI: 10.1017/9781108776493

© Daniela L. Caglioti 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Caglioti, Daniela Luigia, author.

Title: War and citizenship : enemy aliens and national belonging from the French Revolution to the First World War / Daniela L. Caglioti, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II.

Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Series: Human rights in history | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020016505 (print) | LCCN 2020016506 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108489423 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108759984 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108776493 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Aliens—Europe—History—19th century. | Aliens—Europe—History—20th century. | World War, 1914-1918—Law and legislation.

Classification: LCC KJC6050 .C34 2021 (print) | LCC KJC6050 (ebook) | DDC 341.6/7—dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2020016505>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2020016506>

ISBN 978-1-108-48942-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

To Andrea

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-48942-3 — War and Citizenship
Daniela L. Caglioti
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page</i> x
<i>Note on Translation</i>	xiii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xiv
Introduction	1
 Part I Background	
1 The Emergence of the Enemy Alien	17
2 Enemy Aliens and “Civilization” in Warfare	40
3 Citizens and Aliens in Peacetime	73
 Part II The First World War	
4 War, State of Emergency and Early Measures (1914)	107
5 Targeting Internal Enemies and Enemy Aliens (1914)	140
6 Consolidating the Policies (1915–1917)	172
7 Repression and the Economic War (1915–1917)	194
8 Globalizing and Radicalizing the Policies on Enemy Aliens (1917–1918)	224
9 From Citizens to Enemy Aliens (1914–1923)	262
 Part III Aftermath	
10 The End of the War: Enemy Aliens and the War’s Legacies (1919–1927)	289

viii Contents

11 Conclusion: A Prolonged State of Emergency?	320
<i>Endnotes</i>	331
<i>Works Cited</i>	402
<i>Index</i>	453

Table

11.1 Alien population by continent

page 321

Acknowledgments

Writing this book has been a long and exciting journey during which I contracted many debts with colleagues, friends and institutions. So many that I will certainly forget to mention some of them. First of all I must thank the University of Naples Federico II, my university, for supporting this research in many ways, providing funding through two FARO research projects and the Short Mobility Program and granting me two sabbatical years and various shorter leaves of absence; and my marvelous colleagues, Vanni D'Alessio, Olindo De Napoli and Andrea Graziosi, who took on my teaching loads and university tasks, making possible for me to spend time in archives and libraries all over the world.

Over the years, this project has been supported by the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard; the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies; the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, where I was twice funded by an Elizabeth and J. Richardson Fellowship; the Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History, Potsdam; and the Remarque Institute, New York University. These organizations provided funds, fantastic library facilities and, above all, lively and stimulating intellectual communities in which my research thrived.

While at Harvard I had many illuminating conversations with Dominique Bauer, Christoph Conrad, Margaret and Patrice Higonnet, Nuria Puig, Helke Rausch, Roman Szporluk, Gerald Steinhacher and Annick Steta. In Freiburg, I owe debts of gratitude to Ulrich Herbert and Jörn Leonhard – the two directors of the FRIAS School of History, who also gave me the opportunity to organize a workshop on enemy aliens in January 2012 – and to Kathleen Canning, Jonathan Dewald, Isabelle Deflers, Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, Maren Möhring, Helke Rausch, Cornelius Torp and Till van Rahden.

At the Institute of Advanced Studies, Princeton, the “bubble” where I spent the two most exciting and inspiring terms of my entire life in 2011 and in 2015, I had the privilege to have as conversational partners Nicola Di Cosmo, Carolyn Eichner, Rozaliya Garipova, Laurie B. Green, Padma Kajmal, Irving and Marilyn Lavin, Eugenio Menegon,

Susan Pedersen, Andrew Rotter, Emmanuelle Saada, Mark Solovey, Judith Surkis, Meredith Terretta, Marga Vicedo, Heinrich von Staden and Jim Webb.

Frank Bösch and Martin Sabrow welcoming me as a Leibniz Fellow at the Leibniz Centre for Contemporary History, Potsdam, made easier my research in the Berlin archives, while Katrin Kollmeier and Annette Vowinkel provided friendship and engaging intellectual exchange.

Researching enemy aliens, citizenship and property rights brought me in contact with many scholars with whom I exchanged ideas and thoughts in conferences, workshops and informal meetings. I especially thank Catherine Brice, Frank Caestecker, Dogan Çetinkaya, Pietro Costa, Andreas Fahrmeir, Bianca Gaudenzi, Dieter Gosewinkel, Didier Guignard, Peter Hertner, Catherine Horel, Christoph Jahr, Kornelia Konczal, Cristiano La Lumia, Eric Lohr, Stefan Manz, Ellinor Morack, Marieke Oprel, Ilaria Pavan, Roberta Pergher, Mehmet Polatel, Tammy Proctor, Mark Roseman, Miriam Rürup, Ari Sammartino, Mira Siegelberg, Matthew Stibbe, Panikos Panayi, Ugur Ümit Üngör and Erik-Jan Zürcher.

Marcella Aglietti, Giulia Albanese, Arnd Bauerkämper, Gabriele Clemens, Gustavo Corni, Mario Del Pero, Bianca Gaudenzi, Mary Gibson, Oliver Janz, Daniele Menozzi, Marco Mondini, Ilaria Pavan, Lucy Riall, Paul-André Rosental, Andrew Rotter, Marco Scavino, Bettina Severin-Barboutie and Roberto Zaugg invited me to give talks at their own institutions or to participate in conferences they organized, generously providing feedback on many issues.

Michele Alacevich, Maurizio Isabella, Valentina Kalk and Paola Subacchi supported this project with their friendship, their splendid hospitality in London, Washington and Vienna, and their valuable advice on the editorial process.

I spent time in many archives and I owe special gratitude to all the archivists who made my research easy, and in particular to Fabrizio Bensi of the International Committee of the Red Cross Archive in Geneva, and to the competent and kind staff of the Phillips Room at the Widener Library where I spent many summers reading, researching and writing.

My most heartfelt thanks go to Marina Germane, Elena Granaglia, Alberto Masoero and all the friends and colleagues of the “Naples group,” Simone Bellezza, Riccardo Cucciolla, Vanni D’Alessio, Olindo De Napoli, Antonio Ferrara, Andrea Graziosi, Gabriella Gribaudo, Davide Grippa, Carmine Pinto, Marco Rovinello, Alessandra Tarquini and Tommaso Trevisani. Together with Dmtar Tasić and Çiğdem Oğuz, who collaborated with me on my PRIN–MIUR 2015 project on war and citizenship, they accompanied me in this journey, conversing

xii Acknowledgments

with me, reading and commenting on chapters (or the whole manuscript), suggesting readings and making critical remarks.

I owe a lot to Stephen Cviic, Laura Helper and Tom Wachtel, who gave me invaluable advice on the structure of each chapter and thoroughly vetted my English, improving this book's readability.

I am extremely grateful to Stephan-Ludwig Hoffman, Samuel Moyn and Michael Watson for welcoming this book in the Human Rights in History series. I could not think of a better series for my manuscript. I am also indebted to an anonymous reader for their valuable comments.

Last but not least, Andrea Graziosi has been a constant source of ideas and personal encouragement, a deeply engaged supporter of this project from its beginning and the most loving, intelligent, lucid, challenging reader and companion one could hope to have. This book is for him.

Note on Translation

Translations from French, German and Italian throughout the text are by the author, if not otherwise noted.

Abbreviations

ACICR	Archives of the Comité International de la Croix Rouge, Geneva
ACS	Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome
ACS, PCM, GE	Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, Guerra Europea
ADF, 1CPCOM	Archives Diplomatiques, France – Paris, La Courneuve, Correspondance Politique et Commerciale 1914–1918
ADF, CPC	Archives Diplomatiques, France – Paris, La Courneuve, Correspondance Politique et Commerciale 1895–1940 – C- Administrative 27CPCOM
AIPG	Agence Internationale des Prisonniers de Guerre, Comité Internationale de la Croix Rouge, Geneva
ANF	Archives Nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine
ANF, J-DACS	Archives Nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Justice; Direction des affaires civiles et du sceau (1918–1958)
ANF, J-DACS-BN	Archives Nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Justice; Direction des affaires civiles et du sceau; Sous-direction du droit économique; Bureau de nationalité (1884–1977)
ANF, MdC	Archives Nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Ministère du Commerce
API-CD	Atti del Parlamento Italiano, Camera dei Deputati
ASV, ADAT	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivio della Delegazione Apostolica in Turchia (Mons. Angelo Maria Dolci – 1914–1923), Città del Vaticano
ASV, SdS	Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato, Città del Vaticano
BABL	Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde

List of Abbreviations

xv

BISCR	Bulletin International des Sociétés de la Croix Rouge
CN-AP	[Convention nationale], Archives parlementaires
<i>DDI</i>	Documenti diplomatici italiani
<i>DDS</i>	Documents Diplomatiques Suisses
DL	Decreto-legge
FRUS	Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States
GU	Gazzetta ufficiale del Regno d'Italia
HC Deb	House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates
HC, PP	House of Commons, Parliamentary Papers
HLL	Harvard Law School Library
IDI	Institut de droit international
ILO-SR/MLT	International Labour Office, <i>Studies and Reports</i> (Series O) No. 3, <i>Migration Laws and Treaties</i> (Geneva: 1928–1929), vols. I–III
ILO-WSA	International Labour Office-World Statistics of Aliens
JO	Journal Officiel
JO-Ch-DocP	Journal Officiel, Chambre de députés, Documents parlementaires
<i>JO-EF</i>	<i>Journal Officiel de l'Empire Français</i>
<i>JO-LD</i>	<i>Journal Officiel, Lois et décrets</i>
<i>JORF</i>	<i>Journal Officiel de la République Française</i>
KÜA	Kriegsüberwachungsamt
LNA	League of Nations Archive, Geneva
<i>LNOJ</i>	League of Nations, Official Journal
<i>LNTS</i>	League of Nations, Treaty Series
LoC-HMP/C	Library of Congress, Washington, DC, <i>Henry Morgenthau's Papers, Correspondence</i>
NARA	National Archives and Record Administration, College Park, MD
ODD-EQ	Kuneralp, Sinan and Tokay, Gül, eds. <i>Ottoman Diplomatic Documents on "the Eastern question"</i>
ODD-WWI/ TIW	Kuneralp, Sinan, ed. <i>Ottoman Diplomatic Documents</i>
ÖStA, AdR	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Archiv der Republik
ÖStA/HHStA, MdÄ, AR	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Ministerium des Äußern, Administrative Registratur, Vienna

xvi List of Abbreviations

ÖStA/HHStA, MdÄ, PA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Ministerium des Äußerns, Politisches Archiv, Vienna
ÖStA, KA-KÜA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Kriegsarchiv, Kriegsüberwachungsamt, Vienna
PAAAB	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtiges Amts, Berlin
PRNA	<i>Parliamentary Returns of Naturalised Aliens</i>
RBW	International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars, <i>Report of the International Commission to Inquire into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars</i> (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1914)
RDL	Regio Decreto-Legge
RICR	<i>Revue Internationale de la Croix Rouge</i>
SBB	Staatsbibliothek Berlin
TNA	The National Archive, London
TNA, BT	The National Archive, London, Board of Trade