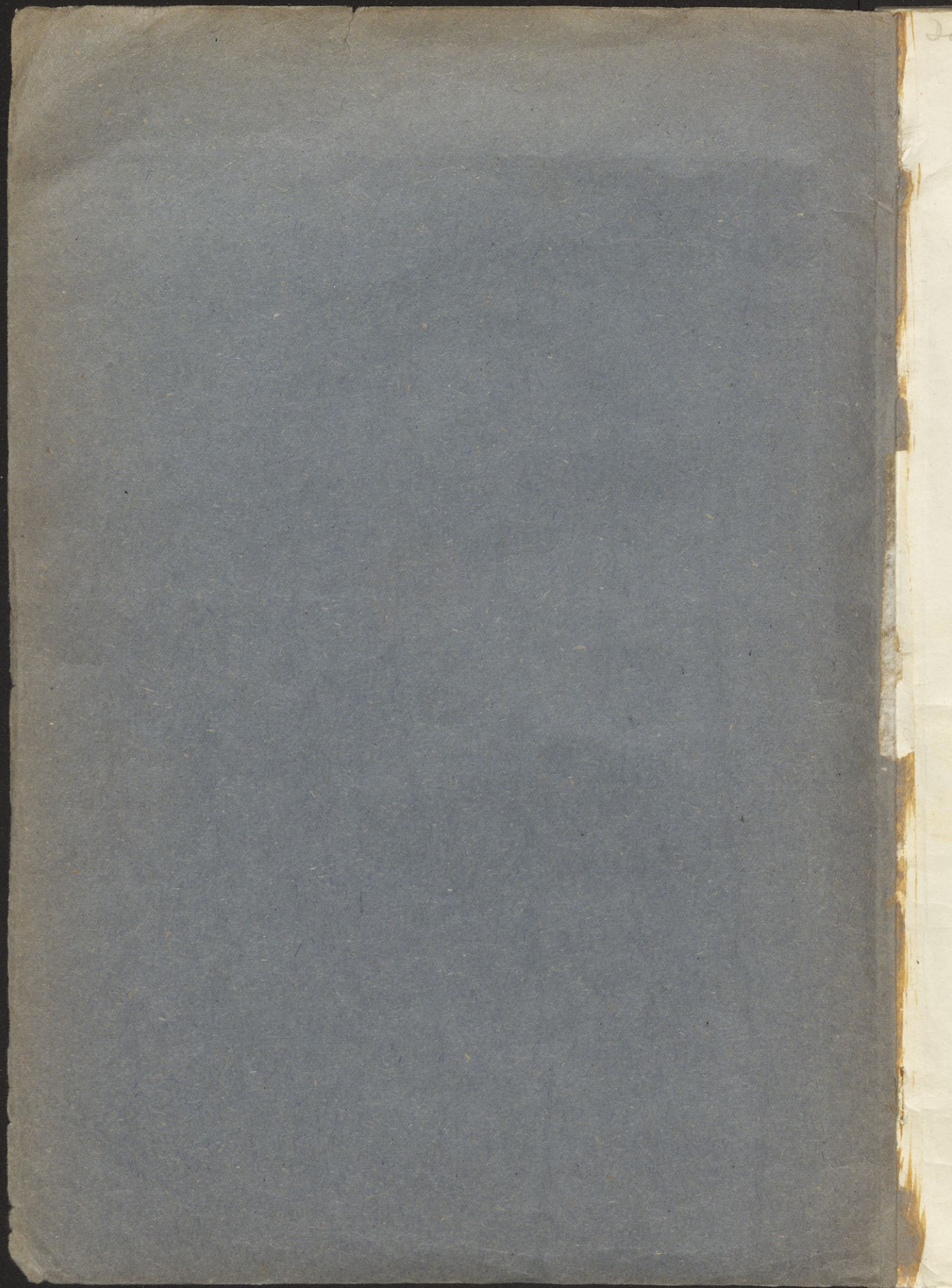


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THE SLOVENES AND THE HABSBURG MONARCHY

by

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For the period of crises in the Habsburg Monarchy originating from national problems, the situation of the Slovenes is characterized by the plain fact, that the Slovene ethnical territory was not one particular province, but was divided into several administrative units. The official Austrian Czoernig's investigation about the languages of the population in the Monarchy, which was based on the census of 1846 for the Austrian half and on the census of 1850 for the Hungarian lands, established: in Carniola 428,000 Slovenes and Serbo-Croats (92 per cent. of the inhabitants), in Styria 363,000 Slovenes (36 per cent. of the inhabitants), in Carinthia 96,000 Slovenes (30 per cent. of the inhabitants; it was proved that there were about 20,000 Slovenes more in Carinthia at that time), in the Gorica (Gorizia, Görz) province 128,000 Slovenes (67 per cent. of the inhabitants), in Trieste 25,000 Slovenes (31,5 per cent of the inhabitants), in Istria 32,000 Slovenes (14 per cent. of the inhabitants, with 59 per cent. of Serbo-Croats, 26 per cent. of Italians, and 1 per cent. of others); in addition there were 45,000 Slovenes registered in the border regions of Hungary, belonging after the year 1867 to the Hungarian half of the Dualistic Monarchy, and 27,000 Slovenes in the boundary area of the province of Venetia, belonging to Italy since 1866. This situation, that the Slovene territory was not only divided into several administrative units, but that also a half of the Slovenes lived in provinces having a non-Slovene numerical majority of the population, did not change until the fall of the Habsburg Monarchy. Nearly all the provinces, where the Slovenes lived (with the exception of Hungary, Venetia and a part of Istria), belonged to the part of the Monarchy which was, in the years 1815 till 1866, a component part of

the German Confederation; this is not significant for the political regime in these lands, for all important questions were decided upon in Vienna and not in Francfort. Still the German Confederation was the only form of the then political existence of Germany, and this is significant for the political situation of the year 1848, and also for the later aspirations of the German Nationalism for the Slovene territory.

The second basic characteristic of the situation of the Slovenes in the period, when national questions came in the foreground, is the fact, that the Slovenes had at the beginning of that era no upper social classes of their own and no literature of higher culture in their own language. They thus belonged to the "non-historical" peoples, and faced the task to develop socially, politically, and culturally in this period only. The agrarian population in the Slovene ethnical territory was by an enormous majority Slovene. There were in this territory almost no agrarian "islands" of other languages. On the other hand, the upper social classes in this territory (i.e. nearly the entire nobility, the upper bourgeoisie, the newly created bureaucracy, and the intellectual professions) belonged to other ethnical groups. These upper social classes felt socially and culturally superior and assimilated also those rising in the social hierarchy. Arising from these facts was also the difference between the ethnical character of the villages and that of the towns. The population of the villages was by an overwhelming majority Slovene. In the towns, on the other hand, in some cases the foreign element was prevailing, in other cases those speaking a foreign language were a numerical minority only, but giving these towns an appearance of belonging to their ethnical group, owing to their social and cultural predominance. In most parts of the Slovene ethnical territory, the upper social classes belonged to the German ethnical group. The relation of this kind between Slovenes and Italians was limited to the fact, that the Italians constituted the majority of the inhabitants of Gorica (Gorizia, Görz), Trieste, and of some Istrian coastal towns, whereas the agrarian population of the

surroundings of these towns was Slovene. Outside these towns, the Italian feudal lords and townfolk were almost nonexistent, neither could the Italians - with the exception of very small parts of the Slovene territory, which once belonged to the Republic of Venice - claim the tradition of the Italian political rule. In the part of the Slovene ethnical territory, that once belonged to Hungary, the Magyars were but a few members of the upper social classes, claiming however, that this territory historically belonged to Hungary.

The Slovene literature, originated by the Slovene Protestants in the sixteenth century, consisted in the first two centuries of its existence - just owing to the sketched social situation - of works for the clergy and the literate peasants, artisans, etc. All other literature was written in the languages of the upper social classes. Before the middle of the eighteenth century already, the German language was the administrative language of the Estates, of the landlords, and of the municipalities. The use of the Slovene language was limited to oral communications with the people and to some written documents, if the cognizance by the people of the subject-matter was considered as necessary. In the century from the era of Maria Theresa to the year 1848, the German language was the language of the written documents in the State administration and at the courts of law; acts, proclamations, etc. were translated into the Slovene language only then, when their cognition by the people seemed necessary. Some care was taken also to the need, that those officials, who had to deal with the people, were acquainted with the Slovene language. When after 1774 the compulsory primary education was being introduced, the circumstance had to be considered, that, by a large majority, the children knew the Slovene language only. The providing for these difficulties was restricted to the use of bilingual and exceptionally even Slovene primers in elementary schools, and at some places teachers taught the children the German language merely orally in the locally spoken dialect; all further teaching at schools designed to offer more than a merely elementary education was done in German. At the secondary and high-

her schools, which became State schools in the era of Maria Theresa, the German language became the language of instruction, Latin preserving this function only to a small extent; in setting up some chairs of Slovene language at higher schools in the pre-March era, the intention on the part of the State was only to get acquainted with the Slovene language the clergy and the officials in close contact with the people. Thus German was considered the language of the State, and Slovene the language of the peasants, or at most the "language of the country". In Trieste, Gorica (Gorizia, Görz) and, of course, even more so in the former Venetian areas, Italian was the language of the Estates and of the municipalities, yet from the introduction of the bureaucratic State administration, in addition to it, also the German Language was started to be introduced into administration and schools. There is a special situation in the part of the Slovene territory belonging to Hungary; here the Magyar language began to be introduced in the nineteenth century only.

Such a situation of the Slovenes implied, that in the beginning their national movement had very modest aims. In the first period, beginning about the year 1768 and ending with the revolution of 1848, the national movement was by its contents a cultural movement, although its roots were in the entire social development of that time. In literature, its aim was no longer the Slovene popular literature only, but it aimed at raising the Slovene language to the level of the highest literary creative work. In this, the work of the poet France Prešeren was decisive. Parallel to that was the work in the philology of the Slovene and Slavonic languages by Kopitar and Miklošič, and also the work in the ethnography and history of the Slovenes. Moreover, the reason that the entire national movement of the Slovenes was during this period restricted to merely cultural activities - as it was the case with many other nationalities in the Monarchy- was founded in the fact, that on this condition only the Austrian State authorities were willing to tolerate it. In the period preceding the revolution, the State authorities refused issuing the authorization to set up a society for pu-

blishing popular Slovene books. The request for permission to publish the popular Slovene newspaper "Novice" (The News), that started being published in 1843, was being withheld for several years. The authorities were afraid of "panslavism"- the expression denoted in the language of the Austrian bureaucracy any aspiration on the part of the Slav peoples to change the existing political conditions. On the other hand, many among the then Slovene national workers actually had in mind only literature, language, and other cultural fields, and not the changing of the existing political conditions; this is true especially of those among them who were although active in the Slovene cultural work, but were of conservative tendencies, as far as the general questions of that period were concerned. ¹⁾

In the time before the revolution of 1848, the expressing of political opinion was among the Slovenes restricted to few individuals and to small circles only, and we cannot speak of political groups in the real sense of this word. A. Linhart (1756-1795), the author of the first Slovene historical work from the Slovene national point of view, wrote in the preface to the second volume of this work "Versuch einer Geschichte von Krain und den übrigen Ländern der südlichen Slawen Österreichs", 1791, that Austria might be styled a Slav State like Russia, if the number of the Slav population were decisive. Linhart raised the question, of what importance the Slavs were for Austria and of what importance they could be. On the basis of comparing the printed text of this book with the manuscript, in which some passages had been deleted by the censor, and by examining also Linhart's other unpublished manuscripts, it can be asserted, that Linhart expected, after the crisis of the system of centralism and germanization in the era of Joseph II, a new organization of Austria in which the Slavs would have a greater importance ^{2.)} In the time of Napoleon's Illyrian Provinces (1809-1813), which included also about a half of the Slovene territory, many apprehended the name given to these provinces as a national denomination, since the usage of denominating the Slavs or individual groups of the Slavs as "Illyrians", and their language as the "Illyrian" language, was widespread at that time, as was also the view that the

ancient Illyrians of the pre-Roman era were of Slavic origin. Thence came the idea of Napoleon's awakening the once famous Illyria to a new life; it was not an original Slovene idea but it was the Slovene poet V. Vodnik (1758-1819) to give it in his poem "Ilirija oživljena" ("Illyria Revided") the form in which it was passed on to the future. With the real aims of Napoleon's policy this view had, of course, nothing to do; it is only true that in the elementary and secondary school system the French regime was more favourable to the Slovene language than the Austrian regime before or after this period. This idea was limited to small circles of the Francophiles and we cannot strictly speak of a movement on the basis of it. Still, later the tradition of this idea has not been without influence on the political life of the Slovenes.^{3.)} - The Slovene philologist Jernej Kopitar was held to have originated the great-Croatian idea and the conception for the trialistic reorganization of the Habsburg Monarchy.^{4.)} In reality, Kopitar was the author of the first scientific grammar of the Slovene language, through his disciple Vuk Stefanović Karadžić he exerted a great influence on the formation of the modern Serbian literary language and orthography, and he was one of the founders of the Slavonic philology as a science. As to his political views, it is certain that Kopitar was a partisan of Austria and that he expected that Austria, and not Russia, would be the best promoter of the cultural aspirations of her Slav peoples. There is no foundation in the sources to infer the assertions that Kopitar, who was a broad-minded Austrian official of the period after Joseph II, wanted to convert the orthodox Slavs in general and the Serbs in particular to catholicism. Neither can it be maintained that Kopitar was expecting from Austria anything more than furthering the cultural aspirations of her Slav peoples. He had no political programme for a reorganization of Austria on the basis of federalism, trialism, or of a great-Croatian idea, which, in the pre-March period would necessarily lead him into opposition against the regime; when Jan Kollar was emphasizing, that his Slav solidarity had only a literary, and not a political character, he was explicitly referring to Kopitar's opinion, expecting for the Slavs

merely some support from the part of the government, as opposed to Linhart's point of view mentioned above.^{5.)} As to the indirect influence exerted by Kopitar's philological views, it must be stated, that he distinguished two languages of the South Slavs (excepting the Bulgarians); on the one hand the Slovenes, to whom he included also the north-western part of the Croats, i.e. the area of the "kajkavski" dialect which had the tradition of its own literature, having however abandoned it just during Kopitar's lifetime under the influence of Gaj's Illyrian movement, to which Kopitar was opposed; on the other hand he considered the language of all the other Croats together with the Serbs forming a unit styled by Kopitar mostly Serbian.^{6.)} Taking all this into consideration, we may say that there was an indirect influence of Kopitar's opinion upon the rise of the great-Serbian idea which proclaimed the Croats of the "štokavski" dialect, i.e. the majority of the Croats, for Serbs, yet in no way he can be held to be the initiator of the great-Croatian idea.-A different imagining of the future we see in the idea of Prešeren's "Zdravljica" ("Toast"), 1844, created probably under French and Polish influences, in which an armed struggle for the national liberation is referred to and the future brotherhood of the Slavs and all nations in general is delineated; this poem of Prešeren's, however, cannot be taken as an expression of the attitude of a larger circle of people among the Slovenes of that period.^{7.)}

The first Slovene political programme, at the same time a starting point for political action, was laid down at the beginning of the revolution in 1848, simultaneously at several places in the circles of Slovene liberal intellectuals, students, and some priests supporting a liberal catholicism. The main national demand in this programme was the unification of the Slovene ethnical territory, irrespective of the then provinces, into an autonomous region of Slovenia. On principle, it envisaged for this region, that the Slovene language should become the language of all administration and of all schools; provisionally, ho-

wever, it demanded only some more rights for the Slovene language at schools and in the administration, and the knowledge of the Slovene language for all officials in the Slovene territory. Some of the declarations made by this movement demanded, in addition, the union of Slovenia with Croatia, i.e. with other Yugoslav regions of the Habsburg Monarchy. There can be no doubt that the authors of the programme envisaged Slovenia as an autonomous region within the framework of an Austria, reorganized on a federalistic basis; they were under the influence of the Czech and Croatian Austroslavism, fearing, on one hand, the creation of a Great Germany on the whole territory of the German Confederation, and of an independent Hungary on the whole territory of the historic Hungary; as a liberal movement it did not feel any sympathies at all for Russian czarism; still, they were convinced that the Austrian Slavs were too weak for an action for independent national states. Thus, a programme was created of Austria, reorganized on a federalistic basis, in which, no doubt, also the hope ^{was active} that in such an Austria the Slavs, owing to their number, might play an important part. It is characteristic, however, that all the declarations made by this Slovene political movement took a stand against the incorporation of any portion of Austria into Germany, and that the very first political action, made by this Slovene political group, was to boycott in the Slovene territory the election to the Parliament of Frankfurt. The German democrats, who had but few adherents between the Germans in Slovene territory, disagreed, however, with this Slovene political programme; their concept was a Germany on the whole territory of the German Confederation, reaching to Trieste; it was just the Slovene ethnical territory, that was the barrier barring such a Germany from the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. Still, the main opponent of the Slovene national movement in the Slovene territory were the old Austrian bureaucrats remaining, with some exceptions, at their posts also after the March revolution, and all those linked with them. Although it was within the framework of Austria that the Slovene

movement envisaged Slovenia, its demand for the separation of Austria from Germany was opposed to the traditional German policy of Austria, and its solicitation to boycott the election to the Parliament of Frankfurt was counteracting the writs for this election which were issued by the Austrian Government, which this bureaucracy were used to obey; the demand to introduce the Slovene language into schools and administration was conflicting with the position, held till then by the German language in the Austrian administration and at schools, and, in addition to it, the demand that officials should be obliged to officiate in Slovene or, to have at least a knowledge of Slovene, threatened this bureaucracy in their existence. That was why just from these circles the polemics arose asserting that the Slovene language was represented by rural dialects only which would never be able to rise to the level of a language of State administration and of higher culture, and to a still lesser degree be in a position to be a frame for forming a political unit. The beginnings of the Slovene political movement were the work of liberal Slovenes; the conservatives, whose conception of the national work had been only as of work in the field of culture, and who had no political programme whatever, were surprised by the revolution; at the beginning they hesitated between the standpoint of the Slovene national programme and the standpoint of the Austrian bureaucracy, and they were sometimes opposed to the actions of the liberal national Slovenes. This situation changed somewhat in the summer and autumn of 1848, when the conflict of the Austrian government with the Magyars and the democrats of Vienna became acute and when also the Slovene liberals, in conformity with the standpoint of the Czechs, Croats, and Serbs of the same tendencies, were opposed to the Magyars and to the Viennese October revolution, because they were afraid that the victory of the revolution might mean the creation of a Great Germany and of an independent Hungary in her historic boundaries. Then also the Slovene conservatives agreed to the national programme of the liberals, and even the stand of the Austrian bureaucra-

cy got to some extent moderated. As to the revolutionary era of 1848/49, it cannot be asserted, that the political standpoint of all the voters was clearly defined, even the stands taken by some deputies were not clear, local and personal motives still played a great role. The Slovene national movement had not yet included all the Slovenes, still the action to boycott the election of the Parliament of Francfort in 1848 was a relative success; at the by-election to the Parliament of Francfort, in February 1849, the majority of constituencies in the Slovene territory abstained from voting; about a half of the deputies elected in the Slovene territory for the Parliament of Vienna supported the Slovene national programme. The overwhelming majority of Slovenes at that time were peasants and it was the question of the abolition of the feudal system only they were politically intensively interested in; this was the reason that the conservative clergy had exerted no political influence upon the peasants in the era of the revolution of 1848 - in contrast with the latter period- since in the question of abolition the peasants did not trust the clergy. The liberal national Slovenes were unable to show clearly enough the link between their national struggle and the peasants' struggle against the feudal lords of foreign origin; still, the contact between the Slovene liberal deputies, taking comparatively radical stands as far as the question of the abolition of the feudal system was concerned, and the Slovene peasants did exist.

After the defeat of the October revolution of Vienna it was even in the parliamentary committee on constitution that all the proposals for the unification of the Slovene ethnical territory into Slovenia were defeated, and it was even less possible to think of a creation of a Yugoslav unit within the Habsburg Monarchy; the constitutional project made by the Parliament envisaged the preservation of the historic provinces, the autonomy of districts (Kreise, Bezirke) and communes, organized on the principle of nationality, and the equality of rights of the languages. More important, however, was the policy of the new government of Schwar-

zenberg: the whole political development was directed toward the victory of the new militarism and absolutism; the government's aim in foreign policy was Great Germany; in its domestic policy, too, the German language was favoured. In this constellation, the government's policy enjoyed sympathies of the extreme conservatives among the Slovenes, whose main aim was the defeat of the revolution (bishop Slomšek). The more moderate conservatives became opportunists and did not want to expose themselves against the government (editor Bleiweis). The liberal national Slovenes wavered already in the time of the October revolution of Vienna, later on they became more and more convinced that the defeat of the revolution of Vienna was a victory of militarism and not that of their national aims; they began to oppose the government, and in the Slovene territory conflicts were increasing between them and the old Austrian bureaucracy, who were becoming bolder; they condemned the dissolution of the Parliament and the new octroyed constitution; they expressed their oppositional feelings until, along with the banning of all oppositional press in Austria, also the publishing of their newspaper "Slovenija" (1848-1850) had to cease.

The rights of the Slovene language, acquired in the time of the revolution and preserved in the era of Bach's absolutism, were poor. Austria recognized the Slovenes as a special ethnical unit in the statistics, and in future all the laws were translated into Slovene. At elementary schools the principle to be followed was that the language of instruction be, at least at the beginning, the children's mother tongue, still this principle had many exceptions, particularly in towns and in boundary provinces. At secondary schools the Slovene language was only a subject of the curriculum, and even this not at all schools, all other instruction was done in German. In the State administration the Slovene language was in the main limited to oral communicating of officials with the Slovenes, correspondence and decrees in Slovene were very rare; the internal official language was, of course, German, thus the resistance of the Austrian bureaucracy against the introduction of Slovene was victorious. Such a situation could



satisfy among the Slovenes only some of the extreme conservatives who liked the regime's policy and the concordat in particular. The younger generation of the liberals, however, now lost their belief in the Austro-slavism, and their belief in Austria's ability of ever solving the Slovene national question. In this situation panslavism, a hope in Russia, and later also hopes connected with Napoleon III spread among this generation. There were no real possibilities for such ideas to be fulfilled. Therefore this generation had to limit itself practically in the era of Bach's absolutism to national work in the field of culture. 8)

In the constitutional era after 1860 we can observe with the Slovenes - except for those Slovenes belonging to Hungary after the introduction of dualism in 1867, and except for the Slovenes in Venetia belonging to Italy since 1866 - on the basis of the results of elections, to what extent the Slovene national orientation included the Slovenes. It must be taken into consideration, of course, that the suffrage in the first decades was not a general one and that there was a system of "curiae". The Slovene political party won its first polling victory at the elections in 1867, when we can already speak about a clear political orientation of the voters; then it receded a little in the following decade, because of the pressure exerted by the regimes opposed to it; at the beginning of the Taaffe regime a situation was created, which did not change essentially until the decay of the Habsburg Monarchy. In Carniola, the central Slovene province, the Slovene national orientation was prevalent both among the rural population and in the towns. In the Slovene part of Styria, the Slovene orientation was prevailing with the rural population; as far as towns were concerned it was statistically proved that the majority of the inhabitants was of Slovene mother tongue, but the German predominance and political pressure was so strong that in censuses, carried out on the basis of the "colloquial language", the majority of the population were entered as German and that at elections a German orientation was prevailing. The situation was similar also in the Slovene part of Carinthia, with the

only difference that the German political orientation gained there also a minority of the Slovene rural population. In the Littoral, where the Slovenes lived in contact with the Italians, the problem consisted in the question to what extent Slovene immigrants in Trieste, Gorica (Gorizia, Görz) and in Istrian towns were assimilated; at first the assimilation was very strong; towards the end of the Austrian era, however, it almost ceased. Parallel with this development was also the development of the Slovene town-dwellers and of the intelligentsia, of the Slovene political, cultural and economic organizations, of the press and cultural life in the Slovene language. Among the Slovenes, too, a differentiation was felt between the liberalism of the Slovene bourgeoisie, townspeople, and the intelligentsia on one side, and the conservative, later on clerical, party, led by the Slovene clergy and exerting a considerable influence upon the Slovene peasants, on the other side. Only in some northern boundary areas the conservative party of the Slovene peasants led by the clergy was absolutely prevailing because for the already mentioned reasons the conditions for the development of the Slovene bourgeoisie, townspeople and intelligentsia were there especially unfavourable. It is characteristic, however, that large landed properties in the Slovene territory remained in the hands of former feudal lords of German origin, and that almost all big capitalist enterprises in the Slovene territory were in foreign hands. On the whole, we can say, however, that the Slovenes attained in that period already more success in their endeavours to develop socially and assert themselves politically and culturally, than some other "non-historic" peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy.

In the concrete Austrian political situation after 1860 the Slovenes, split into several historical provinces and not being in a position to claim a historical right, could not expect anything essential from the programme of "historical political individualities", advocated by politicians of some other Slav peoples. This programme advocated namely the autonomy of the historical units, whereas its representatives (Clam-

Martinic, etc.) were resolutely opposed to an Austria organized as a federation of national units which, to their opinion, might lead to the disintegration of Austria. On the other hand, the main political opponent to Slovene national endeavours in Austria in general, and in the Slovene territories in particular, was the Austrian German liberal party. To this party belonged the German bureaucracy, the German bourgeoisie and also most of the former feudal lords. This party's stand was that the German language should preserve in the Slovene territory the position it had in the previous centuries as the language of higher social classes; the party took over the tradition of the old Austrian absolute monarchy where the State language had been German; inasmuch the party admitted the Slovene literary language, it limited it only to the language of elementary schools and popular literature, whereas with regard to German its stand was that it must remain the language of the public administration and of all higher culture. In view of the struggle between the camp of the "historical political individualities" and that of the German liberalism, there arose a tendency among the more conservative Slovenes, in the period of 1861-1867, to adapt the Slovene national demands in a rather artificial way to the programme of historical political individualities and to limit them essentially to the demands for the Slovene language in the framework of the autonomy of the historical provinces. Still, there were some Slovene liberals supporting also in this period a programme for an autonomous Slovenia. After the war of 1866, these liberals succeeded to gain for this programme for some years the whole of the Slovene national movement, under the impression made by the victory of the principle of nationality in Europe, and by the resistance that arose among the Slovenes and other Austrian Slavs against the introduction of dualism. They took the initiative for "Camps" (tabori), where masses of the Slovene population demanded a United Slovenia; the conservatives joined them and the Diet of Carniola demanded in 1870 - and repeated this demand as a final aim also in 1871 - the unification of all Slovene provinces into an autonomous Slovenia. From 1st to 3rd December, 1870, the first Yugoslav Congress took place at Ljubljana and its resolution

declared that the Yugoslavs of the Habsburg Monarchy would take their stand in culture, economy and politics jointly. When the Hohenwart government left office in 1871, dualism was stabilized, and when in the following seven years the Slovene national movement was exposed to the pressure of the German liberal regime, it became clear that all these aims would not be attained soon. After Taaffe's government (1879-1893) took office it was obvious that it was not possible to expect any important constitutional change; the only possibility for the Slovene national movement was to attain some more rights for the Slovene language, some officials' posts, etc. through supporting the government. In this situation a dissension arose among the Slovene liberals, between the "elastics", i.e. the opportunists supporting the government in compensation for small concessions, and the "radicals", demanding a more radical national policy. In practice, the whole of the Slovene national policy was limited to the struggle for the rights of the Slovene language in schools and in offices, for officials' posts, and similar questions. After Windischgrätz's government left office in 1895, and that of Badeni's in 1897, it became clear, however, that such a policy, too, had no chance of success, at least there, where the German national interests and dominating position of the German language might be affected by the Slovene demands.

In view of such a political position and the degree of development of the Slovenes in the second half of the nineteenth century, the conservative and also many liberal Slovenes did not think of a solution of the Slovene national problem outside Austria. There was a part of Slovenes, however, throughout that time, whose views were different, although at that time their views did not become directly politically actual. After the war of 1866 there was a fairly spread opinion that Austria would soon collapse. At the same time, a great dissatisfaction arose among all the Yugoslav peoples in the Habsburg Monarchy, because of the introduction of dualism. At this time conceptions of a completely independent Yugoslav State arose among the Croats and Serbs. There can be no doubt about the fact that the stressing among the Slovenes of the solidarity

with other South-Slav peoples after the year 1866 was connected with these conceptions. Still, the position of the Slovenes was a specific one. It was known that some leading circles of the Habsburg Monarchy had, in the years 1866 - 1870, plans of a war of revenge against Prussia. The views of a near ruin of Austria were connected with the expectation that Austria would be defeated in this war of revenge, and after the Prussian victories of 1870 also with the combinations that Prussia would then attack Austria. It was clear, however, that in such a case a Great Germany would annex the territory of the former German Confederation, i.e. also the Czech and Slovene provinces including Trieste. It was characteristic that there was among the Slovene liberals a stand, in the discussions connected with the congress of Ljubljana in 1870, that Austria, it was true, would never solve the Slovene national question, but that a Great Germany would mean a catastrophe. The fall of Beust and Hohenwart and the beginning of collaboration between Bismarck and the new minister for foreign affairs Andr  ssy ended all the combinations about a new conflict between Prussia and Austria. It is characteristic, however, that at the beginning of the Balkan crisis, 1875 - 1878, which aroused a great interest among the Slovenes, the standpoint of the Slovene liberals was that Bosnia should be joined to Serbia, for thus a strong Yugoslav State at the frontiers of the Habsburg Monarchy would be created. When, however, Serbia met with a failure in 1876, when Austria-Hungary easily gained the agreement on the part of all the States to her occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and when, a few years later, Serbia came under the political influence of Austria-Hungary, all such plans became unreal. The Slovene policy was also influenced by the fact that after 1861 irredentism arose in Italy and among the Italians in the Littoral, aiming at annexing to Italy also the Slovenes in the Gorica area, in Trieste and in Istria. It is obvious that, compared to these designs, the Slovenes thought of Austria as of a lesser evil. Concerning the ideas for a further future, the opinion was spread among the Slovenes of the second half of the ni-

nineteenth century that a final national liberation would be brought about by Russia. This was expressed in the interest taken in the Russian language and literature, in the public expressing of sympathies for Russia, in the propagating of Slavophil ideas which was characteristic e.g. of the already mentioned movement of the Slovene radicals. Still, in the circles of the Slovene bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia where these views were mainly spread, liberal doubts were arising as regards Czarist Russia; on the other hand, however, these typical bourgeois liberals had no sympathies for the Russian revolutionary movements either.

The Slovenes attained in the era of the Taaffe regime when they supported the government, as far as their national demands were concerned, almost everything they attained during the time of the existence of the Habsburg Monarchy; these successes, however, were poor. The Slovene language was, on principle, the language of instruction in elementary schools for the Slovenes; still, as in this respect in practice the provincial and communal autonomous administrations made decisions, the Slovenes in many towns and in the whole of the province of Carinthia had no public Slovene elementary schools, and had the possibility only to establish Slovene private schools which they had to maintain themselves. The secondary schools in the Slovene territory were in part bilingual (Slovene - German), and in part the Slovene language was taught as a subject for the Slovenes only; completely Slovene secondary schools in the Austrian era hardly existed. All this was not in accordance with the level of the social and cultural development attained by the Slovenes at that time; at that time Slovenes demanded also a university of their own; however, concerning the real relations of the political forces in Austria at that time, nothing more could be attained. The internal official language used in the State offices was German; provincial and communal autonomies decided on their internal language by themselves and therefore everything depended upon the fact which political party had the decisive power within them. The Slovene language was to be the external official language (the language for communicating with the parties) for the

Slovene population; still, even this principle was not being admitted by some of the State, provincial and communal offices. 9.)

From the end of the nineteenth century on we notice that in the Slovene territory, too, industrialization was developing and that some larger capitalist enterprises were established. Before the First World War the importance of Trieste as a port and as an industrial centre was increasing. The political institutions changed by the introduction of (to a certain degree) general and equal suffrage, although the ways of introducing it were such that those were relatively strongly represented which would have lost much more in a consequent democratization. The importance of the social democracy increased in connection with the reform of the polling system, and the bourgeois parties, too, had to change their character and take more interest in the broad masses and not only in those that had suffrage before. In the national respect the pressure of germanization on the Slovenes in the northern areas (Carinthia and Styria) grew stronger and stronger. On the other hand, however, in the Littoral the Slovene minority in Trieste and Gorica grew stronger and more active.

About 1897 the German national parties became the main successor of the former German liberal parties. The German national parties recognizing the Austrian State only in so far as it was in the interest of German nationalism, were even more intransigent in relation to the Slovenes. It is more important still that Lueger's Christian Social party, which absorbed under the new circumstances all former conservative and clerical parties of the Austrian Germans, also opposed to Badeni in 1897, and two years later made an agreement with the German liberals and with the German nationalists for a common national programme which was particularly intransigent in relation to the Slovenes. (The "Whitsun Programme.") In the previous decades the Slav parties and the German conservatives and clericals in Cisleithania often collaborated against the German liberals as their common main adversary. Then the Slovene conservatives and clericals everywhere, and also in the northern boundary

areas, had made efforts to gain the support, on the part of the German conservatives and clericals, for a modest national programme remaining within the framework of the existing State and provinces and trying only to assure to the Slovenes and to the Slovene language certain national rights; these efforts, however, had remained without concrete results. After 1897, however, the collaboration of the Slav parties with the German clericals came to an end; the Slovene Clerical party realized that it was impossible to collaborate in the national questions with the Austrian German Christian Socialists, so it had to make a new programme and find new allies. It sought for allies in the Croatian Party of Right (i.e. Party of Historic Right); its new programme was trialism, mentioned in the Slovene Clerical party at first in the year 1898, emphasized by it at the time of the annexation crisis in 1908/09, and also in the joint declaration with the Croatian Party of Right in 1912; it adhered to it up to the First World War. The trialism is in no way identical with the programme of the union of all South-Slav provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy into a special political unit within the framework of this monarchy, i.e. with the programme that had been put forward already in the period of the revolution in 1848/49; trialism had two more specific characteristics. The Croatian Party of Right demanded first of all the Union of Croatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia, considering all the three as Croatian provinces, joining to this also the demand for the incorporation of the Slovene provinces; for the Great-Croatian tradition of this party proclaimed the Serbs in these provinces for "Orthodox Croats" and the Slovenes for "Mountain Croats". With the Slovene Clerical party the point of religion was decisive; it wanted to paralyze the German pressure by uniting the Slovenes with the Catholic Croats; some of its members were even for a unification of both into one nation; yet, they were not in favour of the union with the Orthodox Serbs. In view of such a programme, which was explicitly Croatian and Catholic and which from this point of view rejected the union of the South Slavs with Orthodox Serbia as centre, the question arose, what stand to it would be taken by the Serbs representing a considerable part

of the population of the provinces in question; the promoters of the trialism did not seek contacts with them. It was obvious that all Magyar parties, being in favour of the preservation of the historic Hungary, were opposed to this programme. It was obvious, too, that the German parties would be vehemently opposed to the incorporation of the Slovenes into such a third unit, as in such a case the German part of Austria would be cut off from the Adriatic and Trieste. The authors of the programme hoped that trialism would be realized by the the successor to the throne, Franz Ferdinand. But the policy of Franz Ferdinand and of the military and political circles around him was in essence the reaction against the Magyar demands for a separate army for Hungary. The policy of Belvedere wanted to strengthen the unity of the monarchy. Being Great-Austrian, and not federalistic or trialistic, it only wanted to avail itself of the movements of the non Magyar peoples as of a means to attain its aims. As regards the Germans and the German language, Franz Ferdinand wanted to strengthen and not to weaken them. It is understandable, therefore, that we find mentioned in the documents of this circle politicians of various peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy, among the Croats we find mentioned almost only the adherents of the extreme anti-Serbian party of Frank, whereas the Slovene clericals were hardly mentioned at all in them. The Slovenes could not be considered as a means of pressure against the Magyars; as far as the Germans were concerned, however, the aims of Franz Ferdinand's policy were completely different. The Slovene Clerical party was, it is true, in favour of trialism, but it had no guarantees that Franz Ferdinand would want to realize this programme, and in particular not the incorporation of the Slovenes into the third unit. ^{10.)}

Within the Slovene liberals an opposition of the young "national radicals" (Žerjav) to the old generation (Tavčar) arose at the beginning of the twentieth century, which stressed the importance of concrete economic and cultural work, referring to Masaryk. Both wings laid a strong stress on

the importance of national questions, but it is not possible to say that they had a special programme of their own for their solution. About 1908 there were some Slovene liberal politicians (Hribar) propagating neo-Slavism; this tendency arose under the Czech influence and hoped that the Slavs in Austria would become so strong, that Austria would in her foreign policy leave Germany and approach Russia. Some other liberals were in favour of a reorganization of Austria into a federation of peoples in accordance with the views expressed by the Roumanian A. Popovici. Still, in spite of the acuteness of the national conflicts (riots resulting in bloodshed at Ljubljana, in 1908) it cannot be maintained that either wing of the Slovene liberals acted for a solution of the Slovene national question outside Austria already at that time.

The workers' movement with the Slovenes started about 1870, gaining greater importance along with the growth of the industrialization and with introduction of the general suffrage towards the end of the nineteenth century. In 1896 the Social Democratic party of Cisleithania was reorganized into the federation of six national parties. One of them was the Yugoslav Social Democratic party whose task it was to organize the Slovene, Croatian and Serbian workers in Cisleithania, its centre being in Slovenia the whole time and its leaders being Slovenes. In its actual work this party came in contact with the German-Austrian Social Democratic party in the northern provinces, and with the Italian Social Democratic party in the littoral areas. In the littoral areas the principle asserted itself that the Slovene and Croatian workers belong to the Yugoslav party and the Italian ones to the Italian party; both parties were collaborating. In the north, however, the predominance of the German-Austrian party as to the political work, organization and material means was so strong that it was asserting its will and that the Social Democratic organization in Carinthia and the Styrian towns was absolutely in its hands. The national programme of the Social Democratic parties of Cisleithania, laid down at Brno, in 1899, demanded a reorganization of Cisleithania on the basis of autonomous

units formed on the basis of the ethnical principle; this programme would have meant also the establishment of Slovenia; still, in the circumstances of that time there were no chances for its being realized. The main theoretician of the Yugoslav Social Democratic party for national questions was its leader Etbin Kristan (1867-1953), for whom two ideas were characteristic. In his view national questions were questions of culture, and he wanted to solve them by constituting for members of each people a public corporation to make decisions on their schools and other cultural questions. In addition to it, Etbin Kristan was convinced that all South Slavs would some day form one nation, and the Yugoslav Social Democratic party maintained very early contacts with other Social Democratic parties of the South Slavs within the Habsburg Monarchy and outside it. The expression of these views was the resolution made at the first conference of the Yugoslav socialist parties at Ljubljana, in 1909, taking stand, on the one hand, for a national and even lingual unification of all South Slavs in the future, and on the other hand, still insisting on the Austro-marxian stand that it was necessary to preserve a common economic and political space of the monarchy and grant to individual peoples the autonomy for matters of culture only. A difference has to be made between the tendencies of the party leadership and the group of socialist intellectuals gathered around the review "Naši zapiski" (Our Notes), which was under a strong influence of Masaryk. This group was opposed already before the First World War to the stand of the cultural and lingual unification of the South Slavs into one nation and remained on the stand that the Slovenes had to remain an individual people with an individual language within the framework of the Yugoslav world. Still, an intensive action of this group against the Austro marxism did not occur earlier than in the period of the First World War.^{11.)}

About 1908 the Yugoslav problem became the central question of Slovene politics. In 1911/12 a students' movement started, called later

after their publication "Preporod" (Renaissance) (1912-13). The central thought of this movement was that the Slovene national question could not be solved within the framework of the Habsburg Monarchy, but only with the creation of a completely independent Yugoslav State; to achieve this the solution was not expected through the petty national work, but only through war and revolution. This youth had not yet common stands for several other questions (the relationship of the Yugoslav conception towards the Slovene language; the relationship towards socialism, etc.). This movement was quickly spreading after the First Balkan War; the same views were shared by some newspapers and some older individuals outside the parties. The First Balkan War provoked a general enthusiasm among the Slovenes, who collected contributions for the States of the Balkan allies and went as volunteers there (as they had done the same already before for Bosnia, in 1875/76.) Yet, this did not mean that all the Slovene public already broke off with Austria. The Clerical party insisted on trialism, although emphasizing that it was high time for Austria to meet the wishes of her Yugoslavs; some shades appeared in the views of the clericals. The leadership of the old wing of the Liberal party condemned the movement of the youth declaring, that themselves did not imagine any solutions of the Slovene question outside Austria. The national radical wing had previously stressed the importance of petty work and saw, under the influence of Masaryk, in the revolution romantics only; now they wavered with regard to the action of the youth, they did not condemn them, yet they pointed out that the proper time had not yet come. The greatest Slovene writer of that period, Ivan Cankar, who was a member of the Socialist party, in his lecture, in 1913, on the one hand condemned any idea to abolish the Slovene language declaring that the Yugoslav peoples could unite only as peoples equal in rights, on the other hand, he broke off with Austria proclaiming the Yugoslav federative republic as the final aim; it cannot be maintained, however, that this stand of his was also the stand of the Socialist party, which had not yet broken off with Austro-marxism. Before the First World War the anti-Austrian movement with the Slovenes was

only in its beginnings, yet it was quickly spreading and exerting its influence through the power of its arguments.^{12.)}

At the beginning of the First World War the mobilization functioned and the State administration was carried on in order with the Slovenes, as it did with the other peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy, in part because of the political pressure, especially because of the activity of the courts-martial, and in part because of the masses not being prepared for an anti-Austrian action. The Cisleithanian Parliament was not summoned before May 1917, and provincial diets did not convene throughout the war. The politicians whose standpoint was before the war already against any solution of the Slovene national question outside Austria, declared their loyalty also at the beginning of the war. A special role was played by the part of the Clerical party in Carniola, led by Šušteršič, the head of the autonomous provincial administration of Carniola, wanting to use the attempt of Sarajevo and the beginning of the war for the persecution of their political opponents. When Italy entered the war in May 1915, the Treaty of London, signed on 26th April 1915, was still kept secret, yet it was obvious to everybody that the Entente had promised Italy large areas of the Slovene and Croatian provinces along the Adriatic coasts; with the Slovene and Croatian population and soldiers, among whom the belief in Austria was shattered, the Austrian propaganda used the argument that they were fighting for their own land. On the other hand, however, the political persecutions did not afflict only those who were anti-Austrian or were at least suspect of being so. In Carinthia and Styria the German nationalists, who exerted the main influence there, organized also persecutions of Slovene priests. During the first years of the war, constitutional changes were prepared in Cisleithania which should be carried out by way of octroying, and which should grant the Germans an even more predominant influence. Throughout the war, propaganda was conducted and negotiations were under way between Austria-Hungary and Germany for the creation of a "Mitteleuropa", in which Germany would,

of course, have a predominant influence. All this did not remain secret and shattered the belief in Austria with many people who had believed in it before the war. An anti-Austrian feeling was manifesting itself in the fact that at first some Slovene prisoners of war and some other Slovenes joined the Serbian army, and later on joined special military units of volunteers at the Russian front. Already before Italy's entry into the war the Slovene liberal politicians from the Littoral had sent some representatives abroad where these joined the Yugoslav Committee. The Yugoslav Committee was active among the Yugoslav emigrants in both Americas, that is also among the Slovene emigrants in the United States; Etbin Kristan left for the United States immediately before the First World War, he changed his opinion and was the author of the Declaration of Chicago, of 29th June 1917, in favour of a Yugoslav federative republic. When parliament met again on 30th May, 1917, we can notice a departing from trialism: all the Slovene, Croatian and Serbian deputies formed one club, named the Yugoslav Club; and the Declaration of May, issued by this club, did not mention the Croats and the Slovenes only, but it mentioned the territory populated by the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, and demanded for this territory, on the basis of the principle of nationality and also of the Croatian Right of State, to be united into an independent State, but under the sceptre of the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty yet; the dynastical framework was meant by some deputies sincerely, by some as a tactical gesture only. The main point was, however, that there was a great discontent among the Slovenes already in the year 1917; the discontent was both of a social and of a national character; there was the influence exerted by the Russian February and October Revolution and by Wilson's Declarations. In this situation, in the autumn of 1917 a split occurred within the Clerical party; Šušteršič left the party; for him the Declaration of May was a maximum demand; he essentially insisted on trialism, rejecting any solution outside Austria; it was characteristic, however, that Šušteršič gained only some of the clericals in Carniola, having in other regions no supporters at all; he became more and more boycotted and left the country at the time of the collapse of Austria-Hungary. In

the Liberal party the former national radicals became predominant and the party expected the dissolution of Austria in the near future. The Yugoslav Social Democratic party could begin a more active work in 1917 only. Then the "Socialist youth", the members of which, partly collaborators of the review "Naši zapiski" (Our Notes) of the pre-war period, began their activity in the party; they criticized the policy of the German and German-Austrian Social Democratic parties in 1914 and later, they criticized the views of Austro-marxism on the national autonomy in the common economic and political space of the Habsburg Monarchy, and demanded the creation of an independent Yugoslav State. After a vehement internal struggle, the party adopted this standpoint in June 1918, excepted some individuals (H. Tuma), and later on collaborated with the bourgeois parties in the taking over of power. The first symptoms of a third standpoint, which condemned both Austro-marxism and the collaboration with the bourgeois parties in the actions for creating national states, and which took the stand of a pure proletarian revolution, appeared among the Slovenes in 1918, yet we cannot speak about a movement proper of this kind as early as that. It is impossible, however, to understand the entire political development of that period without considering the discontent resulting from both social and national motives; it seems that the mutinies of the Slovene soldiers in 1918 were among the biggest in the Austro-Hungarian army. In such a situation it did not matter if in the "Declaration movement" collaborated also those, who took the Habsburg framework, stated in the Declaration of May, seriously. The leaders of the movement were aware of the situation, and the vehement opposition of the Yugoslav Club in Parliament from the autumn of 1917 on, the appeal to the peace conference at Brest-Litovsk for the right of self-determination of peoples, and declarations no longer mentioning the Habsburg framework, all this proves that this framework was no longer taken into consideration. The movement among the Slovenes and the Istrian and Dalmatian Croats and Serbs was at that time the most active among the Yugoslavs within the Habsburg Monarchy; in Croatia some of the opposition parties joined it, whereas the Croat Serbian Coalition which

had the majority in the Croatian Diet, continued with its opportunist policy until October 1918; from the Yugoslavs in Cisleithania initiatives were coming for a similar movement in Bosnia where, of course, legal possibilities for any oppositional movement were limited even more. In the last days of October 1918, the end of the Habsburg Monarchy and the new State of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was proclaimed in the Slovene territory. From these days on, where no Entente troops were near, military actions in the northern boundary areas decided, how far the authority of the new State should reach and where the authority of the new Austrian republic should be. Also in the Slovene and Croatian areas of the Littoral, the authority of the State of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was proclaimed in those days, a few days before the arrival of the Italian occupation army; the Slovene and Croatian population lived in the naive belief that, according to the principles laid down by President Wilson, the whole of the Slovene and Croatian ethnical territory should belong to the new State.

The Slovene national question has its specific features both in the complex of the national problems of the Habsburg Monarchy and in the history of the idea of the Yugoslav State. The basis of the Slovene national programme could be only the ethnical principle. The Slovenes had no higher social classes of their own at the beginning of their national movement and they could not claim a historic right. All this made their national struggle in the conservative Habsburg Monarchy difficult. The fact that a part of the higher social classes in the Slovene Territory was German, the geographical position of this territory, situated between the territory of the German language and the Adriatic, the neighbourhood of the Italians, and the Italians in the littoral towns, represented a continuous warning for the Slovenes that the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy must be connected with new dangers for their national existence. On the other hand, the idea of the incorporation of the Slovenes into a Yugoslav political unit was not practicable either, without intensifying the conflict between the supporters of this idea and

the German and Italian nationalisms; therefore it was not practicable within the Habsburg Monarchy, nor, without provoking new conflicts, feasible outside its framework. It is historically not accurate to speak of the Yugoslav movement before and during the First World War as of a "Great-Serbian" movement. If it were a great Serbian movement only, it could be realized by Serbia's obtaining Bosnia and an outlet to the Adriatic in Dalmatia; that would not mean a question of existence for the Habsburg Monarchy, which had been in its history a great power without possessing Bosnia and Dalmatia. The struggle for a Yugoslav State with an active collaboration of the Croats and Slovenes in this movement had, however, as its aim the union of the whole of the ethnical territories of these peoples and of the whole of the eastern coast of the Adriatic, and was not compatible with the existence of the Habsburg Monarchy.

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1. For the general picture compare the works cited in the book by Fr. Zwitter (in collaboration with J. Šidak and V. Bogdanov), *Les problèmes nationaux dans la Monarchie des Habsbourg*, Belgrade, 1960, p. 7, note 32; p. 10, note 3; p. 16, note 6; p. 17, note 7; p. 35, note 5; p. 55, note 40; p. 56, note 41; p. 66, note 11.
2. Compare Fr. Zwitter, *Prva koncepcija slovenske zgodovine* (The First Conception of Slovene History), in *Glasnik Muzejskega društva za Slovenijo*, XX, Ljubljana, 1939, and the article by the same author, *Anton Tomaž Linhart in njegovo zgodovinsko delo* (Anton Tomaž Linhart and his Historical Work), in *Naša sodobnost* V, Ljubljana, 1957; the whole question of this crisis in the era of Leopold II has not yet been definitely made clear.

3. Compare Fr. Zwitter, *Les origines de l'illyrisme politique et la création des Provinces Illyriennes*, Paris, 1933 (the articles published in *Le Monde Slave*, Paris, 1933, under the title *Illyrisme et le sentiment yougoslave*).
4. Compare R.A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire, Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy 1848 - 1918*, I, New York, 1950, pp. 250-252, 295-297; the revised German edition *Das Nationalitätenproblem der Habsburger Monarchie*, I, Graz - Köln, 1964, pp. 254-256, 300-301.
5. J. Kollar, *Über die literarische Wechselseitigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Stämmen und Mundarten der slawischen Nation*, Pesth, 1837, pp. 8-9.
6. These views are first found with Kopitar as early as in 1809; Fr. Kidrič, *Zoisova korespondenca (Zois' Correspondence) 1809-1810*, Ljubljana, 1941, pp. 105, 113.
7. A. Slodnjak, *Prešernovo življenje (Prešeren's Life)*, Ljubljana, 1964, pp. 256-264.
8. For the period of revolution and reaction compare works cited in *Les problèmes nationaux dans la Monarchie des Habsbourg*, p. 66, note 10, and the recent study by Fr. Zwitter, *Slovenski politični prerod XIX. stoletja v okviru evropske nacionalne problematike* (French summary *Le reveil politique des Slovènes au XIX^e siècle dans le cadre des problèmes nationaux européens*), in *Zgodovinski časopis* XVIII, Ljubljana 1964.
9. Compare for the second half of the nineteenth century, in addition to the works already cited, also the works cited in *Les problèmes nationaux dans la Monarchie des Habsbourg*, p. 93, note 7; p. 97, note 12 and 13; p. 105, note 23; p. 116, note 2. Compare also D. Kermavner, *Hege-*

monistična prekonstrukcija jugoslovanskega programa v Ljubljani leta 1870 (A Hegemonistic Reconstruction of the Ljubljana Yugoslav Programme of the year 1870), in *Zgodovinski časopis*, XVI, Ljubljana, 1962; Fr. Zwitter, Nekaj problemov okrog jugoslovanskega kongresa v Ljubljani leta 1870 (Some Problems in Connection with the Yugoslav Congress of Ljubljana in 1870), *ibidem*, XVI, 1962; D. Kermavner, O nekaterih krivih prijemih v političnem zgodovinopisju (On some Erroneous Approaches in the Political Historiography), *ibidem*, XVII, 1963; Fr. Zwitter, Odgovor polemičnemu izkrivljanju (A Reply to Polemical Distortions), *ibidem*, XVIII, 1964.

10. For the plans made by Franz Ferdinand compare the works cited in *Les problèmes nationaux dans la Monarchie des Habsbourg*, p. 141, note 10.

11. The main sources for the socialist movement were published in *Zgodovinski arhiv Komunistične partije Jugoslavije* - (The Historical Archives of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia), V, *Socialistično gibanje v Sloveniji 1869-1920* (The Socialist Movement in Slovenia 1869-1920), Beograd, 1951. Compare also H. Tuma, *Iz mojega življenja* (From My Life), Ljubljana, 1937, and A. Prepeluh, *Pripombe k naši prevratni dobi* (Observations on Our Revolutionary Era), Ljubljana, 1938 (both are memoirs, published with the comments by D. Kermavner). For the situation in Carinthia J. Pleterski, *Narodna in politična zavest na Koroškem*, *Narodna zavest in politična orientacija prebivalstva Slovenske Koroške v letih 1848-1914* (The National and Political Consciousness in Carinthia, National Consciousness and Political Orientation of the Population in Slovene Carinthia in the Years 1848-1914), Ljubljana, 1965.

12. For these questions, into which little research has been made, compare J. Kolar, Preporodovci (The Members of the Renaissance Movement), Ljubljana, 1930; D. Biber, Jugoslovanska ideja in slovensko narodno vprašanje v slovenski publicistiki med balkanskimi vojnami v letih 1912 do 1913 (The Yugoslav Idea and the Slovene National Question in the Slovene Publications during the Balkan Wars in the years 1912-1913), Istorija XX veka, Zbornik radova, I, Beograd 1959.

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