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## SERBO-CROAT ORTHOGRAPHY.

š = sh in "ship."

c = ts in "cats."

č = ch in "church."

ž = j in French "jour."

ć = ditto (softer).

j = y in "your."

## A SKETCH OF SOUTHERN SLAV HISTORY

SOUTHERN Slav, or Yugoslav,\* history from the earliest times up to the present day, presents the record of a people who, though stubborn in resistance, are by no means aggressive, and who, notwithstanding the great and exceptional misfortunes that have befallen them, have succeeded in preserving their national individuality, and in asserting themselves as a homogeneous nation full of youth and vitality. In virtue of their geographical position, which makes the Yugoslav lands the most direct link between the East and West—that is to say, between Western, Central, and Southern Europe on the one hand, and the Balkans, the Adriatic, and Asia Minor on the other—these territories have always been the arena of great political rivalries and fierce racial conflicts. Many powerful states, ambitious of conquest, and aspiring towards aggrandizement—Byzantium, Hungary, Turkey, and Venice—have for centuries in turn made countless efforts to break the Yugoslav resistance, which thwarted their ambitions and desires. Despite apparent temporary success, these efforts have proved virtually fruitless, and have so far failed to bring about the desired result. It is

\* The Southern Slavs, or Yugoslavs (*jug*, in Slav, means *the south*), who include Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, are one and the same people, known under three different names. The territories inhabited by Yugoslavs are the following: the kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Dalmatia with the Dalmatian Archipelago, Croatia and Slavonia with Rieka (Fiume) and Medjumurje, the Drave country in Southern Hungary (Baranja) with Bačka and the Banat, Istria with its islands and Trieste, the Slovene lands, i.e. Carniola, Gorica-Gradiška, Southern Carinthia, and Southern Styria with the adjoining country in the south-west of Hungary.

true that during the course of these gigantic struggles the Jugoslavs have outwardly succumbed and been subjugated by other nations. It is also true that they were by adverse circumstances checked in the full tide of progress, and therefore failed to crystallize their civilization or to establish their union. Nevertheless, at the cost of tenacious struggles and countless sacrifices they have at last succeeded in creating conditions which ought to assure their union in the future. A considerable portion of the Yugoslav territory has formed itself into the independent kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro. Such of the Jugoslavs as are still subject to a foreign yoke, look forward to a union with these two states; they are keenly conscious of belonging to the same nation, and deeply desirous of forming part of the one motherland.

Even a slight sketch of Yugoslav history will suffice to prove these assertions.

### Dawn of Yugoslav History.

(400–600 A.D.)

In ancient times all the Slavs, including the Jugoslavs, inhabited the vast, wooded plains north of the Black Sea and east of the Carpathians. At the time of the Great Migration (476 A.D.) the Slavs began to spread towards the south and west, and already in the fifth century the Jugoslavs appeared in the regions of the Lower Danube. In course of time they expanded still further towards the south and west—till, in the seventh century, they had definitely established themselves in the western portion of the Balkan Peninsula, in the widest sense of the word—that is to say, in the lands they inhabit at the present time, and extending from the Soča (Isonzo) to Timok, and from the Danube, the Drave, and the Mur to the

Adriatic. This territory corresponded to the ancient *Illyricum* of the Romans; it included the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Moesia, Prevalitania, and Dardania, and was then subject to Byzantium, the Roman Empire of the East. In the beginning, under Justin I, the Byzantine Empire made war upon the Yugoslavs, but subsequently, under Herakleos, they were diplomatically dealt with, and permitted to establish themselves in their new home on condition of acknowledging the supremacy of Byzantium.

The eighth and ninth centuries were the epoch of national crystallization. The Yugoslavs began to disengage themselves from the ethnical bulk of the Slavs, and to differentiate themselves from the chaotic agglomerate of kindred nations. The designation "Serb" occurs for the first time in 822, the term "Croat" in 845. The term "Slovene" is of comparatively modern origin, the Slovenes being formerly included under the general name of Slavs.

The Yugoslavs soon adopted Christianity. Their conversion began in Dalmatia during the seventh century, but it was achieved principally in the ninth century, when the two great Slav apostles, Cyril (d. 869) and Method (d. 885), who preached Christianity to the Northern Slavs of Moravia and Pannonia and translated the Bible and the first liturgic writings into the Old-Slav tongue, brought Christianity to the whole of the Slav race. Their first disciples, among them Clement, who died in 916, introduced Christianity and the Slav liturgy among the Yugoslavs. This liturgy has been preserved to this day, not only among the faithful of the Orthodox Church, but also among the Yugoslav Catholics of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Istria, who had to struggle for centuries for its definite recognition by the Vatican.

## The Rise of the Earliest Yugoslav States.

(600-1100 A.D.)

### THE SLOVENE STATE.

The Slovenes were the first among the Yugoslavs to form an independent state. In the seventh century they formed part of the great Slav Empire founded by Samo. When this empire perished in 662, the Slovenes of the present-day Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Gorica-Gradiška became an independent state ruled by princes of native dynasties (Borut, Hotimir, Valjhun, etc.), who had their residence on the Gosposvetsko Polje north of Celovec (Klagenfurt). This state of affairs continued for more than a century, until the days of Charlemagne, who, in the process of extending his empire towards the East, conquered the Slovenes in 778, since when they have never recovered their independence. After the death of Charlemagne in 814, and the treaty of Verdun in 843, the Slovene lands became part of the German Empire.

### THE CROATIAN STATE.

Towards the end of the eighth and in the beginning of the ninth centuries, the Croats formed their state on the Adriatic littoral. It centred around the towns of Klis, Trogir, Nin (Clissa, Traù, Nona), etc., and their first native princes were Borna, Vladislav, Mojislav (approx. 839), Trpimir (approx. 852), etc. Subsequently this state became enlarged till its frontiers extended as far as Cetina in the south and the mountains of Istria in the north, and it included the district of Velebit, as well as the basins of the Una, the Vrbas, and the Save. Thus western Istria belonged to the Croats, while

the eastern portion of the peninsula formed part of the patriarchate of Aquileja, and subsequently of the county of Gorica. In 910 Tomislav proclaimed himself king, and the kingdom he founded continued to exist throughout the whole of the ninth and tenth centuries under Mihailo, Stepan, Krešimir, etc., of the native royal dynasty, one of whose most important representatives was undoubtedly King Zvonimir. Under her kings Croatia expanded considerably, gaining possession of the Narenta district and part of Bosnia. The year 1102, however, proved a turning-point in her history. In consequence of the civil wars which ravaged the country after the extinction of the native dynasty, the Croats decided to elect the Hungarian king, Koloman, who derived a certain hereditary claim to the Croatian throne through Zvonimir, who died in 1089. Koloman was crowned King of Croatia and Dalmatia, and by this act Croatia and Hungary became for the first time united, but as two separate kingdoms under one king. Henceforth the Kings of Hungary assumed special responsibilities towards Croatia. They were specially crowned Kings of Croatia, and were bound by their coronation oath to respect the Croatian constitution, but in all matters of internal policy Croatia emphatically preserved her independence.

#### THE SERBIAN STATE.

The Serbian state was founded about the same time as the Croatian, i.e. in the ninth century. Its nucleus was formed in the mountainous country of the upper Drina valley, and its first princes were Vlastimir (approx. 850), Mutimir, Petar, etc. During the ninth and tenth centuries Serbia expanded towards the south and west. Prince Časlav (approx. 960) ruled over

all the territory between the Save and the Adriatic, and from the Vrbas to the Morava. But it was a turbulent age, and the state had to contend fiercely first with Bulgaria, which was then a powerful empire, and then with the empire of Byzantium (in 1018). In the eleventh century the Serbs began once more to emancipate themselves from the Byzantine supremacy. The district of Zeta, in the coast-land, west of the lake of Skutari, was the first to recover its independence and become a principality under Stepan Vojislav, and subsequently a kingdom (under Mihailo, Bodin, etc.), which existed till the end of the twelfth century. Then the Raška in the upper Drina district emancipated itself and constituted itself a principality under Vukan, Uroš, Desa, etc. This state gradually increased in power, acquired the supremacy over Zeta, and finally became the chief representative Serbian state when in the struggle against the Greek Empire it assumed the task of liberating the Serbian nation from the Byzantine yoke. Towards the end of the twelfth century the Grand Župan (prince) Stefan Nemanja united Zeta and Raška under his sceptre, freed himself entirely from Byzantium, and founded a powerful Serbian state.

### **Serbia and Bosnia the most powerful States of the Balkan Peninsula.**

(1100-1500.)

Although the history of the Croats and Slovenes is by no means unimportant during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, Yugoslav history during this epoch is practically the history of Serbia and Bosnia.

## THE SLOVENES.

In the German Empire, with which the Slovenes had become incorporated, several powerful semi-independent duchies, such as Saxony, Bavaria, etc., had arisen during the course of the tenth century. In 976 part of the Slovene lands were formed into the duchy of Slovene lands, comprising Carinthia, Styria, and Carniola, and the following century saw the creation of a county comprising Gorica and Gradiška. The first state was at first governed by German dukes of the House of Eppenstein (in the eleventh and twelfth centuries), and then by the dukes of Sponheim (twelfth and thirteenth centuries). Subsequently, in the thirteenth century, the Hungarians possessed themselves of part of the duchy, and still later it was completely conquered by Ottokar, King of Bohemia, who made himself master of the whole of Austria. But, after defeating King Ottokar on the Marchfield in 1278, Rudolf of Habsburg acquired the Slovene duchy, united it to Austria, constituted these two countries hereditary possessions of the House of Habsburg, and thus created the nucleus of the Austrian Empire. The county of Gorica-Gradiška was from the twelfth to the fifteenth century governed by the German "Grafen von Görz." In 1500 it shared the fate of the rest of the Slovene lands in becoming a possession of the Habsburgs.

Up to the beginning of the fifteenth century the old traditions of Slovene former independence were duly respected by the reigning German dukes. According to these traditions each duke, on taking possession of the country, was obliged to recite certain formulæ in the Slovene tongue during part of the coronation ceremony. But after this date these customs were purposely ignored and fell into disuse. Ernest of Habsburg was

the last of the Carinthian dukes to be installed in accordance with the traditional custom (March 18, 1414). Moreover, at a very early date the Habsburgs began to import German colonists into their Slovene possessions. The well-known German settlement of Kočevje (Gotschee) in Carniola was colonized in 1363.

#### CROATIA.

The relations between Croatia and Hungary were by no means clearly defined after the election of Koloman as King of Croatia. It is certain, however, that Croatia preserved her privileges and her autonomy, and that the union with Hungary was a purely personal union; that is to say, both countries acknowledged the same king. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries several Hungarian kings actually delegated the government of Croatia to their sons. It is true that the ancient ceremony of crowning the kings of Hungary with the crown of the kings of Croatia was soon discarded, but that did not mean the incorporation of Croatia with Hungary. On the contrary, several of the Croatian Bans, members of powerful families among the Croatian aristocracy, governed the country in almost complete independence, and even had the hereditary right to the title and office of Ban of Croatia bestowed upon them. These conditions altered during the fourteenth century. In consequence of having obtained access to the sea since the days of Koloman, Hungary had greatly increased in power, and under Louis the Great (1342-1382) she reached the zenith of her might. Croatia suffered proportionately under this growing power, and was soon practically, though not theoretically, reduced to the position of a vassal state.

## SERBIA.

In the meantime Serbia had increased and steadily become stronger since the days when Nemanja, the founder of the great native dynasty of the Nemanjići, had built up a powerful independent state by uniting Zeta with Raška. His son Stefan (1196-1228) proclaimed himself king in 1220, and Serbia continued a kingdom under Radoslav, Vladislav, Uroš, Dragutin, Milutin, and Stefan Dečanski until 1346, when Dušan had himself proclaimed tsar and founded the Serbian Empire which, under Dušan and Uroš, continued until 1371. Thus the Nemanjići succeeded in founding a large and vigorous state, although surrounded by powerful enemies, to wit, the Greeks and the Bulgars.

Mediæval Serbia was a well organized state. Thanks to the efforts of Nemanja's son Sava, the Serbian St. Sabbas (1169-1235), the Serbian Church became autonomous. A strong ecclesiastical hierarchy was established, but, above all things, the Church exercised a most beneficial influence upon the people. At the time of Tsar Dušan the Serbian Church was raised to the dignity of a patriarchate. Numerous monasteries were built, which became the chief centres of science, art, and letters, under the patronage of the kings themselves. New laws were framed. The celebrated code of Tsar Dušan (1349) was based on ancient judicial custom among the Serbs, as well as on contemporary Byzantine laws. Trade flourished exceedingly, owing to Serbia's commercial relations with the Republic of Ragusa and, through Ragusa, with the West. The exploitation of the large number of gold, silver, and copper mines in the country had already begun during the reign of King Vladislav (1234-1243), and the state

coined its own money. A powerful and numerous army was likewise formed, especially under Milutin (1282-1321), and the expansion of the state truly dates from his reign. In his three great campaigns against the Greeks, Milutin took Skoplje (Uskub) and a large part of Macedonia and Albania, approximately the same territory as was taken by the Serbs from the Turks in the first of the recent Balkan wars. From that date Byzantium became a far less dangerous neighbour than she had been before. Milutin's son, Stefan Dečanski (1322-1331), accomplished even more; in fact, he practically anticipated Serbia's achievements during the second Balkan war. He scored a decisive victory over the Bulgars, and drove them out of the valleys of the Struma and the Vardar. By this victory he dealt a fatal blow to the Bulgars, who had been very powerful until then.

Thus the victories of these two Nemanjić kings paved the way for a Serbian supremacy in the Balkans, and their work was completed by Dušan, who reigned from 1331 to 1355. By a series of victories over the Byzantines he conquered the whole of Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly, Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Albania. In the north his empire extended to the Save and the Danube, in the east as far as Kavalla, in the south as far as Arta and Tricala, and in the west to the Neretva (Narenta). In 1346 he had himself proclaimed tsar of the Serbs and Greeks. The reign of Dušan represents the zenith of Serbian might, the most glorious page of her national history. But the decline of the state set in with the accession of his son, Tsar Uroš (1355-1371).

To any one giving careful consideration to this period of Serbian history, one question is sure to occur. Why did Serbia, when at the height of her power, fail to make

a serious attempt to unite Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Croatia with herself? Why were all her efforts directed towards the south and east, and never towards the north and west? It is true that the wars of Milutin, Dečanski, and Dušan all aimed at liberating the southern Serbs from the Byzantine yoke and uniting them with the Serbian motherland; but surely the western part of the Peninsula was likewise inhabited by brothers of their race, with similar claims to be united with the mother-country. Why did our mediæval kings, at an age when Serbia's might was at its highest level, fail to create the union of the entire Yugoslav race?

The reason is not far to seek. To the south and east lay Byzantium, to the north Hungary. Byzantium was an old state, moving towards its decadence, and Serbia concentrated her efforts in the direction which offered the least resistance to her aspirations. Hungary was at that time a young state, strong and flourishing, with a future before it. The Magyars conquered Dalmatia, reduced Croatia to impotence, and repeatedly attempted to make Bosnia a mere vassal state of Hungary, simply because they sought that access to the Adriatic which is indispensable to any state desirous of holding the western part of the Balkan Peninsula. Under these conditions all Serbian efforts in the west would have been in vain, Hungary being a very different foe to Byzantium.

#### BOSNIA.

What Serbia failed to do was very nearly achieved by Bosnia during the same epoch. A little before the time of Nemanja's reign (twelfth century), Bosnia detached herself from the Serbian state of that period, became a state apart, and rendered herself to some extent independent of Byzantium. She was ruled by her own

native princes, or Bans, the first of whom was Borič (approx. 1154). His most important successors were Kulin (1180–1204)—the contemporary of Nemanja—Ninoslav (thirteenth century), and Stepan Kotromanić (fourteenth century). But from the outset Bosnia was drawn into the sphere of Hungary's influence, and in spite of persistent struggles she eventually became her vassal. To these struggles against Magyar supremacy were added Bosnia's conflicts with the Roman Catholic Church. Bogumilism, a form of heresy allied to the heretical movement among the Albigenses (twelfth century), obtained a footing in Bosnia, and the Papacy organized regular crusades against it, as it did against the Albigenses. These political and religious struggles greatly weakened Bosnia, who frequently lapsed into a state of anarchy during this period. This notwithstanding, she, too, had the time of her greatness during the fourteenth century. She sought access to the sea and obtained a seaport. She also expanded towards the south and east. Under Tvrtko (1353–1391) she became a kingdom (1377) and her power greatly increased. In his wars of 1385 and 1390 Tvrtko conquered all Dalmatia from Cattaro to Spalato with the exception of Ragusa. Thus after centuries of separation Dalmatia and Bosnia were once more united, and the glories of the ancient kingdom of Croatia partially restored by the strong hand of Tvrtko. His empire equalled that of Dušan in greatness; but after his death Bosnia's power declined very rapidly.

In the persons of Tvrtko and Dušan, the glories of Jugoslav mediæval history reached their highest level. Dušan's empire (he died in 1355) embraced the whole of the eastern portion of the territory inhabited by our race, and Tvrtko's kingdom almost the whole of our

western territory. Thus the fourteenth century saw the formation of two great political nuclei in the very heart of our lands, which might easily have become rallying-centres for the remaining Yugoslav countries, including even the Slovene lands. In the end they would have probably united, and become one homogeneous and undivided realm composed of all the different provinces inhabited by our race. A period of peace and repose was all that was necessary to complete this great historic achievement, which was already so efficiently sketched out. But this consummation was never attained. Why? We must not forget that Tvrtko's and Dušan's empires arose in the fourteenth century, in an age when many great nations had not yet accomplished their unification. It was in the fifteenth century that Louis XI united France, which had until then been broken up into several semi-independent, lesser states. But our nation never produced its Louis XI, because it never enjoyed a free and undisturbed fifteenth century, during which it might have devoted itself to the task of political unification.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century the Turks appeared in Europe, and absolutely arrested the course of our national life. Our two native states succumbed before they could unite, or attach the other Yugoslav lands to themselves. The Turkish invasion has singularly complicated and narrowed the issues of our history, and has thwarted us in the mission that seemed to be our destiny. All that had been achieved during the course of centuries, and at the cost of so much blood and sacrifice, crumbled away overnight, as it were, and centuries elapsed before the recurrence of conditions in the very least comparable to the great opportunities vouchsafed to us in the Middle Ages.

## The Era of Foreign Domination.

(1500-1800.)

### THE TURKISH DOMINATION.

The Turkish invasion was, however, an unavoidable calamity. It was something terrific, irresistible as one of nature's elemental forces, like the floods that break down every dike and barrier, and against which all efforts prove unavailing. The Turks did not merely conquer us; they conquered Bulgaria, Byzantium, Wallachia, Moldavia, Hungary, and even menaced Vienna, Venice, and Poland. Our people fell a victim to them; but what nation could have withstood their onset in our place?

At least, we did not succumb ingloriously. The conquest of Bulgaria by the Turks (1393) was the matter of a moment. But we struggled valiantly and maintained a stubborn resistance for nearly two centuries. Each Jugoslav province defended itself obstinately, and to the last drop of blood. There is not a stone in our land that has not been reddened with our blood. Only when we had exhausted every force and every resource at the nation's disposal, did the Turkish conquest become possible. Dušan's empire was the first to be attacked. After the great and disastrous battles on the Marica (1371) and of Kosovo (1389), and many others in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Serbia was obliged to yield and was conquered in 1459. Tvrtko's kingdom shared the same fate, and Bosnia fell to the Turks in 1463. Hercegovina, which at the last moment detached itself from Bosnia, succumbed in 1482. Zeta (the present kingdom of Montenegro), which had been an independent state since the death of the last of the Nemanići, was conquered in 1499. But the conflict

did not cease, though the last of our ancient independent states had perished. Throughout the whole of the fifteenth century the Brankovići, descendants of the former despots of Serbia, fought heroically in Hungary against the Turks. Croatia, too, had her heroes. In 1566 Nikola Zrinjski defended the fortress of Sziget like a true national hero, and the whole of Croatia opposed the invading Turks to the uttermost and with desperate resolution and gallantry. In the sixteenth century the Turks penetrated as far as Trbiž (Tarvis) and Beljak (Villach); but the Slovenes likewise put up a stubborn resistance and defeated them on several occasions. In the Croatian coast-lands and elsewhere the conflict continued far into the seventeenth century. Our people fought bravely against the Turks, and although they were themselves defeated, yet by their resistance they saved Europe from one of the greatest dangers that ever threatened her. Our nation served Europe as a rampart and bulwark in her need; we sacrificed ourselves for her, and gloriously fulfilled the duty imposed upon us by the moment, proving ourselves truly the *propugnaculum reipublicæ christianæ, antemurale Christianitatis*.

The Turkish domination lasted three centuries, but what have been its results? Beyond doubt it did us great harm, but however much we suffered under it the spirit of the nation was never broken. In spite of the barbarously cruel measures employed against us by the Turks the nation was not exterminated. On the contrary, we maintained our resistance and stood firm, and preserved our race as pure and intact as it was before the Turkish invasion. It might even be argued that the nation grew stronger and more tenacious by this calamity, and that national union was really promoted by it. For even as the Turks invaded and threatened every one of

the countries inhabited by Jugoslavs, whether Serbs, Croats, or Slovenes, they became the common enemy of the race, and the whole race was united in its feelings towards so dangerous a foe. The national union of the scattered groups of our people, which had proved unattainable during the whole of the Middle Ages, was accomplished during the epoch of the Turkish domination, and thus it has come to pass that our nation has actually emerged from this ordeal stronger, greater, and more united than it had ever been before.

#### THE VENETIAN DOMINATION; THE REPUBLIC OF RAGUSA.

The Turkish domination was not the only foreign rule our people has been compelled to endure. First of all came the Venetian domination. The Republic of Venice had always coveted the eastern shores of the Adriatic, and throughout the Middle Ages endeavoured to obtain them by conquest. Finally, during the thirteenth century, she gained possession of the eastern part of Istria, and the isles of Cres (Cherso) and Lošinj (Lussin); in 1420 she was mistress of all the towns of Dalmatia and of most of the isles. In 1480 she seized the island of Krk (Veglia), which up to that time had belonged to the kingdom of Croatia, and had been governed by the Croatian princely house of Frankopan. In 1699 Venice acquired the whole of Dalmatia, and retained possession of it until 1797, when by the treaty of Campo Formio it was ceded to Austria.

The little republic of Ragusa alone preserved her liberty and remained the independent mistress of the littoral from Peļješac (Sabioncello) down to Bocche di Cattaro, together with the islands of Mljet (Meleda), Lastovo (Lagosta), and others belonging to that part of

the coast, while the rest of Dalmatia was subject to Venice. Ragusa, famous equally as a great commercial power and a centre of art and letters, remained free until 1808, when the republic was abolished by Napoleon. In 1815 it was ceded to Austria.

The Venetian domination was as dangerous as the Turkish in a different way, and Venice cruelly exploited her Yugoslav possessions without in any way assisting them against the Turks. But she was equally unsuccessful in crushing the spirit of the nation. When Austria succeeded Venice in Dalmatia and the coast-lands from Tržić (Monfalcone) to Rieka (Fiume), she retained the official use of the Italian language in the administration up to the present day, which makes the period of the Venetian domination appear far longer than it was in fact. But its results have been pitifully small. Apart from the influence of Italian culture, Venice left practically no traces of her long reign. Certainly there are several Italian-speaking zones in the towns of the northern Adriatic coast-lands, but there are similar centres of Italian speech in parts of the Greek littoral that formerly belonged to Venice. These results are meagre in proportion to the length and oppressive nature of her reign. But the Yugoslavs had resisted staunchly, and did not permit themselves to be denationalized by the Italians any more than by the Turks. Throughout all that part of the littoral which owned the Italian sway, there is not one Italian colony of any importance, not one Italian country, or even a well-defined district, that could subsist without its Slav hinterland. The entire coast-land from Tržić (Monfalcone) to Spič (Spizza) has preserved its Yugoslav character from an ethnographical point of view and remained an integrant part of the Yugoslav territorial complex. It is, moreover, inseparably

and indissolubly bound up with this complex both from a geographical and from an economic point of view.

#### THE AUSTRIAN DOMINATION.

The Austrian domination has always been, and is still, the most dangerous.

The Slovenes, who were the first to fall victims to Austria, have been practically helpless ever since, and could do nothing towards achieving their own liberation. They resisted heroically, and even attempted to revolt and emancipate themselves, but their efforts were invariably unsuccessful. Towards the middle of the sixteenth century they embraced the Reformation, and Protestantism made a great progress in the Slovene lands, but this movement was cruelly stifled by a powerful Catholic clergy supported by a dynasty of Catholic sovereigns. Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Slovene peasantry revolted against the injustice and tyranny of their German lords. About 80,000 Slovene and Croat peasants joined the insurrection, which was really a "jacquerie" on an immense scale, held its own for several years, and distinctly aimed at the foundation of an essentially democratic state. But this revolt was finally suppressed with exceptional cruelty, and henceforth the Slovenes abandoned all attempts at emancipating themselves by force, confining their efforts to a passive, though not less stubborn resistance.

After the Slovenes the Croats were the next to come under the Austrian sway. When the Turks destroyed the kingdom of Hungary in 1526, Croatia remained outside their sphere of power, and the Croatian nobility proceeded to elect a new King of Croatia. One party elected Jean Zapolja, King of Transylvania, while the other declared for the House of Austria, who had

promised them assistance in their struggle against the Turks. In the end the Emperor Ferdinand I (1527-1564), of the House of Habsburg, was elected hereditary King of Croatia, and from that time Croatia has been under the Habsburgs, from whose domination she has suffered so much. From the great state she had been in the Middle Ages, she sank into relative insignificance. As we have seen, Dalmatia was taken by the Venetians. In 1536 Slavonia fell into the hands of the Turks, who retained possession of it till 1699, and finally she was still further diminished and dismembered by the Habsburgs. At an early date they created a special province in the heart of Southern Croatia, called it the Military Frontier, and withdrew it from the authority of the Ban of Croatia. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Croatia dwindled to the proportions of a very small state, and little was left of her ancient glories but the bare memory. The Habsburgs were not content merely to divide and parcel out her territory; they desired to suppress her altogether, to paralyse her and reduce her to the level of a mere Austrian province. Taking advantage of a conspiracy in which some of the noblest Croatian families were implicated—the conspiracy of Zrinjski and Frankopan, the two national heroes, who were beheaded in 1671 on a charge of high treason—the Habsburgs used every means in their power to stifle the spirit of independence among the Croats. They suspended the constitution, exterminated the nobles, who were then very powerful, and instituted such a reign of terror that the people were forced to submit. The spirit of independence was actually crushed. Nothing remained but to denationalize Croatia, and this Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and Joseph II (1780-1790) set themselves to do by introducing their system of Germanisation and

their absolutist government. Weary of the conflict, the Croatian Diet submitted to the Hungarian Cabinet in 1790, and the doom of Croatian autonomy was sealed. From that moment Croatia almost ceased to be a state.

In 1690 large numbers of Serbs migrated to Hungary at the invitation of Leopold I (1658-1705), who by imperial letters patent promised them autonomy and sundry privileges. But once in Austria they fared no better than the Croats and Slovenes. They were simply made use of whenever they were needed to defend the country against the Turks; but the privileges conferred upon them were not respected, they were never given autonomy, and even the indisputable rights of their Church were violated.

These foreign dominations greatly injured our nation and threatened the very existence of the Yugoslavs. By the end of the eighteenth century it seemed as if the national existence of our race was nearing its end.

### The Deliverance and National Awakening.

(19th and 20th centuries.)

The nineteenth century brought deliverance and national awakening to the Yugoslav nation. What had seemed dead under the long and oppressive foreign domination suddenly revived, and the work of emancipation began to gain ground.

#### SERBIA.

Serbia was the first to set herself free and form a state. But at what painful cost! No Englishman or Frenchman can form any idea of the obstacles and difficulties that beset a political emancipation in these days; so many centuries have elapsed since they passed through this historic ordeal. Who realizes to-day what it costs a

nation in blood and effort to free itself from a foreign yoke? And then, when the victory is gained, what endless further efforts are needed to obtain even the smallest amount of sanction for their achievement from the tribunal of European diplomacy? For the final result is never in the least proportionate to the sacrifices that have been made. And even when the work of emancipation has been accomplished and recognized, there still remains the task of preserving what has been so hardly won—the task of holding one's own, of making due progress in civilization and from an economic point of view. And all this has to be done with the limited means at the disposal of small nations, and amidst the tangle of enmities which they have to encounter. Serbia's emancipation was both painful and difficult, and it was won chiefly at the price of Serbian blood and Serbian effort.

The Serbian emancipation began in 1804. Serbia was only a Turkish pashalik, and the barbarous excesses committed by the Turks against their Serbian subjects caused a general rising under the leadership of Kara George, the founder of the present Serbian dynasty, and, by the way, a simple peasant. For ten years he maintained a constant war upon the Turks, drove them out of the country, took towns and fortresses, and delivered the whole pashalik—in other words, the northern part of the present kingdom of Serbia—from the Turkish yoke. At first unaided, and subsequently (after 1807) with the help of the Russians, the insurgents defeated every Turkish army corps sent against them, and were finally victorious. In the end the results of these heroic campaigns became apparent.

In accordance with the stipulation of Art. VIII of the treaty of Bucharest (1812) between Russia and the Porte at the conclusion of the war, Turkey pledged herself to agree to the demands of the insurgents in granting autonomy

to Serbia. But the political situation being at that time most unpropitious, Turkey merely used the treaty as a pretext to invade Serbia with a huge army and simply to reconquer her in 1813. Within two years (1815) a second Serbian insurrection took place, headed by Miloš Obrenović, founder of the second native dynasty of modern Serbia. Miloš was victorious, and obtained the grant of a restricted form of autonomy from the Sultan. A few years later, thanks to the international political situation, which had greatly improved since the day of Kara George, and above all things to the persevering and astute diplomacy of Miloš himself, who herein showed himself both a man of genius and a true statesman, a considerable degree of constitutional autonomy was granted to Serbia in the treaty of Akkermann between Russia and the Porte in 1826. Finally, by the *haticherif* of 1830 Miloš was confirmed in the dignity of hereditary prince. It remained for him to force Turkey to cede certain districts, the possession of which had been guaranteed to Serbia by treaty. The Porte refused; Miloš took the disputed territory by force, and afterwards arranged the matter amicably (1833).

Thus after thirty years of warfare and diplomatic negotiation (1804–1833) Serbia had become an autonomous principality under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Since then she has devoted her energies chiefly to the development of her internal organization, to peaceful enterprise, and civilization. This was the policy pursued by the successors of Miloš—his sons Milan (1839) and Michael (1839–1842), and Alexander Karageorgević, son of Kara George (1842–1858)—and by Miloš himself in his second reign (1858–1860).

Under Prince Michael's second reign (1860–1868) Serbia was entirely transformed; she completed her

constitutional and military organization, and aspired to deliver the Serbs beyond the borders of the principality from the Turkish yoke. Prince Michael carefully prepared everything for carrying out this great plan. In view of a vast concerted military action against the Turks, he concluded treaties with Montenegro, Greece, and the Bulgarian Committee, Bulgaria having not yet attained her liberation. He endeavoured to promote a similar understanding with Roumania, organized Bosnia and Hercegovina, who were then ready to rise at the propitious moment, and entered into friendly relations with the nationalist leaders and representatives of the Croats. The premature death of Prince Michael frustrated the realization of these great schemes, and Michael only succeeded in obtaining (in 1867) the evacuation of the Serbian citadels by the Turkish garrisons, which had until then gravely hampered the freedom of his actions. His successor, Prince (afterwards King) Milan, enlarged Serbia by his two campaigns against the Turks (1876 and 1878), obtaining the districts of Niš, Pirot, Vranja, and Leskovac. In 1878 he proclaimed the independence of Serbia, and in 1882 declared her a kingdom.

Meantime the international situation produced by the pernicious effects of the treaty of Berlin (1878) rendered matters very difficult. The newly created principality of Bulgaria soon developed into a rival and an enemy. Bosnia and Hercegovina were occupied by Austria and the road laid open for the German *Drang nach Osten*. Thus from one reason and another Serbia remained passive and powerless during the reigns of Milan (till 1889) and Alexander (1889-1903). Prince Michael's great schemes were deferred, and the efforts of the country were confined to internal reorganization.

Considerable progress was made and, in the widest sense of the word, Serbia became a modern state.

After the accession of King Peter (in 1903) Serbia once more began to expand and resume the course planned for her by Prince Michael. Through the two Balkan wars (in 1912 and 1913) Serbia regained her classic territories of Old Serbia and Macedonia, and a moral prestige equal to that which she possessed in the Middle Ages under the reigns of the most powerful of the Nemaníci.

The war with Austria, Germany and Bulgaria, which has been forced upon her, has opened a yet wider horizon for Serbia's future, and inspired her with the hope of finally uniting all the Jugoslavs under her sceptre.

#### MONTENEGRO.

Soon after Serbia's emancipation, Montenegro also became a principality. As a matter of fact, under the rule of her native Prince-Bishops of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this mountainous country had preserved a certain amount of independence even during the era of the Ottoman domination, while maintaining a constant warfare against the Turks in the eighteenth century. But her true emancipation began in the nineteenth century, when the worthy contemporary of Kara George, Bishop Petar I. Petrović (d. in 1830), stoutly resisted all Turkish attacks upon Montenegrin independence. The last Prince-Bishop, Petar II (1830-1851), also of the house of Petrović, was the first Montenegrin ruler who succeeded by diplomacy in obtaining recognition for Montenegro as an independent state, and also in organizing the internal affairs of the country, which was at that time plunged into a state of anarchy by the mutual dissensions of unruly tribes. His successor,

Danilo, proclaimed himself prince in 1851. During the reign of Nicholas, who ascended the throne in 1860, the principality has greatly increased in prestige. By the two wars undertaken jointly with Serbia against Turkey in 1876 and 1878, Montenegro was territorially enlarged and obtained access to the sea. She became independent *de jure* in 1878, and was finally raised to the rank of a kingdom in 1910. The two recent Balkan wars (1912 and 1913), in which Montenegro played her part heroically, also brought her substantial territorial acquisitions, and gave her a frontier in common with Serbia.

#### BOSNIA AND HERCEGOVINA.

We have seen how costly and painful the process of emancipation proved to Serbia and Montenegro. And the sufferings and sacrifices have been no less in such Yugoslav countries as are still under foreign domination. Bosnia and Hercegovina, in whom the national spirit is as strong and vigorous as in Serbia and Montenegro, made several attempts at freeing themselves from the Ottoman yoke, but were unsuccessful. The Moslem insurrection, 1832, and the Orthodox insurrections of 1853, 1857, 1861, and 1875, all of which aimed at securing independence for Bosnia, only resulted in the occupation (1878) and subsequent annexation (1908) of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary. Our people had spilt their blood merely to facilitate the perpetration of an unparalleled crime.

#### THE ILLYRIAN PROVINCES.

As for our people in Dalmatia, Croatia, and in the Slovene lands, we already know that at the end of the eighteenth century the national spirit was in danger of

being crushed and stifled out of existence, that it was on the wane and growing decadent under the weight of Italian, Hungarian, and German oppression.

But at the beginning of the nineteenth century the national spirit, which had lain dormant so long, suddenly woke and revealed itself as a force to be reckoned with, increasing in strength from day to day. This revival of the national sentiment was, in the first instance, due to Napoleon. By the treaties of Pressburg (1805) and Schönbrunn (1809), Napoleon obtained the whole of Dalmatia, Istria, Gorica, Gradiška, Carinthia, Carniola, and a large part of Croatia. He united all these countries, which had been politically separated for centuries, under a single administration, and by the name of "the Illyrian provinces." He ruled in a liberal spirit, instilled new life into the soul of the nation and, most important of all to our people, he introduced the use of the native language in the schools and the administration. After a period of extreme Germanisation, when the native tongue was ousted from the administration, brutally suppressed and despised, our language began to come once more into its own.

Unfortunately the French rule was only of short duration. When, by the Congress of Vienna (1815), the Illyrian provinces were taken from Napoleon and restored to the Habsburgs, the old order was re-established, and the national spirit and native tongue were once more proscribed.

#### CROATIA; THE SERBIAN VOIVODINA.

However, what had once been gained was not so easily lost. Once aroused, the national consciousness pursued its course, in spite of all the rigours of a Germanising and Magyarising policy in the land. This

new spirit first manifested itself in the dawn of a new literature. In Croatia, Ljudevit Gaj (d. in 1835) accomplished the important reform of the Croatian literary language, and gave utterance to the charm and power of this fresh and beautiful tongue, which had been on the point of perishing. Needless to say, his achievement found an echo in the national political life. All parties demanded the introduction of the Croatian tongue in the administration. The Magyars opposed this national awakening of the Croats with a kind of frenzied insolence. They endeavoured at all costs to impose the Magyar tongue upon the administration and the schools in Croatia. Undeterred, the Croatian Diet in 1847 unanimously voted for the introduction of the Croatian language in the Croatian schools and administration. In return the Magyar Parliament in 1848 passed certain laws which practically annulled the autonomy of Croatia. A conflict became inevitable, and it was fought out on the field of battle. When, in 1848, Hungary revolted against the Court of Vienna, Jelačić, Ban of Croatia, unanimously supported by the Diet and the nation, declared war on the Hungarian Revolutionary Cabinet. In September 1848 he crossed the Drave at the head of an army of 40,000 Croats.

The Serbs in Hungary, who had been equally badly treated by the Magyars, now demanded their autonomy, which had been so often promised but never granted to them; they made common cause with the Croats, and also marched against the Hungarians under their Voivode Šupljikac. Only then were the Serbians in Hungary accorded autonomy in the so-called Voivodina, an autonomous province comprising Sylvania, Bačka, and the Banat, under the governorship of a Voivode.

The end of the Hungarian Revolution is well known.

On August 13, 1849, the Magyars capitulated at Vilagos, and Austria, with the help of Russia (who was then her ally), remained victorious. The Serbs and Croats had every right to demand an improvement in their condition after having so loyally assisted Austria in the hour of danger. But Austria favoured the Hungarians, and was guilty of endless injustice towards our peoples. From 1850 to 1860 Croatia was ruled under the Bach system, a reactionary policy recalling the worst and blackest periods of Germanisation, clericalism, and militarism under Joseph II. As to the Serbs, the existence of the Voivodina, established in 1848, was simply suppressed. But there is an end to everything, and the Bach system very soon broke down with the collapse of the Austrian Government in 1859. It was impossible to ignore the demands of the people any longer. The Croatian language was introduced into the schools, government offices, etc. A little later Croatia defined her position towards Hungary, and in 1868 the Croato-Hungarian treaty was concluded. Certainly this treaty, or compromise, was far from satisfying our national aspirations; still, it secured to Croatia and Slavonia complete independence in their administration, and accorded them a special political position. Fresh reprisals soon followed. The reign of Ban-Khuen-Hedervary (1883-1903) represents the most scandalous period in contemporary Croatian history. In his day, by a disgraceful piece of forgery, Hungary took the seaport of Rieka (Fiume) from the Croats. The scandalous trials in Agram (1907) and Vienna (1908) were simply of the nature of so many reprisals against Croatia. But the people resisted, and the national sentiment grew continually stronger. The best guarantee of healthy political life in Croatia—the formation of the Serbo-Croat

coalition—was afforded in 1905 by the Resolution of Fiume and Zara.

In spite of every effort Hungary has failed to reduce Croatia, either constitutionally or nationally. Croatia is to this day the only non-Hungarian country in Hungary which has preserved its autonomy and enforced the recognition of its political and national individuality as a separate people.

#### THE SLOVENES.

The Slovenes likewise had their awakening, a little later than the Croats; and with them also the first signs of it appeared in their literature. What Gaj did for the Croats, Bleiweiss (1843) partially accomplished among the Slovenes. From being merely literary, the movement soon became political. In 1848 the first Slovene deputies were sent to the Parliament in Vienna, and there demanded the introduction of the native language, an equal footing for the Slovenes with the other Austrian peoples, the unification of all Slovenes under one administration, and the foundation of a Slovene University. In 1860 the conflict between Germans and Slovenes became more acute, and the latter stoutly opposed their age-long oppressors. Germanisation in Carinthia, subsidized by Germans of the empire, has proved so potent that to-day the Slovenes are in a minority in this province. In Styria the conflict has also been carried on in all departments, and our people have reason to hope for victory. In Carniola we gained the victory in 1882, when the Slovenes obtained an overwhelming majority both in the Diet and in the municipal government.

The value of this struggle maintained by our people against the Germans cannot be rated too highly. In

spite of their number, their superiority in economic and other resources, in spite of their energy, which is unequalled in its tenacity and the directness with which they pursue their goal, and of the aggressive expansionist policy which aims at crushing its enemies without quarter, the Germans neither succeeded in Germanising the Slovenes nor in breaking their resistance. Even the most exposed Slovene districts—such as the basin of the Drave in Carinthia and that of the Mur in Styria—heroically resisted the German aggression throughout the country. From a little way to the south of the Ture (Tauern) mountains and the town of Graz, down to the sea, the Slovenes have asserted themselves both from a nationalist and from a political point of view, and have progressed both economically and as regards their civilization. For a just appreciation of all this, it is well to remember that all successive Governments in Austria have for long periods together employed the entire apparatus of a perfectly organized bureaucracy, the educational system, commercial politics, the army—in short, all the resources at the disposal of a power that pursues its object regardless of pity—against the Slovenes.

The way in which the Jugoslavs have resisted the inroads of the Germans, who were in every way better equipped for the conflict and desired to conquer the south of Europe and gain chief control of the Adriatic, has greatly contributed to save Europe from a German hegemony.

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