ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF CROAT NATIONALISM AND 
THE CROAT-MAGYAR CONTROVERSY 
1790 - 1847 
by 
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this work is to examine the origins and development of Croat nationalism in the light of the Croat-Magyar relations from the period of Enlightened Absolutism to the eve of the revolutionary year of 1848. Since the development of Croat nationalism was strongly influenced by the Magyar national movement of that period, the bulk of this discussion is devoted to an analysis of the Croat-Magyar controversy caused by the Magyars' desire to magyarize the Croat nation.

The main struggle between the two opposing forces took place in the Common Diet composed of the delegates from both nations. However, the Croat national movement itself originated among the young native intellectuals who, as a rule, did not have any direct influence on the proceedings of the Croat legislative house, the Sabor. Under the influence of the Czech, Slovak and Polish nationalists, these intellectuals rendered an invaluable service to the Croat nation. Their work resulted in Croatia's cultural renaissance which subsequently served as the basis for the struggle against Hungary.

The author presupposes that the reader possesses adequate knowledge of Croat history in general and of the period discussed in particular. Therefore no attempt has been made to describe or explain some fundamental aspects of Croatia's political and
cultural history. Any such endeavour would inevitably remove us from the topic and would be inconsistent with the task of this work.

Chapters I and II deal with the background of the problem. Chapter I offers a brief explanation of Croatia's political status within the Habsburg Monarchy. Chapter II describes the origins and background of the Croat national movement which developed, following the year 1832, as the Illyrian Movement. It enables the reader to acquaint himself with the fundamentals and character of the Croat-Magyar controversy and with the political and cultural situation prevailing among the various Croat regions.

Chapter III concentrates on the Illyrian Movement itself. It describes extensively the cultural renaissance of the Croats and points out the role and effects of the Illyrian Movement on the Croat-Magyar relations. Here again the author concentrates on the political effects of the cultural renaissance. The literary works of the Illyrians are mentioned and described in so far as they had a direct bearing upon the political situation in Croatia.

In Chapter IV, the political nature of the struggle between the two nations reaches its peak. Following the formation of the first political parties and the crisis in the Croat national movement caused by the defeat of the Illyrians at the hands of the Magyarons in the election of 1845, the Croat national idea was finally emancipated. The Croat language finally became
the official language for Croatia. Thus the main aim of the Illyrians was accomplished. In the last moment, Croatia emerged fully prepared to face the revolutionary year of 1848.
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I.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Croatia's Position in the Habsburg Monarchy

After the Battle of Mohacs (29 August 1526), Hungary, Croatia, and the other lands belonging to the Crown of St. Stephen were left without a king. Young Louis II, the last member of the house of Jagiello, perished during the battle and left Bohemia and Hungary without a ruling dynasty. Of all the candidates for the vacant throne, the most logical choice appeared to be the Archduke of Austria, Ferdinand I. According to the agreement of 1515 between Maximilian I and Ladislas II, "Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia were to become Habsburg lands if Louis II died without leaving a successor".  

The majority of the Magyar nobility refused to recognize Ferdinand as the King of Hungary. They argued that, according to the decision of the Hungarian Diet of 1505, no foreigner could become a candidate for the Croat-Magyar throne. Their choice was Ivan Zapolya, a prominent member of the Magyar nobility from Transylvania. He was also supported by the majority of the Croat nobility from Slavonia which was strongly influenced by Hungary because of its geographic position.

In the meantime the nobles of Croatia proper met in Cetin
on January 1, 1527, and unanimously elected Ferdinand I as King of all Croat lands. The Slavonian nobility refused to recognize the validity of this decision and, on January 6, its members met in Dubrava, near Čazma, to elect Ivan Zapolya. As a result the Triple Kingdom ended with two kings, one in Croatia proper and one in Slavonia. Conflict between the two opposing forces was inevitable. The nobility of Croatia proper felt that, in view of the constant danger from their aggressive Turkish neighbour, Croatia and Hungary were not strong enough to maintain their freedom, and a union with Austria would offer far greater security.

The problem was finally solved by the defeat of Zapolya's followers in the Civil War (Gradjanski rat). With Ferdinand's assistance the Croats of Croatia proper defeated Zapolya's followers who were then forced to seek Turkish help. The Turks utilized this opportunity to conquer additional lands in Slavonia and Southern Hungary.

The problem of succession was finally solved after the death of Ivan Zapolya in 1540. Ferdinand I became the sole master of the remnants of Hungary and Croatia. The decision reached by the Slavonian nobility on January 6, 1527, lost its validity. Slavonia and Croatia proper were together incorporated into Austria on the basis of the above mentioned decision reached at Cetin. However, in accordance with the terms of this agreement, Ferdinand consented to respect and protect all the rights and freedoms the Croat nobility had enjoyed under the rule of Hungarian kings. Cetinska izborna diploma (the Cetin Electoral Diploma) read:
Having examined the validity of the afore mentioned rights of this King (i.e. Ferdinand)...to hereditary succession in the Hungarian Kingdom...and having considered that of all the Christian rulers only His Royal Majesty defended us and the Croat Kingdom from the wild Turks...we recognize His Highness King Ferdinand...as the lawful King and master of the entire famous Croat Kingdom....

Thus, for the first time in her history, Croatia was united with Austria by means of a personal union. Its political status in this newly created empire became more complicated. Up to that time Croatia had recognized only one master, the King of Hungary.

The origin and character of the ties connecting Croatia with Hungary for over nine hundred years must be made clear if the relations between these two countries in the first half of the nineteenth century are to be understood. All the arguments of the Croat nobility against Magyarization in the Common Diet at Pozony were based entirely upon the agreement reached between their forefathers and Koloman, the King of Hungary, and its subsequent amendments made by the King's successors.

The crucial event which dictated the course of Croatia's history for several centuries took place in 1102. After a long war, Koloman finally defeated the forces of Croatia's King Peter (1093-1097) who himself perished in the battle. But, recognizing the strength of his defeated opponents, Koloman decided to conclude a peaceful agreement with the Croat nobility according to which the Croat nobles would recognize the authority of the Hungarian kings. The result was a document signed by representatives of the twelve most prominent Croat tribes (plemena), often
referred to as the **Pacta Conventa**. This document specifically describes the voluntary nature of the union between the two countries and points out:

...that the afore mentioned (nobles) and their families will never be deprived of their right to enjoy their estates and possessions; that the afore mentioned (nobles) and members of their families will never be compelled to pay taxes or tribute to the King, except in case of enemy attack when, if the King demands, each of the mentioned noble families will send ten armed horsemen...whose duty will be to stay with the King until the end of such hostilities.

The provisions of this agreement were enforced without any major difficulties and the two nations continued to live under this arrangement for seven hundred years, never feeling the necessity to change its fundamentals. The main reason for this lies in the fact that the interests of both Magyar and Croat nobility were almost identical. National ideas and a sense of belonging to a particular nation did not exist among the members of their class, and there were several strong motives which drew them together into a closer union.

The main factor which made the union of the two countries possible was their common religion. Since Dmitar Zvonimir and Ladislas I, who, at the time of the split among the Christians in 1054, decided to recognize the Pope in Rome as the head of their respective churches, both Croatia and Hungary had accepted Catholicism, and the Latin language as the official language of administration.

The union between the two countries was further strengthened
by the fact that they were forced to form a common defence against the same enemies. In the early Middle Ages Venice denied Croatia-Hungary the right to establish its authority in Dalmatia and the islands along the Adriatic Coast. Later, from the fifteenth century, "the need for a common defence was justified more than ever" by the war against the Turkish onslaught which threatened to destroy not only Croatia and Hungary, but their new master, Austria, as well. However, it was not until the end of the eighteenth century that cooperation between the Croat and Magyar nobles reached a point where the Croats were willing to sacrifice their rights as a nation and state in order to defeat the centralism and Germanization imposed upon them by the Habsburgs, and preserve their old constitutional arrangement.

The old constitution actually placed the Croat nobles in a better position than was enjoyed by the Magyar nobles; in addition to the rights and privileges enjoyed by all the nobles of Croatia-Hungary, the Croat nobles enjoyed their own special rights and privileges guaranteed them by various Hungarian kings in diverse forms since 1102. Thus, in spite of the double yoke imposed upon Croatia, a direct one by Hungary and an indirect one by Austria, the Croat upper class held in their hands an excellent tool with which to combat the reforms of the enlightened despot, Joseph II. Unfortunately, the Croat nobility, controlled by its conservative narrowmindedness which dictated and orientated its strategy only towards protection of its economic interests, voluntarily surrendered Croatia's rights
as a nation in 1790 in favour of the central Hungarian diet -- leaving Croatia without a single, effective constitutional weapon in her struggle to preserve her national identity and culture. Had these nobles realized in time that by appeasing the Magyars they were endangering their own existence as a ruling class in Croatia, the serious struggle which developed in the 1830's and 1840's would have ended with much more favourable conditions and less sacrifices for Croatia.

The system of government in Croatia allowed the Croat ruling class a considerable amount of self-government. Practically every governmental institution was more or less controlled by the native ruling class. The jurisdiction of the Croat Sabor was very extensive, and included such important matters as taxes and recruitment. The powers of the Sabor, coupled with those of the Ban's office, presented a strong legal barrier against Magyarization. Furthermore, both Croatia and Slavonia were subdivided into local administrative units, the županijas (counties), which possessed almost exclusive jurisdiction over matters of local importance. Each of the counties sent its delegates to the Croat Sabor where they were to follow instructions given to them by their counties' skupštinas (assemblies).

During the first half of the nineteenth century the jurisdiction of the Ban was drastically reduced. He was no longer the supreme power in the governmental machinery of Croatia as had been the case during the Middle Ages. With the appearance of absolutism during the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, his discretion to call the Sabor into session
was abolished. The office of the Ban became "the supreme administrative organ which acts in the name of the King and instead of the King". In view of the fact that the Ban owed his appointment to the King, it is not surprising that, during absolutism, the independence of his actions was substantially reduced, especially after the candidacy was opened to foreign nationals. But, in relation to Hungary, the Croat Ban continued to be independent in spite of the fact that Maria Theresa gave the Crown's Council for Hungary executive jurisdiction over the Croat affairs (1779). In the case of a disagreement with the Crown's Council for Hungary, the Ban could appeal to the central government in Vienna, or he could bring the matter to the next meeting of the Sabor, or the Common Diet. These meetings, however, were not frequent until the turn of the century when the Magyar national movement made its appearance.

During the struggle against Magyarization the Croat županijas (counties) played a very important role. The skupštinas (assemblies) of the counties were composed of nobility and they performed "all functions of a governmental nature—legislative, executive and judicial". During Joseph II's reign of absolutistic centralism the counties' regional autonomy was further increased. If the King failed to call the Sabor into session, as was the case during the period of Germanization, the Croat nobility used the counties' assemblies as a weapon against such anti-constitutional measures by the sovereign.
Consequently, the counties refused to carry out Joseph's religious and social reforms, and stood for the preservation of the old system which guaranteed the nobility its feudal rights and privileges. Similarly, during the period of Magyarization, the counties became one of the first governmental organs to protect the Croat national movement.

The administrative head of the county was the Veliki župan (comes suprimus) who was appointed by the King while all the other counties' officials were elected by the upper nobility. On several occasions the village nobility was also allowed to participate in the work of the counties' assembly. With the exception of 1845, when the village nobility won elections in the County of Zagreb, its interests as a separate class were subordinated to those of the upper nobility which was the actual ruling class in the country.

The village nobility had no right to any kind of representation in the highest legislative body of Croatia, the Sabor. The only exception was the village nobility of Turopolje, which was allowed to elect one representative to the Sabor. Although the territory of Turopolje was included in the County of Zagreb, the entire district enjoyed separate autonomous rights, granted to its nobility by Matias I Corvinus (1458-1490) as a reward for its help in the war against Turkey.

Historically, the Sabor was an assembly of the entire nobility which met from time to time to solve major grievances between the King and the nobles. The first record of the Sabor's meeting dates back to 1273. The main purpose of the Sabor
was to protect the interests of the nobility against any centralistic tendencies of the sovereign. In the course of the Sabor's development, the village nobility was excluded from its sessions. Thus, by the seventeenth century, the Sabor was composed of the upper nobility and clergy which together formed the ruling class of Croatia.

The strength of the Sabor varied with the strength of the central government. During the Middle Ages it was called into session by the Ban who frequently possessed the power to sanction its proposals. However, during the period under discussion (first half of the nineteenth century) the meeting of the Sabor could be convened only by the King. Regular meetings were to be held every three years. Nevertheless, sovereigns who were inclined towards absolutism, like Francis I, disregarded this constitutional practice and refused to permit the Sabor to meet.

The central Hungarian diet, to which the Sabor sent its delegates, experienced the same hardships during the frequent periods of un-constitutional rule. The Croat delegates to the central Hungarian diet, or the Common Diet, represented the interests of the Croat ruling class in accordance with the instructions issued them by the Sabor. Thus the Common Diet could not enact any new law involving a change in the rights and privileges of the Croat nobility without the approval of the Croat delegates.

Any attempt to do so would be considered a breach of the Constitution, and the Croat executive organs, especially those in the counties, would refuse to carry out such laws.
The **Sabor** usually met before and after a meeting of Common Diet to elect its representatives and decide on the position to be taken by these representatives. If the Common Diet disregarded the instructions of the Croat delegates, the Croats could always appeal to the King, demanding the refusal of the royal assent to the legislative proposals they opposed.

To sum it up, the **Sabor** could act almost independently of the Common Diet. On Croat territory it was completely independent of Hungary in such important legislative fields as taxation, recruitment of new soldiers, religion, culture and education.

As we have seen, the political status of Croatia in the Monarchy, although peculiar and somewhat uncertain, could have been used by its ruling class to the advantage of their country. This opportunity was utilized, as we shall see later on, with only limited success because it was adopted when the country stood almost helpless before a strong Magyar nationalistic movement. The Croat nobles had successfully fought side by side with the Magyars to resist Germanization and to protect the ancient rights of their class. They failed to realize that, by enlisting Vienna's help, they could also defeat aggressive Magyar nationalism without depriving their homeland of its limited independence. The position of Croatia in the Habsburg Monarchy allowed its ruling class to actually bargain between the two more powerful forces, Austria and Hungary, which constantly fought each other for the dominant position in the Empire.
Croatia, however, only used her unique political status when
the majority of her nobility finally realized that, after the
death of Joseph II, the immediate and direct danger to their
rights and the rights of the nation as a whole, came not from
Vienna, but from their "constitutional brothers", the Magyars.

The Period of the Enlightened Absolutism

Throughout the reign of Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and her
son, Joseph II (1780-1790), the entire political life of Croatia
was centred around the struggle against centralism and
Germanization. During the reign of Maria Theresa, who prepared
the scene for the promulgation of the social and religious
reforms of her son, general dissatisfaction among the Croat
nobility resulted in the formation of a common defence with the
Magyar aristocracy against Vienna, whose main purpose was to
form an efficient, centrally controlled administrative apparatus.

In Croatia itself, unlike in Austria, social and economic
conditions were extremely unfavourable for the establishment
of an efficient administrative apparatus. First of all,
its territory had been greatly reduced by the Turks who were
slowly advancing into the Croatian and Magyar lands, and who
later represented a perpetual danger to any region they had not
yet conquered. The entire Croatian territory was reduced to
only six counties, Zagreb, Varaždin, Križevci (or so called
Croatia proper), Srijem, Virovitica, and Požega (or Slavonia).
A wide strip of territory along the Turkish border, known as the
Military Frontier, was under the direct rule of the Habsburgs. Secondly, these long and costly wars with the Turks, who were constantly intruding across the Military Frontier, almost completely "destroyed the agriculture, destroyed manufacture and trade, and the richest parts of the Croat regions". Thirdly, Joseph II did not have the powerful support of the Croatian bourgeois class necessary to back up his social reforms because such a class did not exist. The policy of the Habsburgs in Croatia and Hungary was to prevent the two nations from developing their own industry by the "conscious and planned usage of their power" which aimed to "keep the two states in the condition of colonial underdevelopment".

In short, Maria Theresa and Joseph II did very little to improve the economy of Croatia and Hungary. Their main aim was to submerge these lands completely to their rule by enforcing Germanization and a centralized administration. Even those reforms introduced by Joseph II which were designed to improve the status of the serfs in relation to their landlords, failed to bring any significant results because of the lack of effective means for their enforcement.

Meetings of the diets were hardly ever called, and rule by decree became the only way of introducing new measures in the Monarchy. The meeting of the Common Diet at Poszony was called in 1765, but only because Maria Theresa was forced to do so because the Monarchy was exhausted by the Seven-Year War (1756-1763) and the Queen's treasury empty. Having failed to obtain the Diet's approval of the tax increase, Maria Theresa
decided never to call it again. Acting instead on the advice of Joseph, who became her co-ruler in 1765, Maria Theresa set up, in 1767, a separate government for Croatia which was to be completely independent from the Hungarian authorities. The new government, the Crown's Council (consilium regium), became extremely unpopular because it acted only in accordance with the Queen's instructions and completely disregarded any constitutional practice in administration. Consequently, the decree of July 30, 1779, abolished the Crown's Council for Croatia, and handed over to the Crown's Council for Hungary complete jurisdiction over Croatia. The Croat nobility actually welcomed this move because it (the nobility) lacked national feeling and failed to see in Hungary a potential danger to its own rights. Its only aim was to defeat centralism by uniting with the Magyar nobility.

In spite of her disagreement with the higher nobility, Maria Theresa became extremely popular among the lower nobility and peasantry because of her educational and humanitarian views and actions "because of which the wise Queen deserved to be called the mother of all her nations". She abolished the Jesuit Order and used its educational institutions and estates for the establishment of numerous elementary and secondary schools. She was also known to be in favour of some social reforms which would better the economic condition of the underprivileged classes. She introduced several measures designed to ease the burden of the peasants by defining and limiting the authority of the nobles over their subjects.
The rule of Maria Theresa is considered only as a preview of the far more important events which took place during the rule of her successor, Joseph II.

The reign of Emperor Joseph is the starting point at which the feudal Habsburg Monarchy began to be gradually replaced by the modern one. The theories of "enlightened absolutism" of which Joseph II was an energetic apostle, started the growth of political and nationalistic ideas which matured into the fundamental movement which caused all the nations to arise...from the Alps to the Danube and to the Carpathians. 25

Joseph very ambitiously decided to pass some reforms to create a powerful, unitary state in which there would be one nation ruled by one constitution. Although his first decrees were aimed at the reformation of religious life, they brought about some fundamental changes in Croatia as well. Aiming to diminish the power of the higher Catholic clergy and subordinate it to his control, Joseph confronted the bishops with two orders. The Pope's instructions had to have Joseph's approval before they were valid, and the bishops had to limit their activities and those of their clergy to religious matters only.

Additional decrees issued in 1781 and 1782 respectively gave equal religious and civil rights to non-Catholics, abolished all the monasteries, and confiscated their lands. In 1785, Joseph replaced the Ban of Croatia by the Governor and, what is more important, he issued a decree for the emancipation of the peasants according to which the latter were given the freedom to move, the right to sell their lands, and "to go to the cities and learn a trade and attend schools". 26
public offices and courts the German language became the only means of communication. This rule closed the civil service to all those who did not know German.

The war with Turkey (1787-1790) and the danger from revolutionary France forced Joseph to recall most of his reforms, and to restore the old constitutional regime in Croatia and Hungary (28 January 1790). Even before the war none of his reforms were successfully established in Croatia. The higher nobility and clergy, who represented the only ruling class in the country, balked at carrying out the provisions of the decrees, especially the decree for the emancipation of the peasants. With the death of the Emperor there appeared no immediate danger to the Croat nobility. Its members joined their forces with a strong movement which originated in Hungary and was organized for two reasons—to establish safeguards against future absolutism and to destroy the remnants of centralization and Germanization. Now, for the first time in their history, the Croats worked in really close cooperation with the Magyars. United with the Magyars in this way, the Croat counties strengthened their authority and refused to accept the orders issued by the Emperor. Joseph II was unable to cope with this passive resistance as the Monarchy was undergoing its major crisis; the Turkish war was a failure, Belgium revolted, Joseph's opponents in Hungary made contact with his rival (the King of Prussia), and the process of recruiting new troops was painfully slow. Joseph realized that, under such
conditions, his policy for centralization could no longer be pursued. He decided to yield to the centrifugal forces of Hungary and Croatia. All his rescripts relating to the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen were revoked except for the Toleration Patent, the Peasant Patent and the Livings Patent. On January 28, 1790, he promised to convocate a Diet and ordered the Crown of St. Stephen to be brought back to Hungary. Thus the defenders of the old constitutional system won. The centralism of the era of Enlightened Absolutism was finally defeated. The old Emperor, however, did not live long enough to witness the complete downfall of his ideals. He died three weeks later on February 20.

It was during the short reign of his successor, Leopold II (1790-1792), that relations between Hungary and Croatia began to swing very rapidly in the opposite direction. Leopold II, to whom his older brother, Joseph, had left a completely disorganized state, found it impossible to resist demands put forward by the nationalistically minded Magyars. Leopold handled this dangerous situation with great skill although he had to yield to the Magyar demands. He promised to convocate the Diet triennially and to rule by law only, and not by patent.

The Magyars' constitutional victories induced a substantial segment of the nobility to continue the struggle with the purpose of achieving even greater autonomy and independence from the central government. Within a relatively short time,
the movement developed into a powerful nationalistic apparatus aimed at reorganizing the Monarchy for the benefit of Hungary. As far as Croatia was concerned, this new tendency prevailing among the Magyar ruling class did not seem to offer any improvement of her political status. The Magyar nationalist movement wanted to free only the Magyar nation. Other nations historically belonging to the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen were to be magyarized and made into mere provinces of the Hungarian state.

The Croat nobles were much too preoccupied with their struggle against centralization and Germanization, and their struggle to preserve their ancient rights and privileges to realize the new danger. They continued to believe that the Magyars were the only logical allies who would protect them from future absolutism. They were therefore prepared to meet Magyar demands for the Magyarization of Croatia as long as these demands did not encroach upon their interests as a social class. It was only after the development of nationalism in Croatia itself that the Croat nobility began to realize the purpose of Magyarization. However, by that time the Croat Diet (Sabor) had allowed the passage of a number of laws which almost completely destroyed the autonomy of the country. Consequently, a situation had been created which could no longer be resolved by peaceful parliamentary action, but only by open struggle between the two nationalistic movements.
Forerunners of 19th Century Nationalism

It would be improper to generalize by saying that nobody in Croatia favoured Joseph's antifeudal reforms and that all classes were united in the struggle against his radical ideas. There were people in Croatia who, while rejecting Germanization, welcomed the Emperor's progressive reforms and advocated resistance against the backward Croat and Magyar feudalism. Since the middle class was extremely weak and numerically small, spokesmen for the antifeudal movement originated with members of the higher nobility, clergy and intellectuals who were educated abroad and influenced by the ideas of French revolutionaries. Their work and teaching is significant for they prepared the scene for the development of modern Croat nationalism. Considering the fact that Joseph's reforms caused dissatisfaction among all the classes in Croatia—including the Protestants whose position did not improve by the Toleration Patent—it is not surprising that early Croat radicals found no support for their teaching among the Croats. They were consequently limited to very small groups of progressive thinkers who hoped to achieve something with the help of their radically minded Emperor.

From the beginning of the era of Josephinism there were basically two groups of progressive thinkers in Croatia, each of them in favour of antifeudal laws, but differing in their concepts of the social organization of the state. The first group, so called Josephinists, failed to attract a larger
following for their radical ideas because they were enforced in a ruthless and unskillful manner by Joseph's Governor, Francis Balassa. Therefore their attempt to induce Croats to adopt and further develop their own Croat language and literature failed to attract a substantial number of educated people.

This project, however, found some devoted supporters among the most talented and educated members of the higher class, particularly in the persons of Maximilian Vrhovac and Nikola Skrlec.

Vrhovac, Joseph's bishop of Zagreb, is considered among the best Croat national teachers who preached the ideas of Josephinism to the people at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. His work on the development and defence of the Illyrian language, and his collection of folklore were to play a significant role in the national development of Croatia.

Vrhovac did not advocate the formation of a national movement in the modern sense of the word. As a loyal subject of his king he was not in favour of Croatia's independence from Austria and Hungary. His views were progressive because he realized that the Monarchy (still patterned after a mediaeval form of government) sorely needed reforms to aid its social and economic development, and that, successfully executed, these reforms would ultimately benefit Croatia herself. In addition to this, he instructed his subordinates, the parish priests, to organize a collection of folksongs and forms of speech as they existed in each particular parish. But due to the ignorance of the clergy and their lack of feeling for the native spirit, this attempt failed to produce the results
hoped for. Nevertheless, by using his influence at the courts of Joseph II and later his brother, Leopold II, Vrhovac succeeded in getting permission to establish a private printing office where he published all the available Croat classics written in the Kajkavian dialect. His main assistant, who is considered one of the fathers of nationalism in Croatia, was Nikola Škrlec, Joseph's commissar (Veliki šupan) for the County of Zagreb. He was highly esteemed, not only by his contemporaries in Croatia, but also by the progressive Magyar nobility who became acquainted with Škrlec's progressive views during the meeting of the Common Diet in 1790. A well known Magyar historian, Henry Marczali, an expert on the last two decades of the 18th century, said about Škrlec:

"Nikola Škrlec was perhaps the greatest political talent" not only in Croatia, but also in the whole of Hungary. As well as his "expert knowledge of economics he produced numerous proofs of his deep insight into the entire social and state situation".

The introductory speech, which Škrlec delivered at the meeting of the county of Zagreb, 15 April 1790, "was very well known" and was printed not only in the Magyar Kurir, but also in the Latin newspaper of Buda. 30

However, Škrlec, like Vrhovac, gave no indication that he favoured the preservation and further development of Croat autonomy. On the contrary, at a meeting of the Common Diet in 1790, he demanded "that Croatia must establish the closest ties with Hungary so that the executive government will never again be able to cross the limits of its jurisdiction". 31

As mentioned previously, these demands for various
reforms originated with the French Revolution. The ideas advocated by a more radical segment of the French bourgeois lost some of their intensity by the time they reached the court of Joseph II. The Josephinists in Croatia did not want to change the country's political status quo within the Habsburg Monarchy. According to them, the old constitutional provisions which defined the position of Croatia "have to be strictly enforced and preserved". While they would not advocate the abolition of the Monarchy and establishment of a republic, the least they did was to pull the country from its feudal, mediaeval darkness and improve the position of its underprivileged classes.

Vrhovac and Škrlec did not represent the most radical current in the political life of Croatia. Other progressive intellectuals went several steps further and preached ideas almost identical to those of the French revolutionaries. Unlike the Josephinists this group, called Jacobins, was forced to work underground as an illegal, subversive organization. In Croatia there were several small groups of Jacobins, organized and led by the leading Jacobins in the Monarchy such as Ignat Martinovics, Ivan Lackovicz and Joseph Hajnoczy. The entire movement originated in Hungary, but was not organized along national lines. It consisted of the most progressive elements in the Monarchy whose main purpose was to reform the social structure of the Monarchy along the lines laid down by the French bourgeois class in the last decade of the eighteenth century. In Croatia and Hungary these groups consisted mainly
of intellectuals because the peasants were neither interested in nor understood the slogan "liberty, fraternity and equality", and the bourgeois class was numerically weak due to a comparatively underdeveloped economy. Apart from some trade and home manufacture, the middle class of these countries had no other means of increasing its economic power. A handful of larger industrial units produced a very limited quantity of consumer goods for the needs of the home market. The bulk of the consumer goods was imported from abroad to satisfy the needs of the well-to-do nobles. 

In order to increase the economic potential of the nations in the Monarchy, Martinovics wanted to reform its political system and said "...it is wrong for a nation to allow its upper classes to take its natural right to legislate because the upper classes represent only their interests, and not the interests of society in general". The Jacobins demanded freedom for every nation and pointed out that in Croatia "both yokes have to be destroyed so that freedom can be triumphant".

During the reign of Joseph II, Martinovics was a history professor at the University of Lvov (in German "Lemberg", in Ukrainian "Lviv"). Although a Serb by origin, he lived and worked in Hungary where he was born and brought up. After the death of Joseph II, he became a personal adviser to Leopold II who was trying to continue the work of his late brother. Martinovics favoured Joseph's social reforms and tried to influence Leopold's successor, Francis, to reform the Monarchy's
feudal social system. However, fear arising from the results of the French Revolution caused Francis to assume an extremely reactionary position. As a result, "Martinovics bitterly opposed the new ruler and organized a plot with the purpose of staging a democratic Magyar-Croat revolution". Martinovics was motivated by French bourgeois ideology whose main principles he wanted to establish in the Hungarian state. As already pointed out, he found a number of followers in Hungary and Croatia. But their plotting was unfortunately discovered by Francis' police and all their leaders caught. In the spring of 1794, Martinovics and his closest associates were tried and the majority of them, including himself, executed.

Both Hajnoczy and Lackovicz shared Martinovics' scheme for the reformation of Magyar feudalism. Although they were from noble families, they "hated the Magyar nobility" because it had come to terms with Vienna and it opposed Joseph's social reforms. Hajnoczy, like Lackovicz, advocated complete emancipation of the peasant class and confiscation of the "surplus land of the upper clergy and nobility". This land was to be distributed among the peasant class. In addition to this, all the nobles were to be taxed and the money used for educational and cultural purposes.

The actions of Martinovics and his colleagues in Hungary are significant because of the part they played in the development of the Croat Jacobin movement. Unfortunately, the work of the Croat Jacobins is relatively unknown for the trial in
Pest revealed only limited evidence of the Croat's role in the plot against Francis.

One of the main leaders of the Croat Jacobins was Josip Kralj, director of a royal estate in Slavonia. He was "the main organizing force linking the Magyar and Croat Jacobins". As such, he was one of the key figures in the above mentioned trial. However, he was never questioned by the court because he committed suicide while in prison. As a result the court "lost the thread and could not discover further connections". This fact, coupled with the denial of Martinovics and his colleagues that they had been in contact with Kralj, left the Croatian historians in the dark as to the size and activities of the Croat Jacobins. During the trial a similar incident took place when the court questioned Marko Delivuk, who is considered to be the second most important personality among the Croat Jacobins. His Magyar friends (i.e. the Jacobins) "did not reveal his ties with the secret organization and he (Delivuk) defended himself very skilfully during the trial...so there was little known of his role in Martinovics' plot".

After the majority of Martinovics' Jacobite followers were executed (1795), the movement dissolved completely and Francis succeeded in restoring the feudal absolutistic system as it had existed before the age of Josephinism. During the trial, the evidence submitted against Martinovics indicated that he had established contact with Bishop Vrhovac who, it was said, had helped the Jacobins in Zagreb organize a public display of liberal
ideas in the form of "'the tree of freedom' (arbor liberetatis) as a symbol of protest against the ruling class" (1790). A poem attached to "the tree of freedom" called the Croats "to unite with the French against their enemies" and condemned the nobility and clergy for exploiting the peasantry. During the trial Martinovics denied that he was on friendly terms with Vrhovac. His denial, coupled with the influence Vrhovac had among some of the highest members of the Court, saved Vrhovac's life.

The work of the Croat Jacobins goes down in Croat history as a small experiment in the development of the Croat radical movement. The conditions prevailing in the country during this period indicated that, without a strong middle class, abolition or reform of the present social system and its feudal values was impossible. And in Croatia, as we already know, "there was no third class which would dare to think of only its rights and progress".

The Jacobin movement was the last time any Croat patriotic national leaders would attempt to work in cooperation with the Magyars. Future Croat-Magyar relations not only forced Croat progressive thinkers to discontinue the Jacobins' democratic activities, but also to organize the Croat national movement along conservative lines. In addition to this, for a decade or two following the disappearance of the Jacobin movement, Croatia did not produce a single national awakener who would speak out for social reforms.
Thus, when Croat radicalism died out before the turn of the century, the conservative nobility remained the only politically organized force in the country. Francis' reactionary absolutism relied to a great extent on his effective police machinery. Police agents put a close watch on every suspected individual. Under such conditions it was impossible to organize an anti-feudal radical movement.

Even the Croat nobility was bitterly opposed to Francis' reactionary regime. Although in favour of the preservation of feudalism, the nobility disliked Francis' concept of it. Consequently, the conservative Croat nobility, like former progressives, tried to continue working with the Magyar conservative nobility because their causes appeared identical. In the meantime, the majority of the Magyars had joined ranks with the fast developing nationalist movement. Magyar nationalism was characterized as progressive, but only as far as the Magyar nation was concerned. Croat acceptance of the ideas motivating the Magyar's national movement would mean complete Magyarization and destruction of the Croat nation. Since Croat nationalism was slower in developing, the Croat nobility, after realizing the danger presented by Hungary, was left in a dilemma as to what position should be taken. At the same time, a relatively small group of Croat intellectuals organized a campaign for the cultural revival of the nation recognizing that, before national autonomy could be claimed, Croatia needed its own literary language and orthography. This group achieved
tremendous success over a relatively short period of time, and enabled the nobility to regain its lost ground and claim Croatia's traditional right to autonomy within the Monarchy.

The new leaders of Croat nationalism were influenced very little by the ideas of the former Josephinists and Jacobins. The new nationalistic spirit was not characterized by the extreme radicalism of the Josephinists and Jacobins who had lived and acted only a decade ago. The new movement was progressive in so far as it demanded the use of the Croat language and literature. Some radical ideas did indeed exist among the intellectuals, but attempts to put them into practice remained largely isolated and limited. Unlike a decade ago, the movement found itself in a position where, for the sake of national preservation, it was necessary to combat Magyar radicalism by allying with the conservative forces of the native nobility and the court of the Emperor. Thus the Croat nationalists of the first half of the 19th century, like former Josephinists, found it very useful to seek Vienna's assistance for the realization of their aims. The difference was that Josephinists were supporters of progressive reforms while later nationalists were fundamentally conservative. In the former case, the radicalism of the Josephinists forced the conservative Croat nobles to join forces with the Magyar conservatives against the progressive reforms of Joseph II. In the latter case, the Croat noblemen, as well as the intellectuals, were left no choice but to join forces with Vienna (now the centre of reaction)
against the Magyar movement whose platform included some very progressive ideas.

The Croat national movement underwent several stages of development, depending upon the political situation and state of affairs with Hungary. At its beginning, the movement found the nation split into two groups—the first composed of members from the higher nobility and clergy who, at that time, demanded the establishment of closer relations with the Magyars, and the second composed mainly of intellectuals and a few members from the higher nobility who demanded acceptance of the Croat language as Croatia's official language. The next and following chapters will analyze in detail the actual development of Croat nationalism, and its aims and characteristics as they were formed until the middle of the century. The purpose of this introductory chapter is to provide the reader with an understanding of the general background of Croat-Magyar relations, without which it would be difficult to gain insight into the problem involved in the next chapters.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1 The term "Croatia" had a twofold meaning. All the Croat lands together formed the Triple Croat Kingdom composed of Croatia proper, Slavonia and Dalmatia. Very frequently the Triple Kingdom was referred to as Croatia. Thus "Croatia" meant either Croatia proper or all three parts together. In this paper the term is used in its broader sense. Whenever necessary the proper distinction will be made.


3 The status of Slavonia in the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen is described briefly in footnote 6.

4 J. Šiđak, Historijska čitanka za hrvatsku povijest, Zagreb, Školska Knjiga, 1952, pp. 107-108. Before this decision was reached Ferdinand had been compelled to respect all the rights the Croat nobility had enjoyed up to that time.

5 The original of this document has not been preserved. Its present text dates back to the first half of the fourteenth century. It was discovered among the works of Tomo, a Croat monk-historian from Trogir. However, a number of Croatia's present historians doubt the authenticity of Tomo's transcript. Some of them, like O. Mandić, believe that the text of the document found in Tomo's works was based on a forgery of the original document made between the years 1222 and 1235. Nada Klaic, for example, argues that the text of the Pacta Conventa (also called the Qualiter or Trogirska Apendicula) has no legal foundation since the original never did exist. Furthermore, she argues that "the noblemen of the twelve Croat tribes" referred to in the Pacta Conventa actually did not exist until the fourteenth century, when they slowly emerged as a special, privileged class and were recognized as such by various Hungarian kings.

Although a controversy still remains about the actual existence of the Pacta Conventa, the majority of the Croat historians, past and present, concur that some kind of agreement between Koloman and Croats did exist. It has also been established that the terms of this agreement applied to Croatia and Dalmatia, but not to Slavonia which held a somewhat different position in relation to Hungary (see footnote 7).

For the opposite point of view on this problem see O. Mandić, "'Pacta Conventa' i 'dvanaest' hrvatskih brat-stava", Historijski Zbornik, vols. 11-12 (1958-1959), pp. 165-206. Mandić defends the opinion of the majority of the older Croat historians, such as Lj. Hauptmann, M. Barada, V. Klaić, F. Šišić, D. Šurmin and others, who believed in the existence of such an agreement. See, for example, F. Šišić, Prirođnik izvora hrvatske historije, Zagreb, Kraljevska Hrvatsko-Slavonsko-Dalmatinska Vlada, vol. 1, 1914, pp. 459-649.

All the Magyar historians of the pre-World War I period emphatically denied the existence of any kind of agreement between the Croats and Koloman. Like the Magyar radicals of the first half of the nineteenth century, they maintained that Slavonia was an integral part of Hungary, conquered by the Magyar kings before Koloman.

6 Šidak, Historijska čitanka, pp. 34-35. The terms of this agreement represented the basis of the special rights and privileges that the Croat nobility had in the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen. The greater part of the Croat defence against Magyarization was based on the terms of this agreement.

7 Hence the significance of the Pacta Conventa was not of crucial importance until the last decades of the eighteenth century when the stirring of nationalistic spirit began to split the two nations. Until then the question of Slavonia's position in the Hungarian kingdom was not raised. It is important to point out that, until 1526, the name "Slavonia" was not included in the royal title. Consequently, Magyar nationalists of the nineteenth century argued that Slavonia had always been considered a part of the Hungarian state. According to them, even if an agreement between the Croats and Koloman had taken place, its terms did not apply to Slavonia, but only to Croatia proper.

It cannot be denied, however, that Slavonia was never considered an integral part of Hungary. Although its status was somewhat different from that of Croatia and Dalmatia, it had its own Ban and Sabor. Because Slavonia had already fallen to Hungary during the reign of the Magyar King Ladislas I (1077 - 1095), the Slavonian nobility, unlike the Croat one, was forced to pay property taxes (marturina).
The Croat and Slavonian Sabors met together only when some important issue was to be discussed. Dating from 1558 both Sabors were united into one, the Croat-Slavonian-Dalmatian Sabor. The office of the Slavonian Ban was abolished in favour of the Croat Ban in Zagreb. Thus all the differences between Croatia and Slavonia, including the system for collection of taxes, were abolished completely. However, following the year 1751, Slavonian counties sent their delegates directly to the Hungarian Diet. The counties of Croatia proper continued to elect their delegates to this Diet during the meeting of the Sabor--two to the lower house and one to the upper. Dalmatia fell to Venice in 1426 where it remained until 1797.


10 Ibid., p. 59.


12 For a more detailed presentation of the evolution of the Ban's office, see Šišić, *Hrvatska povijest*. The role of the Ban in the Croat national movement will be sufficiently explained in subsequent pages.

13 Ćulinović, *Državopravna historija*, p. 60.

14 See Sidak, *Historijska čitanka*, pp. 52-56

15 See Ćulinović, *Državopravna historija*, p. 61.

16 These rights and privileges of the Croat nobility were often referred to as the "municipal rights" of the Triple Kingdom. The "municipal rights" were equally valid in Slavonia. Thus the leaders of the Magyar national movement had no legal foundation in claiming Slavonia for Hungary.

17 Croat economic conditions during the era of the Enlightened Absolutism are described in R. Bičanić, *Doba Manufakture u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, Zagreb, Jugoslavenska,
Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1951, pp. 2-39. A considerable amount of Croat capital was in the hands of "foreigners", Germans and Magyars, who formed a large part of the Croat nobility. This fact represented a major obstacle to the development of Croat nationalism in the 1820's and 1830's.

18 The origins of the Military Frontier go back to the pre-1526 period when the Croats and Magyars built a number of fortifications to protect themselves from the Turks. During the 1530's the Military Frontier became a permanent institution for defence which was directly administered by the central government. The size of its territory varied depending upon the length of the Austro-Turkish border. See B. Đurdjjev and others, Historija Naroda Jugoslavije, Zagreb, Školska Knjiga, vol. 2, 1959, pp. 416-421, R. Kiszling, Die Kroaten, Graz-Köln, Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1956, pp. 40-48, and G.E. Rothenberg, The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522-1747, Urbana, The University of Illinois Press, 1960, pp. 28-39 and pp. 103-111.

19 V. Bogdanov, Historija političkih stranaka u Hrvatskoj, Zagreb, Novinarsko Izdavačko Poduzeće, 1958, p. 16.

20 Ibid., p. 16

21 See S. Srkulj, Izvori za hrvatsku povijest, Zagreb, Tiskara Hrvatske Stranke Prava, 1911, pp. 137-139.

22 Such an attitude led the Croat nobility to make the fatal mistake in 1790/91. See Chapter II, "Voluntary Surrender", pp. 35-45.


24 See "Urbar Marije Terezije za Slavoniju g. 1756" in Šidak, Historijska čitanka, pp. 159-164.


27 Croat men and women even began to wear Magyar folk costumes to manifest their opposition to centralization and Germanization. See D. Surmin, Hrvatski preporod, Zagreb, Tisak Dioničke Tiskare, vol. 1, 1903, pp. 3-4.

28 Bogdanov, Historija političkih stranaka, p. 25.

29 Vrhovac's letters to the Croat parish priests have never been published. This is also true of the greater part of his correspondence with the prominent personalities of Croatia,
Austria and Hungary. This material, his diary and many valuable documents are available in the archives of the Archbishop of Zagreb.

Published collections of the original documents (in the Serbo-Croat language) often contain different excerpts of the same document. Hence, I had no choice but to use different sources while referring to the same original.

Two short excerpts from the letter written by Vrhovac in 1813 are to be found in V. Novak, Antologiia Jugoslavenske misli i narodnog jedinstva, Belgrade, Stampa Državne Stamparije, 1930, pp. 43-44. See also F. Fancev, "Dokumenti za naše podrijetlo hrvatskoga preporoda (1790-1832)"; Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske, vol. 12 (1933) pp. 60-62.

30 Bogdanov, Historija političkih stranaka, p. 27.
32 Bogdanov, op. cit., p. 28.
34 Bogdanov, op. cit., p. 34.
35 Loc. cit.
37 See Ibid., pp. 434-442.
38 Ibid., p. 373.
39 Ibid., p. 371.
40 Ibid., p. 454.
42 Bogdanov, "Hrvatska revolucionarna pjesma...", p. 455.
The Croat nobility remained in this dilemma until 1832 when it finally began to adopt the cause of the Croat national movement. The period between 1790 and 1832 was the "period of appeasement" which ended during the meetings of the Diet in 1832/36.

The scope and task of this paper does not allow a detailed presentation of the pre-1790 Croat political, cultural and social development.
II

BEFORE THE ILLYRIAN MOVEMENT
(1790 - 1832)

Voluntary Surrender

The meeting of the Common Diet in Pozsony (in German "Pressburg", in Slovak and Czech "Bratislava") in 1790/91 is considered the main cornerstone in the development of Croat-Magyar relations. It was at this meeting for the first time that the Magyar nobility openly demanded that the Croat delegates accept proposals aimed at the complete Magyarization of Croatia. The Croat nobility, the hated rule of Joseph II still fresh in their minds, was willing to accept these proposals providing that the new policy would not change its position in the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen in any way. In practice this meant that the Croats would be willing to satisfy all Magyar demands as long as such a policy would not encroach upon the nobility's ancient rights and privileges. As indicated in the previous chapter, these ancient rights and privileges, known as jura municipalia, guaranteed the Croat nobility a special position in Croatia-Hungary and later in the Habsburg Monarchy. While willing to accept the Magyar language as an optional subject in the schools, and otherwise ally its forces with Hungary, the Croat nobility emphatically disagreed with those Magyar demands which called for replacing Latin by the Magyar language in administration, giving equal
rights to the Protestants (this would enable Magyar Protestants to settle in Croatia), and taking some Croat territories (for example, Rijeka and the Slavonian counties) from the jurisdiction of the Ban and placing them under the Crown's Council for Hungary.

The meeting of the Common Diet in 1790 was the last time the Croat delegates would believe in the possibility of working in close co-operation with the Magyar ruling class. From this moment, the Croat-Magyar relations began to deteriorate rapidly and the Croats began to turn more and more to Vienna, and later to their own nationalistic movement for assistance. At the meeting of this Diet, the Croats showed their "unpreparedness for important events and changes".

According to established, constitutional procedure, the Croat legislative assembly, the Sabor, usually met before the meeting of the Common Diet in order to decide on the position to be taken at Pozsony. The Sabor elected its delegates to Pozsony and gave them special instructions on which basis they were to voice the wishes of Croatia. Several days before the meeting of the Sabor itself, all the Croat counties met in their separate skupštinas to elect their delegates to the Sabor and to issue a statement of their views on the current political issues. Of all these meetings, the meeting of the County of Zagreb was the most important because Zagreb was not only the county with the largest population, but also the political, cultural and social centre of all Croatia. It was
on the proposal of this county that Leopold II, after the resignation of Joseph's governor, Francis Balassa, appointed a new Ban for Croatia, Ivan Erdödy (1790-1806). At its meeting the County of Zagreb agreed on the establishment of a closer union with Hungary so that "never again will the existence of our Constitution be threatened by the executive government and its direct or indirect helpers...". The decisions reached at the meetings of the other Croat counties indicated that the nobility throughout Croatia was unanimous in its demand for the formation of a closer constitutional union with Hungary. That such an attitude should be common among the nobles in all the Croat counties is not surprising for the composition of all the skupštinas was almost identical, i.e. only the higher and middle nobles and members of the clergy had the right to attend and vote at such meetings.

The decisions reached at the meeting of this Sabor must be discussed to some detail because they had a tremendous impact on the development of Croat nationalism. The entire political activity of the future leaders of nationalism stemmed from the desire to nullify the constitutional laws which were passed on the basis of these proposals. In addition to this, an analysis of the instructions given by the Sabor to the Croat delegates to the Common Diet will show the true character of the tendencies prevailing among the Croat ruling class, and enable the reader to see to what extent the Magyars misinterpreted the laws of 1790/91 and utilized them
for their cause, and against the Croats.

The Sabor finally met on 11 May 1790. After their formal approval of the appointment of the new Ban and after the election of officials who were to conduct the work of the Sabor, the delegates proceeded to discuss the future position of their country in relation to Hungary. In the absence of any kind of opposition the debates on the issues in question were short and decisions were reached very rapidly.

The Sabor decided that its delegates to the Common Diet were to recognize the validity of the majority vote in all discussions of "general public nature" but only if such proposals "do not affect the separate rights of the Kingdom of Croatia". Thus, for instance, the delegates were explicitly told to refuse to recognize any modification of the law which prevented non-Catholics from owning land in Croatia. In addition to this, on the basis of Maria Theresa's unconstitutional act which abolished the Crown's Council for Croatia, the delegates were to propose the formation of a Senate of the Kingdom (senatus regni) which would be a common government composed of an equal number of Croats and Magyars to secure the rights of both nations. The Senate was to remain in power and rule over Croatia's six counties only "until Croatia regains all its territory now occupied by Venice and Turkey". In a separate document attached to the instructions, the Sabor formally surrendered its right to legislate on the
question of Croatia's finances:

...that any increase in taxes for the upkeep of troops (contributio) payable directly to the King, must in future be discussed and decided exclusively at the meeting of the Common Diet and nowhere else. But only if Croatian taxes are discussed separately from the Magyar ones.  

Regarding the relations of Croatia-Hungary with Austria and its position in the Monarchy, the Sabor demanded that all the laws issued by Joseph II be formally abolished, that the use of the German language be abolished in Croatia and in Hungary, that the King was to declare wars and conclude treaties only with the approval of the Common Diet, and, finally, that the King was to respect the old Constitution and call a meeting of Diet every third year.

The Common Diet at Pozsony opened its first session on 20 June 1790. According to his earlier declaration, Leopold readily submitted to the Magyar demands that new kings for Croatia-Hungary be officially installed in Buda. He refused to recognize the validity of all the other proposals, although he agreed with the proposal that new laws would be enforced only with agreement of the Diet. Shortly after his arrival in Vienna, Leopold formed, on the requests of the Serbs in Croatia and the Military Frontier, who were not represented in the Diet, a separate Illyrian Office in Vienna. This decision skilfully by-passed the Croat laws which denied religious
toleration to the Orthodox faiths. In return "the chiefs of the 'Illyrian' people promised Vienna 40,000 troops whenever necessary and in case of an emergency". 8

The Croat proposal for the voluntary surrender of their right to decide Croatia's taxes in the Sabor to the Common Diet and the Crown's Council for Hungary (Leopold refused to sanction the proposal for the formation of a Senate) passed both houses of the Diet very quickly and received the royal assent shortly after. No important debates took place on this occasion in view of the fact that the Croat move was welcomed by all the Magyar delegates and inspired them to increase their demands. The Croats appeared willing to surrender completely without offering any greater resistance.

However, with the introduction of the language problem the atmosphere prevailing in the Diet changed completely. The Magyars demanded that future debates in the Diet were to be held in the Magyar language and that the journal and decisions of the Diet were to be written in their language as well. 9 The Croats were astonished and were caught unprepared to resist this sudden outburst of Magyar nationalism. The question of replacing Latin by the Magyar language involved not only a mere change of the country's official language, but also the problem of abolishing some fundamental rights of the Kingdom of Croatia. The resistance organized by the Croats against this Magyar demand represented the first step in the development of Croat nationalism. The Croats did not
argue for the sake of preserving their own language, but the mere fact that they attempted to resist the Magyar language constituted the first step in the struggle for the preservation of Croatia's state rights. Unlike the Magyars, who, "under Joseph had progressed in the development of their language and literature more than they otherwise would have in a hundred years", 10 the Croats had yet to accept the idea of using their language as the official language of their country. For the present they argued that if such a change were sanctioned and the use of "this ancient language (Latin) in the public business was abolished, this would harm Croatia; such a move would undermine the Agreement, and the Croats would lose all the protection guaranteed them by the law". 11 Furthermore the Magyar language, they argued, was not a "cultural" language and the great majority of the Croat and Magyar nobility spoke only Latin or German.

The proposals finally submitted to the Emperor for approval reflected only limited success of the Croat resistance. First of all, the proposal called for the introduction of the Magyar language in all elementary schools as an optional subject. Secondly, the Diet's journal was to be written in the Magyar language and its Latin translation (on the request of the Croats) was to be considered as an equally valid and authentic copy ("authentica versio diarii hungarici auctoritate comitiorum procurata"). 12 Thirdly, Magyar delegates were allowed to deliver their speeches in the Diet in their
native language and the Croats, if they so wished, could continue to use Latin.

With all their rights, the Croats could have refused to accept the Magyar language in the Diet itself because at that time there were very few people who knew that language; this is entirely understandable since the language of diplomacy was Latin and society in general spoke Latin, Croat or German. 13

Realizing their failure to prevent the amendment of the old Constitution regarding the use of the Latin language the Croats, somewhat belatedly, attempted to restrict and modify their formerly accepted proposals for the recognition of authority of the Crown's Council for Hungary as the supreme government for Croatia. Their tardy protest was completely disregarded, and in 1791, the bill was sent to Vienna where the Emperor promptly sanctioned it. In reality this law did not bring about any significant change (except for the taxation law) in Croatian politics. The Crown's Council for Hungary, as we already know had become the official Croat government during the rule of Maria Theresa who had abolished the Crown's Council for Croatia. The attempt on the part of the Croat nobility to accept such a situation as legal and desirable was evidence of its complete lack of interest in the organization of an autonomous government in the country. The Diet of 1790/91 finally forced the Croat nobles to realize that if Croatia did not have substantial political independence their interests would suffer as well, and that the interests of their constitutional
partners were no longer the same as their own, but entirely different.

The Diet of 1790/91 played a positive role in the development of Croat nationalism because it forced the Croat ruling class to think in terms of the interest of the nation as a whole and to accept the idea that, besides being an aristocratic class, it was also a part of the Croat nation whose interests it must protect if its aristocratic members were to survive politically and economically. Therefore it is not surprising that a number of the Croat nobles became energetic supporters of developing Croatia's nationalism. Of course, even after 1791, there were still many nobles who did not learn a lesson, and still believed in the closest possible co-operation with the Magyar nobility. Fortunately, the number of such nobles was very small and had no significant impact on the nationalistic movement.

We have examined so far the two main decisions which directly affected the process of the development of nationalism in Croatia. Other decisions reached at the meeting of the Common Diet in 1790/91, although not less significant, had no immediate or direct impact on nationalism. The voluntary surrender of the most important field of any legislative body (finance) did not cause any stir among the Croats until the Magyars showed the true nature of their policy. Immediately, throughout Croatia simultaneous meetings of all counties' skupštinas were called and official protests against the
Magyar demands filed in Vienna and in Pozsony itself. In spite of the fact that these protests made by the Croat counties had no impact on the decisions of the Diet, the gesture itself indicated a sudden change of public opinion in Croatia and illustrated a unanimous outlook of the ruling class.

Upon his return from Pozsony, the Ban, Ivan Erdödy, called the Sabor in session in order to obtain its formal sanction of the new laws approved by the Emperor. The delegates to the Sabor firmly decided that in the next Common Diet the Croats would energetically demand the amendment of all those laws concluded in Pozsony which directly or indirectly encroached upon the state rights of Croatia. Nevertheless, the Sabor undertook measures to organize the chairs of the Magyar language in elementary and secondary schools as "an optional subject, i.e. for all students who think they will need it".  

Promulgation of the decisions reached by the Common Diet represented the only function of the Croat legislative assembly after 1791. In fact, it became a mere agent of the Crown's Council for Hungary and the tool of Magyar nationalism.

...from now on for the history of the Croat nation the events which took place during the long sessions at Pozsony are more important and more significant than the decisions made in the narrow circles of the Croat Sabor. This type of relation finally brought about 1848. 16

Such an internal situation in Croatia (created with the
help of the Croat nobility through its delegates to the Common Diet) coupled with external factors - the Napoleonic wars and the work of the Czech, Slovak and Polish Pan-Slavists - made possible the relatively fast development of Croat nationalism. The period when the French ruled in the Croat regions unquestionably contributed a great deal to the Croat cause by initiating and influencing the development of national feeling among Croats of all classes. However short, this period succeeded in bringing to Croatia some fundamental ideas of the Age of Reason which helped the Croat nationalistic leaders break away from their medieval conceptions of state and society. For this reason, a presentation of the highlights of life in Croatia during the French rule will be very useful for it represents an important stage in the development of Croat nationalism.

Croatia During the Napoleonic Wars

After the death of Leopold II, on 1 March 1792, the Habsburg Monarchy received a new ruler in the person of his eldest son Francis II (1792-1835). Unlike his father, Francis II was a strong opponent of every new reform and progress dictated by the new age and instead aimed at strengthening of absolutism. During the first half of his rule (1792-1815), the Monarchy was involved in several dangerous wars with France which, at times, threatened to destroy it completely. Although Francis II was losing
one territory after another, he was determined to enforce a strict absolutistic regime and police state in the remaining parts of the Monarchy. Thus, before the arrival of the French troops he completely destroyed the progressive movements of Josephinists and Jacobins. As a result of this policy the Croat nationalists were forced to start the development of the national movement from the beginning. 18

According to the terms of the peace treaty concluded between Austria and France, Francis II's compensation for the loss of Belgium was the Venetian Republic and its territories on the other side of the Adriatic Sea. Shortly after the conclusion of this treaty (at Campo Formio, on 18 April 1897), Napoleon caused the downfall of the Venetian Republic (12 May 1897) and Austrian troops were allowed to occupy all its territory, including Dalmatia and Boka Kotorska. The Croats of Dalmatia welcomed the Austrian troops as a liberating force which was going to make the union of Dalmatia and Croatia possible. The petition signed by representatives of all the Dalmation cities and sent to Francis II clearly shows that a degree, no matter how limited, of nationalistic sentiment existed among the Croats of Dalmatia in spite of their long existence as a separate region of the Venetian Republic:

"Because the Kingdom of Dalmatia was left without a lawful government,...and because the eighty-four representatives of all the Dalmatian regions expressed a desire...to unite with the people of the Kingdom of Croatia with whom it was united in the old times, we beg His Majesty...to allow this union." 19
The Austrian authorities promised to respect the wishes of the Dalmatians and to ensure success sent General Rukavina, a Croat, with the Austrian army to establish law and order. However, the expected unification did not take place. Instead, Francis II appointed a governor for Dalmatia responsible directly to Vienna. Fortunately Francis' rule in Dalmatia was very short. After the Battle of Austerlitz in 1805, and according to the terms of the treaty concluded at Pozsony (Pressburg) on 2 December in the same year, Napoleon occupied both Dalmatia and Boka Kotorska and, in 1806 (26 May) abolished the Dubrovnik Republic. Dalmatia's progress in the fields of culture and economics during the French rule is of particular interest to us.

The new governor for Dalmatia, Vincenzo Dandolo, accomplished greater success in Dalmatia than had been the case during the entire period of Venetian rule.

The first manifestation of the cultural renaissance of backward Dalmatia was the weekly 'II regio Dalmata-Kraljski Dalmatin' (the King's Dalmatian), the first Croatian newspaper, whose first edition appeared on Saturday, 12 July 1806....

The "King's Dalmatian" served as an organ for the general education of the masses in the techniques of modern agriculture. Dandolo irrigated many acres of arable land and invited foreign experts "to instruct people on the utilization of their small plots of land". The French abolished Dalmatia's mediaeval forms of government and
established institutions similar to the organizations of France's modern government. In short, the French did more in several years than the Dalmatians would have ever been able to do under the former forms of foreign rule. As a result, Dalmatia's economy became more developed and better organized than did Croatia's under the rule of Hungary and Austria.

By boosting the economic progress of the region, and improving educational facilities, the French authorities unconsciously contributed to the development of Croat nationalism. Prior to the arrival of Dandolo, Dalmatia had hardly any schools. However, within three years of French rule and with the help of the annual Italian contribution of three million francs, every major Dalmatian city received a number of elementary schools, secondary schools and various vocational institutes. The language of instruction was the native Croat language because "the French government did not recognize any other nationality but the Croat one which was translated in the Italian edition of the 'King's Dalmatian' as 'illirica'". 24

In spite of all the progress that was made the local population grew to hate the French as "atheists and Jacobins" 25 and enemies of the Church. On one hand, most of the population did not actually understand the new progressive and radical ideas advocated by the French and, on the other, the local priests and monks had a tremendous influence among the people who could not understand why the French restricted the
power of the clergy. The local parish priests were enraged by the measures introduced by the French authorities which restricted the privileges of the clergy and separated the Church from the state, and utilized this confusion among the masses by advocating an open resistance against the "godless foreigners". Their success in creating an anti-French sentiment among the Dalmatians is indicative of the lack of a strong national feeling among the population in spite of the fact that it favoured a union with Croatia proper. Native Dalmatian intellectuals were largely pro-Italian and were taught to view, in Italian institutions of higher education, the native Dalmatian culture and language as backward and unworthy of intellectual consideration and study. This was one of the main reasons that the Croats of Dalmatia produced very few leaders during the formation of the Croat nationalism. The economic and cultural progress made in Dalmatia during the French rule had more impact on the thinking of those nationalists who lived in Croatia proper and who wanted to see a similar progress made in the whole of Croatia. Despite the dissatisfaction among the Dalmatians caused by the clergy, the French taxation system and conscription laws, the influence of the French on public opinion in Croatia became more pronounced with the expansion of the French domain in the Balkans.

Napoleon expanded his territory in the Balkans after an Austrian attempt to regain its lost territory failed completely. Following the battle at Wagram, Austria was compelled to sue for peace which was concluded in Schönbrunn on 14 October 1809.
On that occasion, Napoleon received additional territory: Istria, Western Carniola, Carinthia and the Croat regions on the right bank of the Sava up to the mouth of the Una at Jasenovac. Napoleon united these newly acquired regions with French Dalmatia under a new name, "Illyrian Provinces" (les provinces illyriennes) whose capital was to be in Ljubljana. This same name, Illyria, was later adopted with great success by the Croat national leaders whose purpose was to unite all the South Slavs, and particularly the Croats, under one name which would attract all different nationalities.

The new governor of the Illyrian Provinces was Napoleon's well known marshal August de Marmont who, as his predecessor Dandolo, distinguished himself as a very progressive ruler. Professor Sisic says: "Hardly ever before did our people have a more honest and more just ruler than Marmont...". Marmont, who knew Croatian himself, contributed greatly to the development of the Croat language by sponsoring the publishing of the first Italian-Illyrian-Latin dictionary edited by the monk Stulli in 1810.

In external affairs Marmont decided to introduce Croatian (Illyrian) in Illyria as the official language of administration, while French was to be used in the internal affairs of the Empire, especially in communication with the central government.

For this reason, Marmont, like Dandolo, reorganized the educational system and established many additional institutions where the language of instruction was the native Croat tongue. With assistance of the native scholars, the French authorities
also published a number of textbooks written in the Croatian language. "The King's Dalmatian" was replaced by a new paper, *Télégraphe officiel des provinces Illyriennes* (The Official Gazette of the Illyrian Provinces), which was published in four different languages, French, Italian, German and Croatian.  

During the French occupation, Napoleon himself addressed the Croats, who were protesting strongly against Francis' decision to sacrifice almost half of Croatia in order to save the Monarchy, and pointed out that replacing the "backward Austrian governmental structure" by a new, progressive French rule meant the beginning of an era of economic and cultural progress which not only improved the standard of living, but also provided a basis for the "awakening of national consciousness among all South Slavs".

Napoleon's Illyria was the first experiment in the history of the South Slavs which attempted to unite Croats, Serbs and Slovenes into one national state. During the short time it existed, the system of government in the Illyrian provinces provided the leading intellectual minds among the South Slavs with first-hand information on the possibilities of the formation of an even greater South Slavic state which had formerly been thought impossible to achieve. What the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes had not been able to achieve throughout the many centuries of their separate existence, Napoleon succeeded in doing almost overnight. Because Napoleon had
suddenly achieved the "impossible", the nations placed under his rule were caught unprepared. Being culturally and politically immature they did not know how best to utilize the various freedoms given to them by the French, and they let this golden opportunity slip through their fingers practically untouched. It was not only the free use of the Croat language and the projects for developing a national literature and increased educational facilities which characterized the overall progress in the lives of the people in the Illyrian Provinces. The entire governmental structure was designed to speed up the process of integration to the maximum.

With the exception of the Military Frontier, where the old Austrian military type of administration was preserved, Illyria was subdivided into six provinces which were not organized along ethnic lines. In each of the provinces the administration was to employ as many native sons as possible. However, the rules prevented an official from serving in his home town or district. As a result, a mobile administrative class was formed enabling the native intellectuals and other educated people to acquaint themselves with the life and people in all the regions of "Illyria".

Judicial administration was separated from state administration which enabled the courts to dispense a greater amount of justice than had ever been the case before. The Code Napoléon compelled the courts to provide equal protection
of all classes, including the peasantry which had been emancipated. The language of the courts was Croat (Illyrian) and the great majority of officials were native sons.

In addition to the improved administration of justice, Illyria was also made financially independent. Industrial and agricultural self-sufficiency was obtained by building new factories, furthering the exploitation of natural resources, building communication lines, and improving the cultivation of land. The increase in production and the improved trade facilities resulted in the creation of a bourgeois class which, although still relatively small, became one of the leading forces in the development of nationalism. Thus Illyria's trading cities, Karlovac, Rijeka and Senj became the main centres of the Croat national movement after the fall of Napoleon.

After the defeat of the French army at Leipzig (16, 17 and 18 October 1813), the rapid economic and cultural development of the Illyrian Provinces came to a standstill. By 1814, the Austrian generals, Francis Tomašić and Todor Milutinović, had occupied the entire territory without any difficulty. The Croats, as previously pointed out, disliked the French hegemony over Croatia, in spite of all the progress that Napoleon had made possible. Therefore the people, led by the Catholic clergy, welcomed the Austrians as the liberators of their homeland.

Croatia's expectations that she would finally be rewarded
and compensated for all the sacrifices she had made in order to save the Monarchy were not fulfilled once again. The unification of her lost territories with their mother country did not take place. Dalmatia, whose territory stretched from the Zrmanja to Budva, fell again under the direct authority of Vienna as had been the case from 1797 to 1805. The territory of the Military Frontier was further expanded and also restored to its former status. The remaining part of the Croat provinces which had been under French rule was given to the Austrian administration of Carinthia which was subsequently transformed into the "Kingdom of Illyria" (3 August 1816). However, after a long and bitter dispute between the Croat nobility and the Emperor, this part of Croatia proper was returned to the Ban (1822), minus the Kvarner islands which were given to Istria. The title "King of Illyria" was preserved until the fall of the Monarchy in 1918.

Thus the Napoleonic wars ended with two results for Croatia - on one hand she lost some territory to Vienna, but on the other hand her people gained some healthy national ideas. These ideas could not be taken away by an Imperial decree or any other political action. The former local barriers which had prevented the people of one region from identifying themselves with the nationality of the neighbouring region, began to fall. Prior to that the differences among the Croat regions, which manifested themselves through the use of different dialects of the language, represented a major obstacle
to the development of nationalism. Now the dialects began to be considered as forms of speech of the same language. This idea that a common language meant a common nationality was accompanied by the next logical consequence, unification of all the territories inhabited by the same people.

Consequently, the Illyrian name began to influence our people for the first time to create a broader basis for national unity which had been started and partially realized in Napoleon's Illyria. This seed grew into a powerful tree from the time the Croat nation clashed with the tendencies of the Magyars.

Strangely enough, further development of Croat nationalism did not take place, as one would expect, in Dalmatia and in the Croat territories on the right bank of the Sava. After the fall of Napoleon's Illyria, the centre of nationalism moved to the heart of Croatia which had remained under Hungary even during the Napoleonic wars. This shift of the centre of national activities was caused by several equally important factors.

Firstly, we must take into account that the circumstances which developed in Dalmatia during the period of French government did not seem to favour their creator. True, the peasants were freed and made owners of their land, but their emancipation came too early and too suddenly. The Dalmatian peasant, who had been subjugated to various foreign overlords for centuries had learned to regard every concession on the part of his masters with the greatest possible suspicion. His
past experience told him that behind each reform there were always hidden implications which would not favour his interests, but only make his life more miserable. The period of French rule was too short to effectively show him the real improvement in his economic and political status. His naturally conservative outlook prevented him from seeing in perspective his new role and position in the modern social structure which had just been created. In addition to this, he was accustomed to living under the tremendous influence of the Catholic clergy who assumed the role of his protector during the French occupation and told him to rebel against the "faithless Jacobins". It was easier for him to accept the explanation of his parish priest and reject the ideas of the newly arrived foreigners than to try and understand the new radical reforms. In the absence of a strong group of native intellectuals, who would take upon themselves the task of explaining to their people the advantages for the nation in the new reforms, any attempt to enforce in a short period of time such reforms in a backward country was bound to fail.

Secondly, the Dalmatian Croats had no native ruling class as was the case in the rest of Croatia. Their native nobility was assimilated by the Italian nobility of the Venetian Republic. This situation, coupled with the fact that Dalmatian intellectuals were largely Italianized, left the peasants as the only class to organize the formation of a national movement. Furthermore, Dalmatia had no diet and no constitutional
privileges which would provide it with a basis for political action. Even after the fall of the Venetian Republic, Dalmatia did not improve its political status. Following the departure of the French troops, Dalmatia was prevented from uniting with its mother country, Croatia, where its new democratic experience and radical ideas could find an ideal outlet and available protection. Instead, Dalmatia was given the status of a second-rate Austrian province directly subordinated to the authority of Vienna.

Thirdly, this shift of nascent nationalist activity to the part of Croatia under the rule of the Crown's Council for Hungary was a logical move because it was this part of Croatia that was most in need of a strong national ideal. In fact, the Magyar attempts to abolish Croatia's political status and eliminate the Croat nation left the Croat ruling class no other choice but to fall back on an anti-Magyar national movement. Since there was no such movement in existence at the time of the Magyars' first attack, it had to be created. It was created by a very small group of intellectuals who were influenced by the national movements in other European states and the works of the famous Pan-Slavic leaders. And, unlike Dalmatia, this part of Croatia had the constitutional means to protect its national movement and use it against its potential enemy. At the same time, because the Croat national movement was the weaker of the two movements and the less dangerous to the central government, it received occasional backing from the
Emperor which was of decisive importance at times. In short, the Magyar attack on Croat nationality was the catalyst which started the development of nationalism in Croatia. This movement had to have its own literary language and so Croat nationalism developed in two different directions: (1) the intellectuals and other literary Croats worked with the problem of creating a literary language which would be common to all and could be used as Croatia's official language and (2) the Croat higher nobility fought the Magyars in the political arena at Pozsony and refused to surrender its interests and accept the terms of Magyarization.

Elements of Nationalism Among the Ruling Class

Before the Croat nobility united its forces with the movement organized by the native intellectuals, its struggle against Magyarization was largely isolated and limited to endless debates in the legislative house, the Diet at Pozsony. The majority of the nobles was not impressed or otherwise positively influenced by the progress the French had achieved in the Illyrian Provinces; like Francis I, they were greatly relieved when France was finally defeated because the old feudal system could be restored and their position strengthened. They therefore welcomed Francis' desire to eliminate the seeds of radicalism the French had sown in the Monarchy. However, when Francis' policy again began to show signs of the hated absolutist regime, the Croat nobles decided to choose the "lesser of two evils", and prepared themselves to approach
the Magyar nobility and sacrifice some more of Croatia's precious state rights.

Even during the Napoleonic wars, Francis was reluctant to put the new constitutional laws of 1790/91 into practice and to recognize the autonomy of the lands of St. Stephen. He was never in favour of calling the Diet into session for he feared that, influenced by the events which had taken place in France, the Diet's sessions could easily lead to an open rebellion against the throne. Having eliminated the above mentioned Josephinists and Jacobins (a move which was welcomed by the conservative nobility in Croatia and Hungary), the Emperor decided to impose a blockade which would prevent revolutionary ideas from spreading among his subjects. The meetings of the Diet were called in 1792, 1796 and 1802, but only to approve the increase in taxes and additional recruitment of soldiers for the war against France. These meetings were very short and no other matters could be discussed.

However, from 1802 the Magyar nobility realized its opportunity to use the chaotic situation created by the war to gain additional concessions to their demands to introduce the Magyar language as the official language in the Hungarian lands. Such demands placed the Croats in a very difficult position. Their political status was endangered by the central government which had begun to disregard the Constitution completely, and planned to transform Croatia into an Austrian province and its people into Germans. On the other hand, the
Magyars, who appeared to be defending the Constitution, denied any constitutional rights to Croatia and planned to transform it into a Hungarian province and its people into Magyars. This situation remained unchanged until the end of absolutism in the mid-20's when the central government at Vienna realized the danger of Magyar nationalism and decided to extend an occasional helping hand to the Croats in order to weaken its (Vienna's) more dangerous opponent.

The next Diet met in Pozsony on 17 April 1805. Francis' main purpose for calling this session was the same as before - more money and more recruits. Nevertheless, the Magyar delegates succeeded in organizing a strong debate against the activities of the secret police and the new system of censorship which prevented the development of the Magyar language. They demanded that their language be used in all communications with the Crown's Council for Hungary and in the administration of justice. The clash between the Hungarian and Croat delegates took place immediately after the proposal suggesting that the Magyar language be taught in all the schools of Hungary and Croatia. While the Croats did not question the Magyars' right to introduce their own language in Hungarian schools and offices, they did protest against any similar proposal which would include the Croat lands. The Bishop of Zagreb, Vrhovac, who represented Croatia in the upper house, the House of Magnates, pointed out: "...the Kingdom of Croatia has the same right to use its native language as has Hungary
to use its language" 44 and that any such proposal "will never be accepted by the Croats; we will fight it forever". 45

As the spokesman of the minority group in the Sabor, Vrhovac went a step further and announced that, in the same way the Magyars were struggling for the rights of their language, the Croats would also reject Latin and accept their language (Croat) as the official language in the Kingdom of Croatia. 46 Although his attempt had no significant impact on the thinking of the Croat delegates, it indicated that there were some Croat nobles who thought it necessary to replace Latin in administration by the native Croat. The majority of the Croat nobles were still very strongly in favour of the Latin language and felt its preservation in the public offices in Croatia was a symbol of the Croat autonomy. Their political influence in the Common Diet was still strong enough to force that body to amend the above proposal by the inclusion of a statement which specified that the new law would not be enforced in the Croat lands. Owing to the weakness of the Magyar national movement caused by many of its members who doubted the literary power of their language and considered its adoption in the state administration politically unfeasible, the Croat amendment of the Diet's decisions was relatively easy to obtain. The amendment was formally sanctioned by the Croat Sabor which met after the return of the Croat delegates from Pozsony (28 November):
"...that in these Kingdoms and their administration neither the Magyar language nor any other will ever be used, but only the Latin language because in this language, which is as old as this Kingdom, all our laws are written...and if it is abolished then our culture and nation will be destroyed because we would no longer be able to understand our laws and rights". 47

Two years later, in 1807 (5 April), the meeting of the Common Diet in Buda indicated that the Magyar nobility had largely overcome the forces which had disunited the national movement. This was especially true of the lower house where the Magyar patriots by a majority vote adopted the new policy: "Our mother tongue is a more important factor than the Constitution and the privileges of the nobility". 48 The Croats, who could not actually demand the same rights for the Croat language as long as Croatia was ruled by the Crown's Council for Hungary, manifested their national feeling by demanding that Riječka's inclusion into Croatia be formally recognized. 49 The Diet passed this proposal and, in 1808, Francis assented to the bill. As a result, Riječka was required to send its delegates to both legislative houses, the Common Diet and the Sabor, and was considered to be a component part of Croatia and of Hungary.

The questions of Slavonia and the regions included in the Military Frontier enabled the Croat nobility to further illustrate its nationalistic tendencies. At Pozsony, the Croat delegates very successfully fought the aggressive Magyar demand that Slavonia be given the status of a Magyar county and be included into Hungary proper. The Magyar argument, based
on some historical claims which were supposed to "prove" that Slavonia had always belonged to Hungary although it had been "improperly" considered as a part of Croatia, failed completely. Slavonia remained a component part of the Kingdom of Croatia and, as such, was represented, not in the Hungarian Diet, but in the Croat Sabor. The Croats of Slavonia themselves always felt very close to the Croats from Croatia proper and very often showed far greater national feeling than their countrymen from Zagreb.

The Croat ruling class achieved only limited success when they dealt with the second question - the problem of the Croat lands included in the Military Frontier. This question was not decided at Pozsony since the area was administered by the central government in Vienna. The Emperor was unwilling to part with this territory since it was an excellent source of good soldiers who, in case of war, could be mobilized quickly and without any difficulties because he did not have to seek the approval of the Diet. Consequently, he refused to recognize the validity of the Croat claims on this area. Only two cities of the area in question, Karlovac and Glina, were returned to the jurisdiction of the Ban. With the departure of the French troops a similar situation developed in regard to Dalmatia which was forcefully included into the "Kingdom of Illyria" in spite of its people's desire to be included into the Croat lands. Francis and his advisors considered it politically disadvantageous to allow the Croats to unite and
organize a strong national movement able to withstand completely the Magyar attacks.

The basis of the problem regarding the integration of all the Croat lands had been created as early as 1809 when Austria, defeated by Napoleon, had been forced to turn over to the French the aforementioned Croat regions situated across the Sava. The Croat nobles were very much disappointed with the terms of the treaty signed in Schönbrunn and sincerely believed that Napoleon could have been defeated in Croatia had Vienna agreed to unite Dalmatia with the Kingdom of Croatia. The bishop Vrhovac had advised the central government: "If you issue a declaration to the people of Dalmatia that Dalmatia will be united with the Kingdom of Croatia, i.e. with the Hungarian lands in accordance with its ancient rights, then, I believe, we could quickly defeat the French". Vrhovac based his proposal on the Croats' and Serbs' successful war against the French in Croatia, and believed that with the help of the Croat patriots from Dalmatia the French troops could be pushed out from Croatia completely.

Since the central government would not even consider the possibilities of announcing any such proposal to the Dalmatians, Croatia was greatly reduced in size and therefore weakened in her struggle against the aggressive Hungarian state. The situation in the entire Monarchy was very critical. As a result of the war the Empire was rapidly approaching financial and economic bankruptcy. To improve economic conditions in the
state, Francis was forced once again to seek the co-operation of the nobility. Consequently he agreed to call a meeting of the Diet.

The Diet met in Pozsony on 25 August 1811. Owing to the Emperor's stubbornness about modifying his policy for the economic reconstruction of the Empire and his new fiscal policy, the delegates to the Diet refused to co-operate with the central government and no decisions could be reached. Francis called off the meeting and the Diet did not meet again until 1825.

Acting instead on the advice of his main policy maker, Metternich, Francis suspended the Croat and Magyar constitutions and introduced the highest degree of absolutism and centralization.

Francis' decision to conclude the meeting of the Diet was enforced relatively easily because the delegates (Croat and Magyar) could not get together, and failed to organize a united opposition to this measure. In a very untimely move, the Magyar delegates again managed to bring up the question of the Hungarian language. Their demands for the Magyarization of Croatia had not changed in substance since 1805. Having failed on two previous occasions, in 1805 and 1807, to impose their language on the Croats, they attempted to do so in 1811. Again the Croat nobles successfully defended the state rights of Croatia; the spokesman for the Croat delegation said:

As before, the Croats do not oppose the Magyars' attempt to obtain additional rights for the use of their language at home (in Hungary). The Croats have even gone as far as to allow their countrymen to use the Magyar language at the highest level of government and to make it possible for them to learn it if they want to...
If Croatia could use a different language from Hungary (i.e. Latin) without any difficulties for eight hundred years then it should not present any major obstacle to our relations in the future either.

Following the meeting of the Diet in 1811, the rapidly developing controversy between Croatia and Hungary came to a standstill. Both Croatia and Hungary faced their old enemy, absolutism. Since the meeting of the Diet was not called, the Croat, as well as the Hungarian nobles, decided to organize a passive resistance to centralism by using their remaining forms of government, namely the assemblies and administration of individual counties. The Croat counties sabotaged decisions channelled to them by the central government and very often refused to effectively promulgate new royal decrees. However, after the defeat of Napoleon and the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Metternich appointed an Austrian governor to each county who placed pro-German elements in the key posts of administration. In addition to this Sedlnitzky's police agents, reinforced by the Austrian troops, prevented the formation of any anti-Austrian movement by imprisoning the more radical citizens and controlling and censoring the press and correspondence.

The period of absolutism came to its end before anybody expected. When Francis attempted to recruit 30,000 men to combat revolutions in Spain and Italy all the Croat and Magyar counties unanimously refused any co-operation unless the Diet was called into session. Metternich finally yielded and announced that the Diet was to meet on 11 September 1825.
During this period the Croat nobility expressed its national feeling by demanding that the central government return to Croatia those Croat regions which had been incorporated into the Kingdom of Illyria after the defeat of Napoleon. This movement had its centre in Zagreb because it was the County of Zagreb which lost a considerable amount of its territory after the Treaty of Schönbrunn. Already by 1813, the nobles of this county had dispatched letters to every high office in the Monarchy demanding the re-incorporation of Prekosavska Croatia into the Kingdom of Croatia.

In these letters the nobles describe how these regions were sacrificed for the Monarchy and taken from Croatia and the County of Zagreb to be submerged to the notorious French rule. In spite of all that the population in the regions across the Sava still remained loyal to its former sovereign. At the end of each of these letters the nobles appeal that the receivers of the letters help solve this problem as soon as possible by supporting at the Emperor's office the Croats' lawful desire of the regions in question.

During the rule of absolutism, the problem of the incorporation of Prekosavska Croatia remained the main issue in the political life of Croatia, and the Croat-Magyar controversy was pushed into the background for a short period of time. The central government became a more immediate danger to Croatia than Hungary which was faced with similar problems. In 1822, this struggle for their lost regions ended with partial success for the Croat nobles. The county of Zagreb was returned its lost territory, but constitutional rule was not restored until three years later, in 1825.
Thus in the above mentioned absolutistic and anti-constitutional period the Croats, who were deprived of their Sabor...nevertheless substantially contributed to the solution of the question of Prekosavska Croatia's re-incorporation...with the help of some outstanding personalities and other patriots...insofar as the decision was finally promulgated from above. 60

The enthusiasm which had emerged among all social classes in Croatia when this decision regarding their lost territories was announced was still burning very strongly when Metternich announced that the Diet would meet in 1825. It seemed as if the Croat nobles had achieved a complete victory. The nobles felt that absolutism was finally defeated. The long awaited constitutional rule was finally restored and brought new hopes to the ruling class of Croatia. The reincorporation of the remaining Croat regions (particularly Dalmatia) into the Kingdom of Croatia seemed to be more feasible and closer to being realized than ever before.

In view of the enthusiasm prevailing among the Croat nation it is not surprising that Croat nobles tended to forget the past disputes with their constitutional partner and were prepared once again to establish a close co-operation with the Magyars in order to erect sufficient safeguards against future absolutistic tendencies of the central government. On the other hand, Metternich viewed the meeting of the Diet from an entirely different point of view. He realized that the reactionary central government could no longer prevent the spread of the radical, revolutionary ideas without the help of
the upper clergy and nobility. In its struggle against anti-feudal tendencies, Vienna could find no better allies than the members of the upper class who likewise feared such democratic ideas. Finally, the Magyar nobles, while welcoming this change of the political course, saw another opportunity to press for further concessions regarding the use of the Magyar language in the lands belonging to the Crown of St. Stephen. Therefore the Magyars, unlike the Croats, who still felt no strong need to establish Croat as their official language, came to this Diet well prepared and determined to realize their nationalistic aims.

The Diet of 1825/27 stands as the landmark in the relations between Hungary and Croatia in the first half of the nineteenth century. The situation in Croatia and the eastern part of the Monarchy in general was much the same as it was in 1790. This similarity of the two political situations was underlined by the fact that the Croats again wanted to establish a close union with Hungary. This Diet differed from the Diet of 1790 in that the Magyars now achieved a substantial success in their attempt to magyarize Croatia. 61

The Croat Sabor met on 22 August 1825 and elected its representatives to the Common Diet - Stjepan Ožegović and Antun Kukuljević to the lower house and Alojzije Bužan to the upper. The instructions of the Sabor to its delegates contained the following specifications:

1. To demand that Dalmatia and the Military Frontier be
united with Croatia.

2. To ask that all Slavonian counties pay the same taxes as other Croat counties for they too belonged under the jurisdiction of the Ban.

3. To restrict further the movement of peasantry in Croatia.

4. To establish closer alliance with Hungary and its upper class. 62

For our purpose it is sufficient to examine only those debates in the Diet which directly or indirectly affected the policy of the Magyarization of Croatia. This Diet did not only confirm the laws of 1790/91, but also reached some important decisions which had a very unfavourable effect on Croatia.

As in 1807 and 1811 the Magyars repeated their demands that it was absolutely necessary for Croatia to accept the Magyar language in all its schools and public offices. The Croat defence was based on the same arguments that had been used before: "...they realize the advantage and need of learning Magyar and promise to do as much as possible to enable the Croat youth to master this language". 63 However, the Magyars were no longer satisfied with such promises and demanded that a new, more explicit law be enacted to replace the old one according to which Magyar was not compulsory in Croat schools. The Magyar proposals did not only imply the Magyarization of Croatia, but also the abolition of the Croat autonomy. They argued that "Croatia's status was the same as that of the Northern Hungarian counties (i.e. Slovakia)...because Croatia
was also administered by the Crown's Council for Hungary..." 64

The lower house, which was more nationalismally minded than the upper house, passed this proposal in spite of the Croat protests. In the upper house there were many Magyar nobles who did not know their language themselves and spoke only German (or Latin in the Diet). However, under powerful pressure from the lower house, the upper house also agreed that Croatia should at least accept Magyar as a compulsory language in all its schools. Since the demand for the use of the Magyar language in the Croat public offices was temporarily postponed, the Croat delegates agreed to submit the above mentioned proposal to the Sabor for approval. 65

The Croat Sabor met on 10 September 1827 and decided that the Magyar language was to be taught as a compulsory subject in all the Croat schools. 65a This decision of the Sabor is considered to be the major success that the Magyarization policy achieved in Croatia. Although by contemporary standards teaching a foreign language in schools is not considered a sign of weakness in a nation, in the Croat case such a decision meant more than a mere academic asset. It meant that the Croats legally recognized the superiority of the Magyar language over their own. This decision diminished the importance of Croatia's status within Hungary because the Croats thus recognized the need for their younger generation to learn Magyar if they were to obtain important jobs in the administration of the state.
Having accomplished such success in 1827, the Magyars were prepared to go further at the next meeting of the Diet which met on 8 September 1830. The Magyars wanted to reach two important goals at this Diet: (1) to force the Croats to accept the Magyar language in their public offices and (2) to obtain religious equality and citizens' rights for the non-Catholics in Croatia. The latter question was not proposed only to introduce religious toleration in Croatia, but to give the right to own land to the Magyar Protestants whom Hungary wanted to settle in Slavonia. Although the Magyars argued that such reform was necessary and in accordance with the new way of life, the Croats refused to recognize the validity of the argument because they saw "behind the mask of such toleration and liberalism only the possibility of creating a new way for Magyarization". Owing to Vienna's unwillingness to recognize and support the Magyar arguments, the Croats were again successful in postponing these proposals to future Diets. Their defence of the Croat Staatsrecht was well prepared owing to the publication of Josip Kušević's Iura Municipalia in which the author excellently describes the evolution of the Croat rights in the Croat-Magyar union. His historical argument begins with 1102 and ends with the 1830's, showing that Croatia had always held a separate political position, quite independent from Hungary. The significance of this pamphlet and the impact it had on the thinking of the Croat politicians cannot be denied. For the first time in
Croat history a large segment of the Croat nobility was acquainted with the real nature of the problem facing Croatia and with its exact position in the Kingdom of Hungary.

In summation, up to 1830 nationalism among the Croat nobility did not reach the stage where their delegates to the Common Diet would demand, or, at least, realize the need for the development of the Croat language. Their main aim was to preserve the Constitution in its feudal form and with it the Latin language which was the symbol of their special political status. They were motivated by national feeling in all the other aspects of the political life of the day. However conservative in its principles, their nationalism (although based on their own interests, helped prevent Croatia from becoming a Hungarian county whose population would be completely Magyarized. The Croat nobility wanted to exist in close co-operation and close union with the Magyar nobles, but only as long as such common concert would respect the Croat Staatsrecht and other special rights of the nobility. The Croats were prepared to sacrifice a lot for this cause and actually did give up, as we saw, some fundamental rights of the Croat nation. However, the decisions of the Diet of 1825/27 marked the limit to which the Croat delegates were prepared to go in order to appease Magyar national sentiments. From now on the Croat nobility realized that any further co-operation with the Magyars would be absolutely impossible since the Magyars wanted to destroy Croat autonomy and with it the powers of the Croat ruling class. Thus, the Croat delegates to the
Diet of 1830 reported to the Sabor upon their return from Pozsony: "...this time we succeeded in defending our laws, but we are afraid that it will be impossible to do so at the next meeting of the Common Diet." 68

Another element of nationalism among the Croat nobility was its desire for the integration of all the Croat regions into one Croat state. The Croat nobles realized that such a territorial expansion, which would include Dalmatia, the Military Frontier and the city of Rijeka, would make Croatia powerful enough to withstand the attack of Magyar nationalism on Croat autonomy. Thus, in spite of their conservatism, (for which the Croats could not be blamed since liberalism aimed to render ineffective the nation and its rights) the Croat nobility represented the only force in the first quarter of the nineteenth century which was able to defend Croatia and which, even though it made some fatal mistakes, actually succeeded in preventing the Magyars from becoming the complete masters of the Kingdom of Croatia. Therefore, it was absolutely necessary for our purpose to observe the work of the Sabor and the Common Diet because during this period Croatia lacked any other way of expressing its national tendencies. The movement for the development of the Croat language was in its embryo and unable, as yet, to make itself felt in the life of the nation. This left the Croat nobility without anything to fall back on because even had they wished to, they could not demand at Pozsony the same rights for the Croat language, for it lacked
a unified literary form and orthography. It was only after the Diet of 1830 that the Croat intellectuals, fearing the consequences of the next Diet, began to work very rapidly on this important problem. Driven by the fear of Magyarization and influenced by the ideas of other Slavic national movements, the Croats achieved remarkable success within a very short period of time. This aspect of Croat nationalism will be the subject of our discussion in the following pages.

First National Awakeners and Their Work

The decisions and general atmosphere at the last meeting of the Diet suddenly caused a feeling of deep national sentiment among the Croat intellectuals. They realized that if the Croats were to continue to exist as a nation, the Croat language had to be reformed and adopted by all classes as the language of administration, education, private and public discussions, literature and art. At the beginning of 1831, Croat poet-clergyman Pavao Štross, summed up the situation prevailing in Croatia after 1830 in his poem Kip domovine (The Statue of the Homeland) which describes the homeland as a woman dressed in black, deserted by all her sons and mourning:

"Yet and their language Croats want
To forget, and another nation to become". 69

However, "at this fatal moment there appeared among the Croat nation a feeling of national consciousness" 70 which caused very rapid changes in the nation's life. The main problem, of
course, was to create a literary language common to all the Croats. During this period Croat writers, who occasionally appeared in different Croat regions, used the various dialects of their particular regions. Such works were not read in all the Croat counties; not because the readers could not understand the dialects of their neighbours, but because they would not adopt such literature as their own. Local geographic divisions were so strong that the population of one region felt it had very little in common with the people of other districts. However, if we generalize on the assumption that the County of Zagreb used one dialect, we can conclude that such literature was written basically in the Kajkavian dialect. There gradually emerged more and more Croat writers who began to feel the need for one dialect which could be used in all the Croat regions. But on the whole, attempts to publish books in Croat were limited to very few works which remained unknown to the larger segment of the population.

Of all the literary workers of this period, Maksimilian Vrhovac deserves to be mentioned as the first awakener of nationalism. After the death of Martinovics and the defeat of the radical movement, Vrhovac began to work on the revival of the Croat language. The centre of his activities was the Seminary of Zagreb, where he endeavoured to educate future leaders of the national movement. Thus, as early as 1807, he began to present in this school a series of drama works written in native Croat. In the absence of native literary works his students and other clergymen translated the works of
German authors and distributed the books among the secular nobility and intellectuals with the purpose of encouraging them to write such works in their native tongue. Influenced by such progressive Slavic and German thinkers as Dobrovsky, Kopitar, Herder and later the brothers Schlegel, Vrhovac's ideas for the unification of all Croats included not only the Croats living within the Habsburg Monarchy, but also those under Turkish rule in Bosnia. Therefore he was one of the first Croats to appreciate the attempt by the French authorities to introduce one single dialect, the Štokavian dialect, in all the Illyrian Provinces. Vrhovac argued that this Illyrian language (*lingua Illyrica*) should be used by all Croat writers in order to create a strong national, literary tradition common to all Croat regions. The adoption of the Štokavian dialect, Vrhovac thought, would remove the literary barrier between the Croat and Servian nation, which had already reformed its literary language on the basis of the Štokavian dialect under the guidance of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. The French experiment in the Illyrian provinces also influenced Vrhovac and his followers to adopt the name "Illyria" for the Croat national movement because this name was familiar to all Croats and undermined the significance of local and regional differences. This same name was later adopted by the Croat leaders of the Illyrian movement which included in its scheme not only Croats, but all South Slavs - Serbs, Slovenes, Macedonians, Bulgarians and Montenegrins. However, the adoption of
the Štokavian dialect was a painfully slow process. The Croat writers still preferred to use the Kajkavian dialect because the Štokavian dialect could not be used without a major reform of its orthography. It must be noted that even the Kajkavian dialect had no uniform orthography and writers used many different ways of spelling.

The movement for the creation of a uniform literary language and orthography did not originate in Croatia, but in Austria, in Vienna and Graz, where Croat university students under the influence of Šafařik and Kollar organized the first clubs which were to discuss the possibilities of the development of an Illyrian language. For instance, as early as 1813 some young intellectuals had organized such a club in Vienna, but unfortunately no official record of its activities has been preserved. More important was the center of the young intellectuals in Graz where they established in 1827 a students' "Illyrian Club" whose main leader was Mojsije Baltić about whom Ljudevit Gaj later said: "He was the first one to show me the inner value of our people's pure language which is the only one worthy of the Illyrian name in general (i.e. the Štokavian dialect)". 73

The role of Šafařik's and Kollar's works in the activities of the Illyrian Club assumed significant proportions. Šafařik's works Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten (1826) and Über die Abkunft der Slaven (1828) provided Croat intellectuals with the fundamental principles for the formation of nationalism. In these works, Šafařik
deals with the origins of the Slavs, their subsequent history, culture, religion, and, finally, their position at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In spite of the fact that these works were full of historical errors, their influence on the development of national movements among the various Slavic peoples was of the utmost importance. One of the members of the "Illyrian Club", Mirko Bogović, sees these works as one of the main forces in the organization of the Croat defence against the Magyar language. It follows that the Croat nationalist movement originated within the framework of nineteenth century Pan-Slavism which had been designed to bring about the emancipation of all Slavs and elevate them to the status of the other European nations which looked upon the Slavs as underdeveloped nations and underestimated their cultural capacities. For this purpose Jan Kollar in his work, Slavy Dcera, "created the idea of the cultural unity of the Slavic world, the idea of Slavic greatness and powerful pride, with which he filled up many hearts of numerous submerged Slavs with the hope for liberty and salvation". It was only logical that the Croat intellectuals in Austria accepted and were influenced by these ideas, and upon their return to Croatia aimed to put them in practice and bring about the cultural re-birth of the nation. In Croatia they found Croat writers who, while realizing the need for the creation of a common Croat literature, lacked sufficient means and moral support to carry out the major reforms necessary to create a literary language.
However, they all agreed that Magyarization could be successfully fought by developing the native language and using it in administration instead of Latin.

Already by 1815, the Croat Kajkavian writer, A. Mihanović had published his booklet, *Rec domovini od hasnovitosti pisanja vu domorodnom jeziku* (Word to the Homeland on the Merits of Writing in the Native Tongue) in Vienna which, according to the Croat historian, Smičiklas, "represented the first voice of a Croat son which spoke against the Latin language". In this booklet Mihanović attacked Latin as an "unsuitable language for the present-day life" and condemned those Croats who were ashamed to use their own language; "They are wrong to ignore the language of the people and to waste time and energy with foreign languages...." The author rightly pointed out that the Latin language prevented the development of Croat because by becoming the official language it influenced the Croat nobles to abandon the usage of their mother tongue.

A few years later, in 1818, Mihanović decided to implement his teaching and publish a Croat newspaper in Vienna. The only paper being published in Croatia was the *Luna Agramer Zeitschrift* which was published in German and whose editors did not care to contribute to the development of the Croat national idea. Because the censors of the absolutist regime in Zagreb presented an obstacle to the publication of a Croat newspaper, Mihanović decided to publish his *Oglasnik ilirski* (Illyrian Newsletter) in Vienna under the editorship of Djuro-
Šporer. After the police authorities had granted permission for the publication of the "Illyrian Newsletter", Mihanović and Šporer published a general programme of the work and sent invitations to subscribe to the paper to many prominent Croats. However, owing to the weakness of the Croat national movement and the lack of interest in the native language, the number of Croats willing to subscribe was so small and insignificant that Mihanović and Šporer decided to postpone the idea until a later date. Their failure is indicative of the Croat language's unpopularity among the upper classes and writers of Croatia. In fact, according to the censor of Croat publications in Zagreb, Antun Nagy of Požega, the Croats did not produce a single publication in the Croat language in eight years (1810-1818). He said: "...up to 1818, I did not have the honour to correct a single manuscript written in the Croat language". Thus it is not surprising that the Magyars, seeing such a situation in Croatia, demanded that the country be magyarized and that their policy of Magyarization resulted in some significant successes. The Croats were wrong to expect the Magyars to respect and recognize the rights of their language and their state when they themselves failed to honour it in their literature and administration. However, the Magyar plans called for the rapid and total Magyarization of Croatia and they were not satisfied with just the successes already achieved. Such a policy not only antagonized the Croat patriots and intellectuals, but also the Croat ruling class from which originated
the idea of the union with Hungary. Suddenly the Croat nobility itself realized that any further struggle against Magyarization could not be successfully conducted without a broader national support and a literary language common to all Croats. Although the Croat nobility finally realized the need for the reform of the Croat orthography and the creation of one literary language, its members lacked the knowledge and means to achieve it. Croat writers themselves differed from each other in this respect and held different views on the main aspects of such a reform. Each of them strongly felt and believed that their way of writing was the best and that the dialect of their region should be accepted by all others as the most suitable for the development of the Croat literary language.

Toma Mikloušić, one of the best known Croat writers of that period, believed that only the Kajkavian dialect was qualified to fulfill the task. Living in isolation as a parish priest in Jastrebasko, he did not know well the Štokavian dialect and its advantages and was in general removed from the political reality of the day.

His contribution to the Croat national cause must be judged by his numerous works in the Kajkavian dialect. It will be useful to note that he was the only priest who answered Vrhovac's call to the clergy to collect Croat folk songs and other forms of the literary tradition of the people. In addition to this, he edited many works of the older Croat
writers and, in 1821, published his version of the political and cultural history of the Croats under the title, *Izbor dugovanj svakovrstneh za hasen i razveseljenje služečeh* (Various Selected Works for Educational Purposes). This book was full of historical errors, and identified the origins of all the Slavs with the ancient Illyrians and classified all Slavic languages as dialects on one language, the Slavic language. In 1822, Mikloušić prepared the text of the ancient Croat drama *Huta pri Savi or ljubav za ljubav* (The Cottage on the Sava, or Love for Love) for the official ceremony of the reincorporation of Prekosavska Croatia with Croatia. Mikloušić chose this drama because it deals with the loyalty of the Croats to their ruler who finally awarded the nation by returning its lost territory.

Although he was a very strong advocate of the Kajkavian dialect, Mikloušić nevertheless appealed to the other contemporary writers of Croatia to continue writing in their respective dialects because, according to his notions, every dialect had a right to its own literature and should not be pushed out by any other dialect or dialects. Thus he realized a need for the awakening and renaissance of the Croat national culture in order to enable the nation to keep pace with other European nations. Mikloušić also favoured the reform of the Croat orthography (just as all the other intellectuals agreed that something should be done in this direction) if any progress in the literary field was to be made.
Mikloušić strongly recommended that the young Croat intellectuals follow the example of an earlier Croat writer, Tito Brezovački (1760-1805), who had found ideas and material for his comedies and satires among the traditional folk themes and thus contributed to the cause of nationalism and to the development of the Croat language. Mikloušić published Brezovački's comedy Matijaš Grabancijaš djak (The Magic of Matijaš the Magician) with the purpose of entertaining his readers and encouraging national talents to try to do the same and learn to adopt Croat in their writings. The central theme of the comedy condemns the present feudal way of life and adopts a satiric approach toward the educational system of the day.

It (the comedy) was a first class social satire for that period in which the author, with his discerning eye, knew how to raise himself above those who were satisfied with simple translations of foreign authors. The writer grasped the spirit of his time which demanded serious and sober work which leads to healthy education and towards the love for one's homeland and nationality.

Another Croat writer, Djuro Šporer, went one step further and adopted the Štokavian dialect in his writing. Having spent several years among the future Croat national leaders in Graz, who had already began making plans for the Croat national revival, he realized that the Štokavian dialect was the most suitable and understandable to the greater part of the nation. In 1823, he published his Almanak ilirski (The Illyrian Almanac) in which he emphasized the need for the unity of language and
the unity of the nation and suggested several proposals for "the rebirth of the Croat book". Consequently, he gave up the dialect of Slavonia for he felt that this dialect was equally familiar to the majority of the nation. He also adopted the name "Illyria" for Croatia which was also known to the Kajkavian writers from old Latin documents which they used as reference material, although they never used it in their writings in Croat. For this reason Šporer is considered the first predecessor of Ljudevit Gaj.

For Šporer the differences in the tribes did not exist but only their unity. In 1823, this idea was too far ahead of its time for it was not until ten years later that this question (of different dialects) was brought up and finally solved in the Croat literary works. Similar proposals were made even before Šporer, but, they all remained unanswered as well.

In addition to Vrhovac, Mihanović, Miklousić, and Šporer, there were some other Croat writers (Matija Jandrić, Jakob Lovrenčić and Ignjat Kristijanović, for instance) who also contributed to the development of Croat literature, but failed to arrive at one uniform method for reforming the language in general. Each of them were too strongly influenced by localism to gain a deeper insight into the problems of their country as a whole. It is true that sometimes their proposals and work contributed substantially to the development of the Croat nationalism, but being as it were, rather isolated in their well intended attempts to do something for their country, their works were bound to result in only minor successes.
they lacked most was a well organized, co-ordinating force and a uniform outlook on the general problems of the day. As long as the Croat national awakeners worked haphazardly, without a plan and well defined aims, there could be no talk of achieving any major successes in the nation's renaissance and the struggle against Magyar nationalistic aggressive. Their work was further handicapped by the social outlook of the Croat ruling class which was Germanized to a greater extent, advocated a close co-operation with Hungary and looked down on the Croat language as the language of the lower classes, especially the peasantry.

Thus the work of the above mentioned generation of Croat writers and national awakeners, in the absence of well organized activity and a greater number of followers, had no major effect on the thinking of the contemporary Croat society. It only indicated that Croatia had some writers who did not only write religious books for the needs of the Croat peasant, but also wrote to attract the Croat ruling class and bring about the unification of the Croat nation and culture.

Up to 1827, there seemed to be no possibility of changing the national and social outlook of the upper nobility. It distrusted the ideas of nineteenth century European nationalism and intended to secure its political and economic status by allying itself with Hungary. However, after 1827, when the Magyar nobility became their more dangerous enemy, the Croat nobles began to look for help elsewhere. They found it in their old
enemy, Vienna, and in the work of the young Croat intellectuals who were also preparing themselves for the struggle against Magyarization, but with different motives and methods.

We have already mentioned the work of the Croat intellectuals in the "Illyrian Club" in Graz. In this club the students discussed the possibilities of a Croat cultural renaissance which would pull the country out of its feudal darkness and place it on a level with the other European nations. For this purpose the Pan-Slavic movement seemed to be the most logical source of ideas and methods. And in view of the fact that the Croat nobility had experienced defeat in the Common Diet, it was assumed that it would be much easier to prevail on the nobility to accept national ideas than had been the case ten years earlier.

Until 1830, the Croat writers had no influence upon the delegates to the Sabor. After 1830, the connection between literature and politics began to be felt more and more.... The generation which had lived through the great crisis disappeared, and a new generation appeared which lived and received its education abroad and realized that in order to succeed, it must change the policy of its predecessors and choose a different road to success. 89

The young Croat intellectual also became more radical and sought support for the national cause among the lower classes, especially among the members of the new bourgeois class which disliked the feudal social system and its laws. 90 He realized that the development of a modern national ideal required the abolition of parochialism, religious and linguistic differences
and the feudal position of the Croat peasant.

With the arrival in Graz of young Ljudevit Gaj, the Croat intellectuals received an excellent leader whose qualities of leadership were manifested by his ability to unite both young and old in the national movement, whether abroad or at home. At the same time he condemned the works of the older Croat writers, such as Mikloušić, as useless and dangerous to the national cause. However, after P. J. Šafařik had explained to him the good intentions of such writers and their naive views on the development of national literature without a unified orthography, Gaj learned to disregard such works completely and never referred to them in the future, "just as if they had never existed before".

We Slavs must be unified in spirit and mind; we must, among ourselves, learn to know and to enjoy the common treasure of our language and literature. This we have to spread among our countrymen, but always calmly and carefully. All interests, including religious ones, must be subordinated to the interests of the nation because the nation's interests are the condition for the life of the whole, while the religious interests concern only the opinions of private individuals.

Gaj had shown a strong interest in the Croat national culture and language from his earliest boyhood for which reason he was expelled from the Varaždin's high school. As all writers of the day, he began to write in German and published several articles in the Luna Agramer Zeitung in which he already spoke of the unity of all South Slavs, particularly of the Croats and Servs. In 1826, he left Croatia in order to collect histor-
ical documents and other sources of Croat history in Vienna and Graz. In Graz he met other young Croat intellectuals, Dimitrije Demeter, Antun Šporer, Pavao Stoos and others who were to become future leaders of the Illyrian movement. Here he also learned the Štokavian dialect and read the works of the Serbian Štokavian writer, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. He gave up his own Kajkavian dialect and adopted the Štokavian one as the most common and suitable dialect for the Croat literary language.

From Graz, Gaj went to Pest in Hungary where he acquainted himself with the principles of the Magyar national movement and aimed to establish the same principles in Croatia. Here he met and worked with the well known advocate of Pan-Slavism, Jan Kollár, and assisted in the writing of the above mentioned works of Šafařík. In 1830, encouraged by Šafařík and realizing the need for the reform of the Croat orthography, Gaj published in Pest his *Kratka osnova Hrvatsko-Slavenskoga Pravopisaña* (Essential Principles of the Croat-Slav Orthography) in which he adopted the Czech way of writing and the Štokavian dialect as the two fundamental principles of the Croat language. From Czech he adopted the letters, č, ď, ľ, and n and argued that the use of y, x, cs, sz, tch and sch should be abolished for such sounds either did not exist in Croat or were borrowed from other non-Slavic languages such as German and Magyar. 95

The publication of this work had a two-fold significance in the development of the Croat nationalism: (1) it helped solve the most important problem of the Croat literary language
and (2) it influenced the young Croat intellectuals at home and abroad to accept Gaj as the undisputable leader of the national movement which was to bring about a cultural rebirth of the nation at the time when it was needed the most. In the *Kratka osnova* he wrote that his intention was "not to present an elaborate analysis of orthography, but to briefly point out what was most necessary". He said, "...this new orthography has an immeasurable value for our Slavic people;...".

In Zagreb, Graz and Vienna the Croat youth made extensive use of discussion groups where these young intellectuals analyzed the political and cultural problems of Croatia. In Vienna, for example, they held their meetings at the restaurant *Morgenstern* which they called among themselves *Danica* (Morning Star). In Zagreb the students' group was exceptionally well organized due to the assistance of Professor Mojses who supplied valuable guidance and advice on organization. The group included such prominent members of the Croat national movement as Babukić, Derkoš, Marić, Mažuranić, Rakovac, Smodek, and others. Professor Mojses and these young intellectuals accepted Gaj's new orthography as the basis of the future literature and cultural life in general. However, the older generation of writers disagreed with such extreme reforms. Since they shaped the opinions of Zagreb's social circle, which was more accustomed to German literature, Gaj's followers had to be cautious in order to avoid a clash with the older generation. The younger generation was in better position in regard to
organization because it had definite plans for the cultural revival while their elders were sharply divided as to the best methods of creating a national literary tradition.

In 1831, Gaj returned to Zagreb with the purpose of organizing a movement, not only along the Croat national lines, but also to be included within the framework of the renaissance all South Slavs. In his letter of February 12, 1831, Šafařík wrote to Gaj:

Gott gebe, dass ess geschehe! Alles läßt freilich hoffen, dass da Reihe auch an uns kommen wird. Mochten doch unsere slawischen Völker an dem Beispielen der Deutschen, Engländer und Franzosen weiser werden, und einsehen, dass sich die Nationalität, und mit ihr alles Hehre und Herrliche auf Erden, auch bei verschiedenartigen religiösen Interessen, ungeschwächt erhalten, und wenn sie gebrochen war, neu erringen läßt, wenn nur die Einsicht in Wesen der Dinge aufgehet und erstarkt ist. 98

Still under the influence of Pan-Slavism the Croat youths accepted the scheme. They were extremely antagonized by the fact that, in order to obtain employment in the administration, they were forced to learn Magyar. The desire to learn Croat in the schools was so strong that the majority of the students at the Academy of Zagreb appealed to the professors to make it possible. Consequently, in spite of the protests of the Magyar students in Zabreb, Professor Smodek was allowed to lecture in Croat as a non-compulsory subject. The Croat students replied to their Magyar colleagues:

"Every man was born free and also every nation, when it feels that the other nation persecutes it unjustly, has the right to free itself. North America liberated itself from England, South America from Spain; our nation also is not chained by fate to Hungary forever and if you think the opposite then down with the Magyars." 100
The decision to introduce the Croat language in the Academy was the first victory won over Magyarization. It encouraged the youths for further struggle and gave them confidence in the national cause. Therefore Gaj submitted his application to the Crown's Council for Hungary that he be allowed to publish a political and literary newspaper in the Croat language. His application was thoroughly endorsed by the County of Zagreb which added that in its desire "to develop the language of the people and its education in general,...we recommend this application and hope the permission will be granted". This decision of the County of Zagreb was indicative of the new atmosphere which was rapidly shaping into a national movement. Only a few years before, this county had been willing to accept the Magyar language.

A Croat newspaper, Gaj planned, would prevent the Magyars from encroaching upon the Croat rights and would represent a powerful organ for awakening national consciousness and for eliminating foreign tendencies among the Croat intellectuals and the ruling class. On the other hand, a newspaper would provide the movement with excellent means for introducing new orthography. If the new orthography proved successful, it would mean a new era in the cultural life of Croatia.

Soon after this event, on March 1832, Ivan Derkoš published his *Genius patriae super dormientibus filiis suis* (The Genius of the Homeland to its Sleeping Children), a
pamphlet devoted to the Croats in which the author urged his countrymen to take more interest in their homeland. Derkos appealed to the nation to learn to distinguish between the ideas of nationality and citizenship. According to him, in addition to being a subject of the Crown of St. Stephen, every Croat was also a member of the Croat nation whose national rights he should protect. The pamphlet was meant to influence the Croat ruling class to defend the rights of their language at the next meeting of the Diet. And indeed, the impact of this document on the thinking of the Croat nobles, who felt that they should no longer appease the Magyars, became evident during the meeting of the Common Diet in 1832. Some Croat nobles, such as Janko Drašković, actively supported the work of the Croat youth and influenced their colleagues to do the same. As a result the national movement conceived by the intellectuals gained additional support and broadened its working basis.

Once the ideas of the younger generation found their way and gained support in the Croat legislative house, the Sabor, the existence of the Croat language was sufficiently secure. The Magyarization of Croatia, designed to first magyarize the Croat ruling class and then all the other classes, had failed. This is to say that if the Croat nobles refused the terms of the Magyar policy in the Diet, the remaining part of the nation would do well to support this cause at home and develop its language and culture to the point where it could no
longer be abolished by a simple legislative decision. Magyarization would be thus faced with a powerful obstacle in its very first stage.

It would be misleading to imply that the majority of the Sabor supported the new ideas. Most of the nobles continued to argue that Croatia could only be saved if it continued to use the Latin language. The nobles feared that by accepting the Croat language they would lower themselves socially by putting themselves on a level more equal with the lower classes, and damage their political and economic position. It took many debates and the aggressiveness of the Magyar attitude to convince such nobles that the real danger lay not in the Croat language, but in the Common Diet.

In short, the pre-Ilyrian period is characterized by the attempts of the young intellectuals to define the plans for the development of a uniform literary language and by their demands that Magyarization should not be fought by adhering to the Latin language, but by adopting the Croat language in all aspects of the nation's life. In this respect, their movement did not yet bring about the cultural rebirth of the nation, but rather prepared the nation for the final struggle against Magyarization which would result in the creation of a powerful Croat nationalistic movement and the emancipation of the nation.

The local tendencies of the older generation of writers were done away with and the Stokavian dialect was accepted by the majority of the younger generation. The main success
of the young intellectuals in Croatia was, however, that more people than ever before began to think in terms of the interest of the nation as a whole. This new outlook was shown mainly by the attitude that the Croat language could be successfully used in literature and science instead of the German language.

While very few people had before thought of themselves as members of the Croat nation, in 1832, as the result of the impact of the new ideas, it became definitely clear, even to those who still believed in Latin, that the Croat language and culture must be taken into account when dealing with the constitutional rights of the country. This fact alone provided sufficient evidence to disprove the Magyar argument that the Croats did not exist as a nation; that they were a part of the Magyar nation, inhabiting a traditional Magyar territory.

The working basis for Croat nationalism was thus established. The machinery created by the Croat national awakeners had to be put into action at full speed to envelop the entire nation and materialize into a strong nationalistic movement with not only cultural, but political tendencies. These goals were actually achieved within a relatively short period of time following the meeting of the Common Diet which sat from 1832 to 1836.
Social Structure of Croatia in the First Half of the 19th Century

During the first half of the nineteenth century (the period of the development of Croat nationalism, 1790-1847), the entire Croat territory was reduced to "about 350 square miles", 107 or six counties of Croatia proper and Slavonia. "The number of population of Croatia and Slavonia as such, amounted in 1805 to approximately 660,000 and in 1840 to about 840,000". 108 Before the appearance of the Croat middle class in the 1820's and 1830's, the Croat population was divided into three basic social classes: the nobility, whose members numbered "approximately 20,000" in 1805, 109 and the clergy "with about 1,130 ecclasiats", 110 the peasantry which included the majority of the population and economically weak and numerically small middle class.

The nobility itself was divided into two main groups—the upper nobility or the big landowners and the lesser nobility which again was distinguished by two groups, the middle nobility and the petty village nobility called šljivari or jednoselci. The upper nobility which had a proportionally large number of nobles of non-Croat origins, especially German and Magyar, derived its entire revenue from their landed estates and lived more often than not, abroad in Austria or Hungary. In the Croat Sabor, which met from time to time, only the upper nobility and clergy had the
hereditary right to have seats and to legislate. In view of
the fact that the entire revenue and existence of this nobil-
ity depended on their feudal estates, it naturally opposed
every new reform which would involve a change in its feudal
privileges. Therefore, it had bitterly opposed the central-
istic, social-economic and religious reforms of the enlightened
absolutist, Joseph II, and later, for the same reason, had
allied itself with the conservative Magyar magnates and the
reactionary government in Vienna. For the same reason
it looked suspiciously upon the emerging Illyrian Movement,
which at this stage of its development, stood for some
radical social and political changes - fundamental improve-
ments in the position of the peasantry - in order to develop
agriculture and give concessions to those wishing to enter
into business in order to develop industry and strengthen the
economic potential of the country. The nobility also refused
to support the Illyrian idea for the cultural rebirth of the
nation; it felt that accepting the language of the masses
would lower it to the position of the peasantry which was
the only segment of the population speaking the native langu-
age. Instead, it decided to form a strong feudal union
with the Magyar nobles which would be able to block off
not only the new democratic and revolutionary ideas coming
from France, but also a possible attack from Austrian cen-
tralism. Therefore, it surrendered some of its most im-
portant legislative rights in favour of the Common Diet
and left itself wide open to the Magyar attack. The Magyar nobles, who, unlike the Croat ones, actively participated in the struggle for the rights of the Magyar language, designed the policy for the Magyarization of Croatia and proved to be more dangerous enemies of the Croat nobility's ancient rights and privileges than any other anti-feudal force in the country. This newly created situation drove the Croat upper nobility into the ranks of the Illyrian Movement where it rendered all possible help to the development of the Croat language, which had become its best weapon in the struggle against Magyarization. This fact, coupled with Illyrism's forced retreat towards conservatism, created an ideal union in the struggle for the Croat autonomy which was also assisted by the central government. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that it had accepted the language of the people, the Croat ruling class continued to oppose any improvement in the lives of its serfs. Its contribution to Croat nationalism manifested itself through its desire to preserve the national culture and autonomy of Croatia, not through the desire to enforce modern social and economic reforms. Such changes were contrary to its interests and later implied the impossibility of preserving the former. Whatever could be said of the upper nobility applied to the upper clergy and the middle nobility who also depended upon the preservation of the feudal social system. However, while all the members of the upper clergy sat in
the Sabor, only a few of the middle nobility had seats in this body and then only as a hereditary right of their predecessors, who, for various reasons, had lost their estates and prestige in the upper circles.

The main difference between the middle nobility and the village nobility was that the latter very often possessed only one small estate and cultivated their own land as did the local parish priests who were in very close contact with the peasantry and shared many common interests with it. The village nobility was much less tied to feudalism and was willing to support some radical reforms. Having no right to sit in the Sabor it supported any movement which promised it a role in politics as a significant social factor possessing political power. Hence the village nobility became strong supporters of the Illyrian Movement during its first stages, and later, when the movement turned conservative, it switched its support in favour of the movement which appeared to be more radical, the Croat-Hungarian Party. The village nobility of the Croat district of Turopolje, for instance, became the leading core of Kossuth's Croat pro-Magyar Party. It follows that while this nobility was radically inclined and demanded radical social changes, it lacked national sentiment and failed to realize the importance of the development of the Croat language. It wanted to do away with feudalism and was willing to do so by sacrificing its national rights and the autonomy of its country. It
demanded the right to sit in the Sabor in order to further the policy for the Magyarization of Croatia. Unlike the lower clergy, whose members produced many Croat writers and the first national awakeners, the lower nobility openly accepted the Magyar language and advocated its teaching in the Croat schools. Thus, for instance, the nobility of Turopolje came to be the most dangerous enemy of the Illyrian Movement following the year 1842. 112

The third social class, the peasantry, remained completely isolated from the events taking place in the cultural and political life of Croatia. Its position during the first half of the nineteenth century worsened. Having witnessed the failure of the progressive reforms of Josephinism which had attempted to improve its economic status, the peasantry were not attracted by the initial radicalism of the Illyrian Movement. The Croat peasant neither understood nor was willing to participate in any movement which advocated democratic and anti-Emperor reforms. The Croat peasant did not see his enemy in the existing social system, but in his immediate overlord who exploited him ruthlessly. He felt that his only hope was the Emperor in Vienna who, in the case of Joseph II, had attempted to do something for the Croat peasant, but had been prevented by his overlord. Therefore, the Croat peasant remained loyal and his ruler could always count on the help of the peasantry in case of
a dispute with the nobility. The position of the Croat peasant is well described by the Serbian historian and staunch Marxist, Vaso Bogdanov:

Three-quarters of the entire Croat land belongs to the feudal land masters. Growing exploitation on the part of the feudalists, confiscation of the serfs' and public land, the use of force and fraud over the peasants, economic under-development and backwardness, primitive agricultural methods, consequences of the wars with the Turks and then robberies committed by the Emperor's army, ....all this contributed toward the low productivity of land and to the growth of pauperism in the village. 113

The Croat peasant did not see the danger in Germanization, or, for that matter, Magyarization either, and assumed a passive attitude toward the national movement. In addition to this, his assistance in the movement was not demanded. There were some isolated attempts by the extreme radical group of the Illyrian Movement to include the peasantry in the movement, but because of the difficulties involved in educating the peasantry, such attempts were soon forgotten. Therefore, in our study of the development of Croat nationalism, the role of the peasantry is insignificant.

If the upper Croat nobility played a decisive role in the later stages of Illyrism by defending the constitutional rights of Croatia and supporting the development of national culture, then the young middle class could be regarded as
the real originator of the political and cultural rebirth of the nation. Although extremely small in number, the Croat middle class succeeded in organizing a nation-wide movement which developed into a powerful national force.

Most of the population of the Croat cities was composed of foreigners, especially Germans and Jews, who were pro-German in orientation, but took no part in the cultural and political life of the nation. Side by side with these foreign elements, there existed a small number of the Croat middle class who, under the influence of the modern, democratic ideas of the nineteenth century, adopted relatively progressive concepts of a social, economic and political nature. 114

By the 1830's and 1840's the number of the native middle class had expanded to a modest size and was reinforced by the rapidly growing number of intellectuals, sons of impoverished nobles who came to the cities in search of employment.

For the development of Croat politics more important was this city element which was made up of intellectuals, students and other youths, tradesmen, merchants of the Croat nationality and, although small in number but progressive, workers and also the nobles who lost their estates.... In this way a number of students and intellectuals was recruited from all professions and all social classes, who were forced to live by working in the civil service and whose number grew constantly in the period before 1848; among them were white-collar workers, men of legal professions, philosophers, and theologians, all of whom cannot find employment. 115
This new intellectual element in the Croat cities was faced with the obstacle of feudalism which discriminated against its members in the administration and the political life of the country. Due to the fact that Croatia had had no legal government since 1779, foreign authorities had filled up the administrative posts with Germans and Magyars; even those Croats which remained in public offices were in danger of losing their jobs if they did not know the Magyar language. Such a situation became one of the reasons which compelled the Croat intellectuals to organize a movement for the cultural renaissance of the nation.

In a somewhat similar situation were Croat merchants and tradesmen who found it impossible to develop further industry and manufacture under Croatia's existing feudal conditions. For uninterrupted development of trade with Austria, Bosnia, Italy, and Hungary the Croat merchants needed the same laws in all the provinces and less borders. "This was the first time that these merchants felt a need for the same language", at least in all the South Slavic regions which provided a natural market for their goods.

Of all the Croat cities, the middle class and intelligentsia in Karlovac were the most nationally conscious. Owing to its favourable geographic position on the Kupa, a tributary of the Sava, Karlovac became the most important trading centre in Croatia with a predominantly Croat population. "Excluding Rijeka, it was economically the most developed and the richest
Croat city" during the last half of the eighteenth, and first half of the nineteenth century. Having no common economic interests with the Croat ruling class, the population of Karlovac became the first opponent of the feudal political system and one of the main centres of the early Illyrian Movement. The first books of the Croat and Pan-Slavic writers were published in Karlovac where censorship had never been able to enforce its strict rules; its territory was included in the Military Frontier where the Magyars had never been able to gain any support. One of the merchants, Mijo Krešić, described Karlovac in his Autobiografija as being "par excellence (italics in the original) the native city whose entire ruling class and executive body supported the national cause with all available means".

In addition to Karlovac and besides Zagreb, the natural centre of Croatia, there were some other oases inhabited by native middle class members which also experienced relatively good economic progress - Rijeka, Osijek, Zemun, Sisak, Brod, Varazdin and others. In spite of the rapid development of trade and industry in Karlovac, Zagreb became the centre of the Illyrian Movement. It was the traditional seat of the Croat government and all the highest administrative offices of the nation were located in the building of the Sabor, the ecclesiastical centre also being in its near vicinity.

Following the meeting of the Common Diet in 1827, these
two social classes, the Croat ruling, and the urban middle class found themselves united in the Illyrian Movement after 1842 and formed two distinct resistance movements against Magyarization. The ruling class attempted to organize a defence on the basis of the feudal constitution which guaranteed it special rights and privileges in the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen as well as in the Croat regions. This class opposed every change in the existing system. As a rule it was not nationally inclined and refused to support the development of a uniform Croat language. On the other hand, the middle class, lead by the Croat intellectuals, aimed to create one literary language for all the South Slavs and favoured the establishment of one political unit composed of all these nations.

The Croat nobility hoped to solve the problem of Magyarization in the Diet at Pozsony and, for this purpose (hoping to appease them), agreed to meet some of the demands put forward by the nationally inclined Magyar delegates. It took the Croat nobles over three decades to realize that the creation of a closer union with Hungary was impossible, for the Magyars did not want only to magyarize Croatia, but also to eliminate the feudal rights of the Sabor. As a result of the Magyar attacks, the Croat nobility was inevitably driven closer to the Illyrian Movement, or to be more exact, its policy for the cultural rebirth of Croatia. Nevertheless, according to Professor Šidak, it held firmly
to its former position, resisting any basic changes in Croatia's existing social and political conditions. He said:

Although the Croat nobility, according to the contemporary outlook of Stjepan Moyses, was still on the whole primarily interested in maintaining and strengthening its feudal relations in the village, the problem of language began to receive more attention and significance among its ranks. 124

Even when it fully accepted the need for the cultural development of the nation and became willing to accept Croat as the official language of Croatia, the Croat nobility remained faithful and devoted to its social and political concepts of feudalism which represented the fundamental conditions of the nobility's economic existence. 125 The union formed between its resistance movement and that of the middle class was made possible because, in view of the renewed Magyar attack on Croatia's national and state rights, political and social differences were pushed into the background and replaced completely by the struggle for Croatia's existence as a state and nation. 125a This formed a common denominator for both movements and united them into one. This movement, while in search of assistance against Hungary, found an ally in Vienna, but was forced to assume an entirely conservative character. Thus it was the middle class, not the nobility, which had to move to the extreme right and join the ranks of conservatism in the struggle against Magyarization.
Even during its early stages, Illyrism as a movement of the middle class intellectuals had never assumed a completely radical role regarding the social structure of the feudal Croat regions. No evidence is preserved which would indicate that the Illyrians demanded or favoured emancipation of the Croat peasant. Unlike many other middle classes in the West European countries, the Croat bourgeoisie never seemed to realize that economic progress depended on labour supply and that labour could only come from the Croat village by allowing the peasant free movement and giving him the right to leave the landed estate of his feudal master. There were several reasons which caused the Croat middle class to adopt this peculiar social outlook. First of all, it lacked a strong feeling of class difference between itself and the nobility for it was small in number and, in its thinking, still very much influenced by the feudal social values. Secondly, it was led by a small group of intellectuals who were recruited in many cases from the ranks of the nobility and whose actions were subconsciously influenced by their feudal background. Thirdly, the problem of educating the peasants seemed to be impossible to solve, especially because of their blind devotion to the Emperor, the outstanding personification of feudalism. For all these reasons the leaders of the Illyrian Movement, while being in favour of the development of industry and agriculture, did not advocate the emancipation of the peasantry; their movement was motivated
by political and cultural concepts which they hoped would lead to the union of the South Slavs. However, after its failure to attract other South Slavic nations inside and outside the Hungarian domain, Illyrism was reduced to a cultural movement among the Croats only. And when it again reflected political characteristics, as it was forced to by political situation of the day, it chose extreme conservatism. 128

The structure of the leadership of the Illyrian Movement itself carried the seeds of feudal social concepts because many of its members were directly recruited from the ranks of the Croat upper nobility. Many of them had attended German universities in Vienna and Graz where they were influenced by 19th century European nationalism and, even more so, by the ideas of Pan-Slavism as they were elaborated in the works of Šafařík and Kollar. Driven by patriotic feeling and seeing the cultural conditions in Croatia, which were suffering under the attacks of the Magyars, they assumed the task of the improvement of the Croat literary language and of the cultural union of the South Slavs.

These intellectuals were the first to bring the idea of the cultural renaissance into the Croat Sabor and to work there toward the replacement of Latin by the Croat language. Janko Drašković, for example, (as a representative of the older generation of the Croat nobility) became one of the main leaders and political organizers of the move-
ment. His group of young intellectual nobles in the Sabor - composed of such prominent Illyrians as Dragojlo Kušlan, Ivan Kukuljević and Ljudevit Vukotinović - actually convinced the members of the Sabor to regard the Croat language as a necessity and to support its development.

The remaining part of the Illyrian leadership was composed of intellectuals with mostly middle class origins. Thus, for instance, one of the main leaders of the movement, Ljudevit Gaj, came from the home of a Croat doctor who practiced medicine in Krapina. Although he was considered to be one of the main leaders of the young Croat intellectuals, after he had published his new orthography, the leadership of the Illyrian Movement became more collective and was not tied to any particular individual. In the case of Gaj and Drašković, popularity and personality never emerged as decisive factors in the making of decisions inside the movement. It was more of an aggregate leadership whose members, as a rule, agreed on a common policy and then worked on their own on various aspects of the movement. Thus Gaj did not participate in the organization of the "Illyrian Reading Room" and was unable to enter the sessions of the Sabor. Others, like Stanko Vraz and some Croat Illyrians as well, even opposed Gaj in his attempt to print the "Morning Star" in the Cyrillic alphabet. Under such circumstances the class differences among the movement never emerged as an important issue. The Croat intellectuals were too preoccupied with the problems
involved in the cultural rebirth of the nation and with the organization of a defence against Magyarization to pay more attention to class differences and the solution of feudal social injustice.

In short, when speaking of the social structure of Croatia during the period of Illyrism and of the class character of the movement, it should be clear that the Illyrian Movement included the majority of the Croat upper and middle nobility and clergy and the middle class, and that its leadership was a mixture of both elements. Class consciousness in the Illyrian Movement never came to play any significant role for the movement was primarily of a cultural and political nature - cultural, for it revived the Croat national culture and created a uniform literary language and political, for it succeeded in protecting Croatia from Magyarization and thus preserved the national identity of the Croats.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1 However, the majority of the Sabor did not abandon the idea of close co-operation with Hungary until after 1836. The Croat delegates to Pozsony were among the first Croat nobles to realize that such co-operation was impossible because the Magyars aimed to eliminate the Croat "municipal rights".


3 F. Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, Zagreb, Matica Hrvatska, vol. 3, 1913, p. 15. It is important to point out that decisions reached at the meetings of the Croat counties had never been published. For this reason, I had no choice but to rely on the information offered by Šišić to whom such material was readily available, in the archives of Zagreb. I might add that Šišić was the most prominent of all Croat historians whose works are still of great importance.

4 Ibid., p. 21.

5 Loc. cit.

6 S. Srkulj, Izvori za hrvatsku povijest, Zagreb, Tiskara Hrvatske Stranke Prava, 1911, p. 142.

7 Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, p. 23. The complete text of the original document has not been published. S. Srkulj in his Izvori za hrvatsku povijest, pp. 141-142, and Šidak in Historijska čitanka, pp. 169-170, edited identical excerpts of this document. Thus, for example, this quotation of Šišić could not be found in either of the two mentioned sources.


9 The Croat Sabor did not keep any records of its debates until after 1847. The central Hungarian diet kept records of debates in its journal. The text of important debates taking place in the Sabor are found in diaries and other documents of private individuals who attended its meetings. Today, they are to be found with archives of Zagreb, Budapest and Vienna. No attempt has been made to publish a complete collection of these sources for scholarly use. The decisions reached by the Croat Sabor from 1273 to 1848 were published by I. Kukuljević in 1861 in his third
volume of *Jura regni Croatiae Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (in the Latin language). This is the only complete published edition of the Sabor's decisions. It is "full of paleographic and chronological mistakes" and could only be used by "comparing it with the originals" (Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 94).

The decisions of the Sabor reached between 1526 and 1630 were published by Šišić in "Hrvatski saborski spisi", *Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, Zagreb, vols. 33 (1912), 36 (1915), 39 (1916), 41 (1917) and 43 (1918). Those reached between 1631 and 1735 were published in three volumes (1958-1961) by the Croat State Archives, Zagreb, under the title, *Zaključci hrvatskog sabora*. Therefore in my research, regarding the work of the Croat legislative bodies, I obtained the necessary information from the works of Šišić, Surmin, Horvat and others (see Bibliography, pp. 279-286).

11 Šurmin, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
12 Šišić, *Hrvatska povijest*, vol. 3, p. 27.

Nevertheless, they were not willing to part with their special rights and privileges (excluding those surrendered in 1791). The list of the remaining "municipal rights" is given in Šidak's *Historijska čitanka*, pp. 177-178.

16 Ibid., p. 57.


18 Bishop Vrhovac, however, remained faithful to the Croat national cause. He supported the patriotic tendencies among the Croat intellectuals in Graz and Vienna until his death in 1827. See Surmin, *Hrvatski preporod*, vol. 1, pp. 47-49.

21 Šišić, *Hrvatska povijest*, vol. 3, p. 82.


24 Šurmin, op. cit., p. 19.


26 Dalmatia was also isolated from Croatia proper from 1426. Dalmatians actually favoured unification with the other Croat regions under Hungary, but the Emperor did not allow it. See G. Novak, "Pokret za sjedinjenje Dalmacije s Hrvatskom (1797-1814)", Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti, vol. 269 (1940), pp. 1-36.

27 This was the first time that the name, "Illyria" was officially used. Before the arrival of the South Slavs in the Balkans, the area had been inhabited by an ancient people, called Illyrians. Hence, many old historians referred to these Slavs as descendants of the Illyrians and their territory as "Illyria". See B. Grafenauer, "Ilirske Provincije", Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, 1960, vol. 4, pp. 337-338.

28 Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, p. 96. Many Croat historians, including Šišić, tend to overestimate the French contribution to the cultural and economic progress of the "Illyrian Provinces".

29 Ibid., p. 97.

30 Copies of this paper containing articles in Croat have not been preserved. Hence the Slovene historian, M. Kos, disagrees with Šišić and argues that such articles were printed in Slovene instead. See his article, "Télégraphe Officiel in njegove izdaje", Glasnik Muzejskega Društva za Slovenijo, vols. 7-8, (1926-1927), pp. 5-12.


33 The borders of the Illyrian provinces are given in Novak, "Pokret za sjedinjenje Dalmacije...", p. 79.

34 Loc. cit.


37 However, no attempt had been made as yet to create a uniform literary language for all Croat regions. In fact some Croat writers, like Mikloušić, favoured the preservation of every dialect. See Šurmin, Hrvatski preporod, vol. 1, pp. 56-62.


39 This was one of the main reasons why nationalism failed to attract a larger following. The Dalmatian peasant was not educated and was very often completely illiterate. For him, his religious denomination played a more important role than his nationality.

40 Although the official title of the Croat diet was the Croat-Slavonian-Dalmatian Sabor, its decisions were not binding for Dalmatia. See Šurmin, op. cit., p. 25.


42 See Ibid., pp. 127-129.

43 The right to convene and to dissolve meetings of the Diet enabled the sovereign to interfere with the constitutional practice in the state. This right was used very extensively by Francis during the first three decades of his reign.


45 Šurmin, op. cit., p. 12.

46 Ibid., p. 12.


49 Rijeka was formally incorporated into Croatia in 1776 by Maria Theresa. (See N. Klič, Izvori za hrvatsku povijest, Zagreb, Skolska Knjiga, 1959, vol. 4, pp. 61-64). However, after the Crown's Council for Croatia had been abolished (1779), Hungary claimed Rijeka had become its territory as the affairs of the Crown's Council for Croatia were given to the Crown's Council for Hungary.

50 See Chapter I, pp. 13-14.

51 The Slavonian County of Križevci, for example, was known as "The Illyrian Castle". See Chapter III, pp. 173-174.
52 See G. Novak, Prošlost Dalmacije, Zagreb, Hrvatski Izdavački Bibliografski Zavod, 1944, vol. 2, pp. 285-286. However, by demanding the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia, Dalmatian Croats were not motivated by any strong nationalistic idea.

53 Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, pp. 125-126.

54 Austrian forces composed of Croats and Servs liberated in Dalmatia a large territory from Napoleon. See Novak, Prošlost Dalmacije, vol. 2, pp. 299-302.


56 See Ibid., pp. 28-32.


58 The term "Prekosavska Croatia" began to be used for the first time during the Austrian administration of the Kingdom of Illyria. It included all the Croat regions situated on the right bank of the Sava, i.e. the regions ceded to Napoleon in 1809. This area was also referred to as "Civilian Croatia" and "Provincial Croatia".

59 Antoljak, op. cit., p. 96.

60 Ibid., p. 135.

61 Nationalism in Croatia was still in its embryo and the ruling class deprived itself of some important legislative powers (see pp. 38-39).

62 These main points of the Sabor's instructions are given on the basis of the following works: Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, pp. 132-133; Smišiklas, op. cit., pp. 28-29. During my research the original document was not available to me in any accessible form. The instructions issued by the Sabor to its delegates to Pozsony were carried by them and very often lost. However, several original documents were preserved in various private archives of Croat or Magyar noblemen which are today to be found in unpublished form in the archives of Zagreb and Budapest.


64 Loc. cit.

65 In fact, the Croat delegates had no instructions as to the position to be taken regarding this problem. Consequently, they wanted to postpone this decision pending new instructions from Zagreb. In addition to this, the Sabor
had no jurisdiction over the problems already decided by the Common Diet.

65a It is important to note that the Croat patriots resented this decision because the Croat language itself had not reached this stage at that time.


67 The full name of this publication was "De municipalibus juribus et statutis regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae". Its text is to be found in F. Fancev, "Dokumenti za naše podrijetlo hrvatskog preporoda (1790-1832)", Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske, vol. 12 (1933), pp. 236-254.


69 Šurmin, op. cit., p. 36.


71 A dialect in the Serbo-Croat language is determined on the basis of spelling and pronunciation of the word for "what". In this particular case, the Croats of the county of Zagreb used "Kaj" for "what". Hence their dialect is called "Kajkavian" or "kajdialect".

72 A brief but exceptionally good account of Karadžić's work is presented by V. Corović in "Vuk Karadžić", The Slavonic and East European Review, vol. 16 (April 1938), pp. 667-675.


74 See Prelog, op. cit., pp. 66-68.


77 Ibid., p. 51.

78 Fancev, "Dokumenti za naše podrijetlo hrvatskog preporoda...", p. 118.

79 Ibid., pp. 118-119.

80 Ibid., pp. 133-134.


83 See Fancev, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-169.


87 Šurmin, *op. cit.*, p. 79.


90 Aggressive Magyar radicalism caused a rapid change in the thinking of the Croat intellectual who then moved closer to conservatism and the Croat nobility. See Chapter IV, pp. 214-215.

91 I do not intend to deal with Gaj's biography. However, his role in the formation and development of Croat nationalism will be extensively dealt with. For the outline of his biography see, for example, J. Šidak "Ljudevit Gaj", Enciklopedija Jugoslavije, 1958, vol. 3, pp. 417-420.


93 *Loc. cit.*

94 See his "Die Schlösser bei Krapina" in Fancev, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-190.


99 The Academy of Zagreb was established in 1776 by Maria Theresa. The languages of instruction were Latin and German. The school was run by the Jesuit Order and had three faculties: bogoslovstvo (theology), provoslovstvo (law) and mudroslovstvo (philosophy). Not till 1874 was the Academy given the status of university.

101 Šurmin, op. cit., p. 149.

102 Further history of Gaj's paper will be discussed in Chapter III.


104 For the text of the pamphlet see Ježić, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

105 After the appearance of Gaj's "Kratka Osnova" the Croat young intellectuals no longer used the Kajkavian dialect which had no uniform orthography and the use of which was restricted to the County of Zagreb. See also R. Kiszling, Die Kroaten, Graz-Köln, Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1956, p. 92.

106 The idea was put forward already in 1815 by Mihanović in the "Reč domovini". See Fancev, op. cit., pp. 118-119.

107 V. Bogdanov, Društvene i političke borbe u Hrvatskoj, 1848/49, Zagreb, Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1949, p. 11.

108 Loc. cit.

109 Ibid., p. 12.

110 Loc. cit.

111 See above, pp. 39-40.

111a See below, pp. 167-168.

112 See below, pp. 229-231.

113 Bogdanov, Društvene i političke borbe, p. 13.

114 See R. Bičanić, Doba manufakture u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji (1750-1860), Zagreb, Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1951, pp. 335-342.


116 See below, p. 13.

117 See Bičanić, Doba manufakture u Hrvatskoj, pp. 199-203.

119 Loc. cit.

120 However, the bourgeoisie of Karlovac failed to see the necessity for the emancipation of the peasantry and never seriously attacked the feudal social concepts of Croatia.

121 Bogdanov, Društvene i političke borbe, pp. 15-16.

122 See above, p. 4.

123 For the approach of the Croat nobility towards the development of the Croat language before 1832, see above pp. 108-109.


125 Serfdom in Croatia was abolished by Ban Jelačić in 1848. See J. Šidak, Historijska čitanka za hrvatsku povijest, Zagreb, Skolska Knjiga, 1952, pp. 206-207 and 228-229.

125a See below, pp. 178-179.


127 In his article, "Ilirski pokret" (p. 340), Professor Šidak explains that the Illyrian Movement "in its social concepts did not oppose the privileged classes" and aimed "primarily to obtain support for the national idea from the upper class" because the Croat bourgeoisie was too weak, politically and economically.

128 See Šidak, "Ilirski pokret", p. 341.

129 See below, p. 123.

129a See below, pp. 253-254.

130 See Deželić, op. cit., p. 313.
Count Janko Draskovic and the Diet, 1832-36.

The meeting of the Diet in 1832 marked the beginning of the Croat cultural renaissance. The fundamentals laid down by the young intellectual group had expanded into a full scale national movement known as the Illyrian Movement. By 1832, this movement included not only the youth, but also a segment of the Croat ruling class and the new (and still economically weak) bourgeoisie. In any case, the atmosphere prevailing in Croatia before the meeting of the Diet greatly differed from that of earlier years. First, the successes of the young patriots - Smodek's lectures on the Croat language at the Academy and Gaj's new orthography - aroused an interest among the Croats for their language and literature and with it a distinct feeling of national awareness. The Croat nobles, as we have seen, thoroughly endorsed Gaj's application for a newspaper and completely changed their policy toward Magyarization. No longer did they demand a closer union with Hungary. They realized the mistake they had made in 1790 and demanded that Croatia should be returned its executive government and complete jurisdiction over Croat affairs. This new outlook was further reinforced by the Magyar demands for the incorporation of Slavonia, Dalmatia
and the Croat Littoral provinces. 1

On the eve of the meeting of the Common Diet, which was to convene on 16 December, 1832, Count Janko Drašković published the first political pamphlet ever to be printed in the Croat language, Disertacija iliti razgovor, darovan gospodi pokli-sarom zakonskim i budućem zakonotvorcem kraljevinah naših, za buduću Dietu ungarsku odaslanem, držan po jednom starom domorodcu Kraljevinah ovih (Dissertation or Discourse presented by an Old Inhabitant to the Future Lawmakers of These Kingdoms Sent to the Next Hungarian Diet). As one of the first nobles who supported and spoke for the ideas advocated by the Croat youth, Janko Drašković presented in his pamphlet the Illyrian Movement's first political programme. Hence, some historians regard this event as the beginning of the formation of the Illyrian Party which was created in the late 1830's. In any case, all political parties formed on Croat soil up to the start of the 20th century based their platforms on the ideas expressed in the "Dissertation".

Drašković did not deal only with contemporary Croat politics, but, on the basis of past records, he laid down the general foundation of the future political platforms. 2

We must remember that our kingdoms were not conquered or annexed, but that we voluntarily agreed to enter into this union with the understanding that we will be allowed to legislate together with our brothers, the Magyars, and to defend our rights if necessary. It follows that we must not oppose the Magyars at the Common Diet in any way nor can they introduce proposals encroaching upon our ancient rights. 3
In addition to his political conceptions, he also identified himself with the cultural reforms of the intellectuals by choosing the Štokavian dialect as the language of his pamphlet.

With his "Dissertation" Count Janko Drašković gives Illyrism a ready made programme. Immediately in the first sentences of his pamphlet he points out that the language of the people is the main instrument of public creativity.... With his pamphlet, Janko Drašković, after many centuries, brings our language into the political life.

His fundamental desire was to achieve the unification of all Croat lands which included not only Dalmatia, the Military Frontier and Rijeka, but also Bosnia where "many of our people live". He advised the Croat delegates to the Diet to demand the creation of Greater Illyria which was also to include the Slovene speaking regions of Carniola, Styria and Carinthia. Greater Illyria was to be given the Illyrian language (Štokavian dialect) as the official language of the state; the administration of government was to be carried out in the name of the Crown by the office of the Ban, just as had been the case before 1790.

Sixteen years before the Revolution of 1848, Janko Drašković thus sees federation as the only possible solution of the governmental union of the many nations which found themselves within the Habsburg Empire.... "Now", he says, "the practice has shown all advanced countries which are composed of different nations speaking different languages that in order to achieve a strong and healthy government, every nation should be given its special concessions which are the most suitable for each particular situation."
Having defined and outlined the external relations and organization of Greater Illyria, the author moved on to suggest the fundamentals of the internal organization of Croatia. He criticized the use of political defence as the only weapon in the struggle against Magyarization because, by concentrating on it alone, the strength of the nation was being depleted. He sensed that the Croat defence would collapse if it was not further strengthened "by securing a foothold among the people, developing its spiritual and material power, and equalizing its social relations...". In short, he proposed to increase the standard of living because economic progress was the main factor which could guarantee the success of the political struggle.

Just as Gaj had been accepted as the leader of the cultural movement of the nation, Drašković, after publishing his "Dissertation", became the authority in the political field. During the first years of the Illyrian Movement, he alone decided the political tactics and strategy to be used in the struggle against Magyarization. In addition to having the right to sit in the Sabor, he was also one of its prominent members and was elected to represent Croatia in the House of Magnates in Pozsony. Therefore, he became the only hope of the Croat intellectuals, who as a rule did not have seats in the Sabor. Thus to Drašković and his small group of followers in the Sabor, fell the task of persuading the legislature to accept the terms of the cultural renaissance.

The Croat Sabor met on 11 November, 1832, to elect its
delegates to the Common Diet and to decide on the positions to be taken on the major political issues of the day. Owing to his influence in the Sabor, Drašković succeeded in prevailing upon it to accept his proposal that, in case of complete disagreement with the Magyar delegates, the Croats were to walk out of the Diet to indicate that Croatia was prepared to handle its affairs without Hungary. On Drašković's advice, Ban Vlašić appointed to the office of the Podban (deputy to the Ban) General Juraj Rukavina who, for the first time in the history of the Sabor, expressed his gratitude in the Croat language.

The instructions given by the Sabor to its delegates clearly illustrated the entirely new atmosphere prevailing among the Croat ruling class:

1. Protestants could not be allowed to settle in the Croat territory since this problem involved the question of the constitutional position of Croatia and could reinforce Magyar demands for Rijeka and the Croat Littoral provinces.

2. To the office of the Ban should be restored its former executive authority which was to be extended to Dalmatia, the Military Frontier and Rijeka.

3. Should the Magyars exert pressure upon Croatia demanding an increase in taxes, the delegates were to announce that Croatia would reclaim its right to decide its own taxes.

4. The Latin language was to remain the official language.
of Croatia, but the delegates were to refuse to grant any further concessions to the Magyar language, except for its usage within the borders of Hungary.\(^{10}\)

The first question to be discussed at Pozsony was the problem of the peasantry and its position in relation to the nobility. While the majority of the delegates agreed that serfdom should be reformed by giving more freedom to the peasantry, the House of Magnates and especially the Croats opposed any reform whatsoever. The Croats argued that by giving the peasants freedom to move and abolishing the right of the landlord to employ free labour on his estate the majority of the Croat nobles would simply become bankrupt. Some minor changes were finally accepted, but only because they were supported by Francis Deák's strong liberal group.\(^{11}\) The peasantry was no longer required to pay for the cost of the Diet's meeting since it had no representatives in that body.

Once again the Croats had to reject the liberal Magyar proposal for the enforcement of religious toleration in all the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen. The Croat arguments were again based on their ancient right which specified that religious problems in Croatia could be solved by the Croat Sabor alone.\(^{12}\) The Magyars were compelled to recognize the validity of this right, but they argued that it excluded Dalmatia, Slavonia and Rijeka which were traditional Magyar provinces. Ban Francis Vlašić and Janko Drašković success-

\(^{10}\) Deák, 101, 10, 12

\(^{11}\) Kraka, 131

\(^{12}\) Kraka, 131
fully managed to reject and defeat the Magyar interpretation of the above mentioned law by pointing out that these regions "are Croat not only according to Croatia's historical right and their geographic position, but also logically because it is impossible for the Magyars to claim Rijeka, for example, which has no common border with Hungary". At this point, the Diet's session was temporarily interrupted by the death of Emperor Francis on 2 March 1835.

Immediately after Francis' successor, Ferdinand V (1835-1848), occupied the throne, the Diet moved on to "solve" the question of the Magyar language. The Magyar delegates included Croatia in their demands for the rights of their language and demanded that from grade V Magyar was to become the language of instruction in all secondary schools and that all those who planned to enter the civil service must learn Magyar within ten years' time. This proposal was introduced in the lower house and the pressure for its enforcement was so strong that even Drašković failed to convince his colleagues in the upper house that the proposal should be rejected as unconstitutional. Herman Buzan tried in vain a different approach and declared that if Croatia was to give up Latin, then she had the right to accept her own language "which had lately progressed very nicely". The only alternative left to the Croat delegates was to appeal to Ferdinand, or rather Metternich who was the power behind the throne, to refuse to assent to the decision passed by the Diet. Since Magyar
nationalism represented a more dangerous anti-German force than Croat nationalism, Ferdinand refused to sanction this decision and thus saved the Croat's defensive position from complete collapse. In the Diet itself, the failure of the Croats to prevent the passage of this bill was attributed to the Croat delegate from Virovitica, Ivan Salopek, who denied Croatia the right to its language and separate privileges and argued that the Croats did not exist as a nation, that they were Magyars inhabiting Magyar territory. His arguments were counter-attacked by Kollar's pamphlet published in 1832 in Karlovac under the title Sollen wir Magyaren werden? (Should we Become Magyars?) which completely unmasked the policy of Magyarization and explained that the Magyar's main goal was to destroy all the Slavic nations within their state.

In very short time this pamphlet was published three times which was proof that it had arrived at the right time and that the Croats awoke suddenly when they were asked the question - should they become Magyars. In Pest the pamphlet caused real chaos and the government in Vienna was accused of being in a secret agreement with the author of this booklet against the Magyars which its (Vienna's) censor had allowed to be printed. The Magyars could no longer argue that by introducing the question of their language they were only trying to develop it as far as Hungary was concerned. Therefore they did not even attempt to produce an argument against the ideas and implications expressed in the pamphlet.
Realizing that such debates had positively no end and that there was danger of an open fight between the Croat and Magyar delegates, Ferdinand V concluded the meeting of the Diet (2 May 1836). The results of the meeting left neither the Magyars nor the Croats satisfied. It was obvious that the gap between the two nations was becoming much wider and deeper and it seemed as if there was no possible, peaceful solution to the problem. The Magyars felt that the Croats and Vienna prevented them from obtaining their national rights and the right to use their language. More radical elements argued that the Croats, who represented the minority, wanted to enforce and dictate their views to the majority, the Magyars. On the other hand, the Croats saw in the Magyar attempts to force the Magyar language upon them the movement which aimed to destroy the Croat nation and its autonomous rights. They equally feared that in the near future it would be impossible for them to defend themselves successfully since even the House of Magnates had begun to lose its conservative character and move slowly toward the liberal side. 19

The Croat Sabor met on 5 August 1836 to hear the reports of its delegates to Pozsony and to discuss the highlights of this new situation. It decided that the danger which threatened to destroy the political status quo of the country could no longer be fought without outside assistance and thus "Croat politics began to look for help in Vienna". 20 Such an attitude enabled Metternich "...to link Croat politics
with the interests of Vienna and the Monarchy". Croatia became a tool against Magyar liberal democracy. Count Drašković realized the danger in taking this new course but, in the absence of national consciousness among the majority of the delegates to the Sabor, his warning was not accepted as politically sound. However, all agreed that the Croat language should be further developed and help given to those working on it. In spite of the fact that the nobility did not feel the need for adopting Croat as the official language, the fact that it even had an attitude indicated that the nationalism originating outside the walls of the Sabor had found its way and supporters inside the legislature. The Croat historian, Josip Horvat, however, tends to overestimate the role of Janko Drašković in the Sabor during the first years of the Illyrian Movement by concluding that "'Illyrism', national rebirth, and the swing, politically and socially, towards the realization of democracy, are primarily the work of Count Janko Drašković". At the same time, Horvat also described the opinions and activity of those nobles who supported the Movement in the Sabor as a well organized and powerful group of leftist radicals who aimed to introduce radical social reforms. While this may have been true for Janko Drašković and his social concepts, it certainly could not be said of any other member of the Sabor during that period.
In this activity Count Janko Drašković found understanding, support and active co-operation from the smaller but better part of the Croat aristocracy and nobility. All these men, who were preparing the soil for the rebirth even before Janko Drašković, from Ritter Vitezovic to Vrhovic, Mihanovic, Jelacic and Kušević, were aware of its political and social consequences, and knew that the way toward democratic equality implied the abolition of class differences and privileges - their own position in the state. 25

It will be sufficient to point out that although old Count Drašković publicly supported some fundamental social changes in the feudal society of Croatia, his colleagues in the Sabor were definitely opposed to such ideas and were prepared to support only the cultural revival, not social radicalism and similar antifeudal movements.

Drašković's work and successes were of more consequence to leadership of the Illyrian Movement outside the Sabor than to his attempts to influence the delegates to the Sabor to consider the modification of their feudal social concepts. He invited Ljudevit Gaj to Pozsony to introduce him to Hungarian political circles. Both Drašković and Gaj utilized this opportune moment to explain the fundamental aims of the Croat cultural rebirth to the Magyar delegates - introduction of the new orthography, reform of the grammar, publication of a newspaper, and formation of a printing office which was to print books in the Croat language. The result was that the Magyars, for the first time since 1790, learned that the Croat language was not only the language of the peasants, but also of other classes which, like the
Magyars, aimed to win for it the place in administration. Many began to seriously doubt the success of the Magyarization policy while others felt that the Croat movement should be destroyed at its beginning before it gained deeper roots in the Croat nation.

From Pozsony, Gaj went to Vienna with the purpose of appealing to the highest authorities of the Monarchy to take his application for publishing a Croat newspaper into immediate consideration. It was suspected that Magyar elements at the Court used all their influence to prevent Gaj from obtaining the necessary permission, or at least to postpone it as long as possible. When the permission was finally obtained the Croat national movement experienced a rapid growth and underwent the final and the most important stage in the cultural revival of the nation. The meetings of the Diet became of secondary importance and the cultural renaissance, which had some political connotations as well, became the main aspect of nationalism in Croatia.

**Cultural Renaissance of the Nation**

Drašković's "Dissertation" and the meeting of the Diet of 1832-36, as we have already noticed, marked the beginning of the full scale national movement, or Illyrism. However, as to the exact year in which the Illyrian Movement appeared on the Croat scene as the movement of the majority, the Croat historians could never agree. While most of them have no
doubts that Illyrism as a movement ended in 1843 with the prohibition of the name "Illyria", their arguments for determining the beginning differ. Tade Smičiklas, one of the most prominent Croat historians and author of the first Croat history, *Povijest Hrvatska* (A History of Croatia), hesitates to limit himself to any particular date and simply declares that the movement, which started in the early 1830's, began to function as a broad national movement in the late 1830's. Djuro Šurmin, a specialist in this particular period in Croat history, argues in his *Hrvatski preporod* (Croat Renaissance) that the Illyrian Movement began after the meeting of the Diet in 1836 - the Croat's last attempt to solve their problems by co-operating with the Magyar nobility. Ferdo Šišić, somewhat more sophisticated, divides the period between 1830 and 1843 into two parts: (1) "On the Eve of the Illyrian Movement (1830-1836)" and (2) "The Peak of Illyrism (1836-1843)." Finally, Josip Horvat identifies the beginning of the Movement with the publication of the first edition of Gaj's newspaper in 1835, which, according to him, represented the main highlight of the cultural rebirth until its end in 1843. To be on the safe side, the beginning of the Illyrian Movement could be easily identified with Drašković's "Dissertation" and the meeting of the Croat Sabor in 1832 because it was in this year that the Sabor began to seriously consider the development of the language, the expansion of the Ban's authority in Croatia and the demand to restore Croatia's position
in relation to Hungary to the place it had held before 1790. The fact that the Croat delegates to Pozsony could safely answer to the Magyars that their language had also developed in recent years is indicative of the influence of the young intellectuals and the impact their successes had on the thinking of the Croat ruling class. The Croat nobility had witnessed such successes and works of Croat patriots as Smodek's right to teach the Croat language at the Academy of Zagreb, Gaj's new orthography, Derkoš' "Genius patriae", Štoos' "The Statute of the Homeland", and Drašković's "Dissertation".

Upon his arrival to Vienna in 1833, Gaj succeeded in seeing the Emperor himself and explaining to him the programme of his paper. The old Emperor promised to take Gaj's application into immediate consideration and ordered his Minister of the Interior, Sedlnitzky, to submit to him "character references concerning the person of Ljudevit Gaj" accompanied by Sedlnitzky's own report explaining his approval or disapproval. The entire procedure and struggle of the Croats to obtain their newspaper is indicative of some of the difficulties which the Croats faced in the development of their national movement.

...the King demanded that Sedlnitzky bring as soon as possible 'character references concerning the person of Ljudevit Gaj' on which basis it would be decided if it was or was not possible to give Gaj permission to publish a political newspaper.

But Sedlnitzky, who was "in no hurry to consider the applic-
had still submitted no report after six months of investigation. The Crown's Council for Hungary, to whom Gaj had originally handed in his application, wanted to illustrate its "willingness" to help the Croats and formally announced that Gaj could publish his paper, but only if he did not publish any political news.

Gaj, having in mind his programme which was designed not only to realize cultural rebirth, but also to awake Croatia politically, which he was authorized to do, having had such recommendations from the Croat districts, was naturally not satisfied with the final decision of the Crown's Council for Hungary. 36

In 1834, Gaj made his second trip to Vienna with the purpose of seeing the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Kolovrat, for whom he had a letter written by Jan Kollar recommending speedy approval of Gaj's application. As a result of this undertaking, Count Sedlnitzky submitted his collection of documents concerning Ljudevit Gaj to the Emperor with his own recommendation that the Croats be allowed to have a newspaper "because it is not the intention of Your Majesty to have the language of the Croats eliminated by that of the Magyars." 37

In October 1834, after two years of waiting, Gaj finally received the permission to publish the political newspaper, Novine Horvatzke (The Croat News) with its weekly literary edition, Danicza Horvatzka, Slavonzka y Dalmatinzka (The Croat, Slavonian and Dalmatian Morning Star). This event
marked the turning point in the development of Croat nationalism. The press assumed the leading role in the formation of the national movement and became the main weapon used in the struggle against Magyarization. Magyar authorities feared Gaj aimed to educate an independent national movement which would demand that Croatia withdraw from the union. Therefore the censor in Zagreb was ordered by the Crown’s Council for Hungary that "in the case of Gaj's newspaper, all strict rules of censorship have to be fully enforced". This simply meant that all the political news published in the "Croat News" had to be copied from the Luna Agramer Zeitung or other German newspapers which had already passed through the hands of the censor.

The main problem, however, was to choose a proper dialect and orthography because, in order to obtain as many subscribers as possible, it seemed politically unsound to adopt the Stokavian dialect from the very beginning. Since the newspaper was to gain a solid basis in the County of Zagreb first, it seemed logical to adopt, on a temporary basis, the Kajkavian dialect and the old orthography - the two factors Gaj was opposed to the most. This decision was reached at a meeting held in Janko Drašković's house which was attended by all the prominent, young (their ages ranging from 18 to 25) intellectuals and leaders of the movement - Dragutin Rakovac, Vjekoslav Babukić, Dimitrije Demeter, Antun Mažuranić, Ivan Derkoš, Pavao Stoos, Antun Vakanović, Ognjoslav Utješenović, and
Ljudevit Vukotinović. The product of this meeting was the well known Oglas (Announcement) which explained the purpose and the role of the Croat press. From the content of the Oglas it was evident that Gaj aimed to unite not only all the Croats into one cultural and political group, but also all other South Slavs. Thus he was the first originator of the idea of the South Slavic union which only became a fact as late as 1918. The introductory paragraph addressed all the South Slavic nations as follows:

We greet all honourable gentlemen of all classes and orders of the famous Slavic peoples in the southern lands, namely, Croats, Slovenes, Slavonians, Dalmatians, Dubrovnikians, Serbs, Carniolians, Styrians, Carinthians, Istrians, Bosnians, and all others, as our brothers, admirers of the language!  

The Oglas ended by pointing out to the South Slavic nations the examples of other European nations, which had in their respective language, their own press, books and literature in general, and by pleading:

Therefore, before it is too late, this is the moment for us, the ancestors of the guards and defenders of European culture, to bring back the honour of the language of our dear Slavic mother, the language abundant with words and sweet in pronunciation, the language which ties us logically with eighty million of our brothers.  

The general enthusiasm among the Croats which accompanied the first issues of the "Croat News" and the Danica spoke for the tremendous success achieved by Gaj. The Danica found
its supporters and followers not only in Zagreb, but also among the Slovenes and the Serbs of Vojvodina. Articles, poems and other patriotic material for the Danica kept coming from many different parts of Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia. The poems published in the Danica played a most important role in awakening national sentiment. The main subject of this poetry was usually of patriotic nature praising the country, the people, its culture, and its language. The poetry contained almost no literary or artistic value for it ignored style, rhythm and similar rules in the art of poetical composition. Its main purpose was to cause a patriotic stir and enthusiasm among the people. The paper's best pieces were sung at various patriotic gatherings of public and private nature. Thus, for instance, by 1832 Gaj's song, "Croatia will never disappear as long as we live, she will be raised high when we awake her up...", a version of a Polish song of similar nature, became a symbol of nationalism among all the classes. Mihanović's Lijepa naša domovina (Our Beautiful Homeland) experienced a similar success and has been preserved up to the present day as the national anthem of Croatia. The Danica found a significant correspondent in the poet Stanko Vraz, who became one of the most prominent members of the Illyrian Movement and the main advocate of its ideas among the Slovenes.  

The initial success of the Danica led Gaj to believe that the time had come to abandon the Kajkavian dialect and
the old orthography. By such a move he aimed to enlarge the size of his following among the Slovenes, Dalmatians and Serbs who were not familiar with the Kajkavian dialect and would never be able to adopt it in their literature. When Gaj's newspaper changed its dialect and orthography, it changed its name as well. By the start of 1836, "The Croat News" had become "The Illyrian News" (Ilirske narodne novine) and "The Croat, Slavonian and Dalmatian Morning Star" had become "The Illyrian Morning Star" (Danica Ilirska). According to Ferdo Šišić, this change of name represented the main contribution of Ljudevit Gaj to Croat national unity and nationalism:

By this courageous and deciding act Gaj made his most important contribution because he thus removed the last fence which divided Croat from Croat and, at that time, Croat from Serb. Undoubtedly, this is one of the most significant events in the history of the Croat people because it meant death to the ancient provincial differences and divisions and gave rise to an awareness of the present day Croat national and political life at all social levels, an awareness which was unknown and nonexistent until this moment. Without this move made by Gaj and his young, enthusiastic colleagues, it would have been impossible to consider all the future Croat political activity, especially the one for national unity. Thus, with the year 1836, the old Croatia disappeared and the new one was born and, with it a new era in the political and cultural life of the Croats.

This decisive move of the Croat intellectuals was favoured by the general, political situation in the Monarchy. The central government in Vienna, in its fear of the Magyars' powerful national movement, approved and welcomed the Croat opposition to Hungary and even assisted Gaj in his work to
establish a Croat printing office (June 7, 1937). It also allowed, informally, the change in his newspaper's name. The Croat ruling class also tolerated this change because at the last meeting of the Diet (1832-1836) the Magyars had antagonized the nobility by demanding that the peasants be freed and the clergy by demanding religious equality. Sizing up this political situation, Gaj saw an opportunity to put into practice his political concepts of the formation of national unity.

Under the name, "Illyria", Gaj hoped (in the early 1830's) to unite all South Slavs into one politically independent nation. However, since this idea was not popular among many prominent members of the Illyrian Movement in Croatia, he related his political concepts to only a few of his colleagues. Gaj believed that all South Slavs originated from the ancient Illyrians and therefore, he desired to unite not only those South Slavic nations living under the Habsburg Monarchy, but also those under Turkey in the semi-independent Serbian state. In this respect he expanded further on Drašković's concepts for the creation of Greater Illyria as it was expressed in his (Drašković's) "Dissertation". What is more important, Gaj also wanted to replace the Latin alphabet used in Croatia with the Cyrillic one used in Serbia. Consequently, in 1837, he went to Vienna to get permission from Sedlnitzky to publish "The Illyrian News", or rather every second column, in the Cyrillic alphabet. While Sedlnitzky was not definitely
against this proposal, he told Gaj that "it would be more advisable to postpone this change until sometime in the future". Although this attempt had been only temporarily postponed, it was never again seriously considered because of its strong opposition from the Movement's leadership.

In the absence of sufficient historical evidence, it is impossible to determine Gaj's political concepts for the unity of the South Slavs. We do not know whether he visualized such a union as a completely independent state, or just as a component part of the Habsburg Monarchy, based and organized on the principles of federalism. The latter case seems to be more plausible since there was no historical tradition for a South Slavic governmental union, and the Monarchy was still powerful enough to prevent Croatia, Slovenia and Vojvodina from becoming part of another state. In addition to this, the Magyars would never be willing to part with the regions which they considered theirs and which they planned to magyarize. Therefore, it seems more likely that Gaj planned to unite these nations within the Monarchy, but in a way which would guarantee the South Slavs unlimited and uninterrupted cultural development and a reasonable amount of political autonomy.

Gaj's ideas for the South Slavic political and later, cultural union, played a very insignificant role in the Croat national movement. Apart from the fact that they represented the first attempt to create the South Slavic state which only
came into being in 1918, after the fall of the Habsburg Monarchy, they had no impact on the development of Croat nationalism in the first half of the nineteenth century. The Illyrian Movement became limited to Croatia only, and had no comparable effect on any other nation in present day Yugoslavia.

Most of the Illyrians in Slovenia, including Stanko Vraz, were even opposed to the name, "Illyria", as well as the Štokavian dialect. Therefore, the moment Gaj began to publish his paper in this dialect the original enthusiasm of the Slovenes began to ebb very rapidly. The language of the Croat Illyrians was no longer as close to the language of the Slovenes, as it was during the period of the Kajkavianism. This event, coupled with the appearance of the well known Slovene poet, Francis Prešern - who, being a follower of Kopitar, advocated the development of the Slovene national literature apart from any other - caused Illyrism to fall from favour in the Slovene regions.

In the case of the Serbs, the Illyrian Movement experienced a similar failure. Its loss of favour among the Serbs was caused by the rapid development of the Serbian national movement which succeeded in unifying all the Serbs under the dynasty of Obrenovićs and later Karadjordjevićs. In addition to this, the Serbian national awokeners, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić and Dositej Obradović (somewhat earlier), reformed the Serbian orthography and created a new literary language several decades
before the Croats did. The movement gradually spread among the Serbs in Vojvodina whom Gaj hoped to include into the Illyrian Movement. "The feeling of Serbianism" \(^49\) dictated that the Vojvodinians follow the movement organized by their countrymen in the young Serbian state. By the time Illyrism emerged as a strong movement, the Serbs had their own newspaper, *Letopis Matice Srpske* (The Annals of the Serbian National Foundation), which had been founded in 1826 and was published by the *Matica Srpska* (Serbian National Foundation) in Novi Sad. Thus by 1836, when "The Croat News" began to be published, "... the formation of national consciousness among the Serbs had been completed". \(^50\) In general, the Serbian national movement operated under much more favourable conditions than the Illyrian Movement in Croatia, which had a dangerous enemy in the Magyar national movement.

One of the reasons which led Gaj and several of his close colleagues to approach the Serbs and invite their cooperation was the fact that the Serbs had already developed a promising literary movement which could serve as a foothold for the development of the South Slavic literature in general. On the other hand, the Serbs found it impossible to identify with the name "Illyria" which stood as a common denominator for the cultural and political unity of the South Slavs. They were much too preoccupied with the liberation of their country from the Turkish yoke; no other political issue could find a substantial following, especially not under the somewhat
distant name of "Illyria". While they approved and, to an extent, were prepared to support the Croat cause, they denied the existence of the Illyrian language as the language of Serbia. Furthermore, some prominent Serbian writers of this period disliked Croatia's Latin alphabet because they felt it was foreign to the Slavs and unsuitable for their languages.

While the Illyrians were for the equality of both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets, the first being our ancient heritage and the second the European one and therefore ours as well, Serbian enemies of Illyrism considered the Latin alphabet to be a foreign orthography and unable, besides, to correctly record the sounds of our language.

The result was that Illyrism as a movement became restricted to Croatia and only here found its main following, caused the cultural renaissance of the nation and developed into a strong nationalist movement. Even the Croats of Dalmatia and Bosnia remained outside its influence—if we exclude the isolated attempts of several individuals who were sending their articles and poems to the "Illyrian Morning Star". Dalmatia differed from Croatia proper because it lacked native intellectuals who would be interested in the development of their native language and literature, and lacked a strong and nationally inclined native nobility. Following the period of French rule, and even before, Dalmatia's feudal system was very weak. We find almost exactly the same case in Bosnia which suffered under the Turkish suzerainty.
The only people who wanted to see the development of the Illyrian Movement in Bosnia were the monks living in monasteries isolated from the main cultural centres of the nation. It followed that Illyrism became the characteristic movement of those Croat regions which were included de facto into the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen and which fought Magyarization. It provided the Croats of Croatia proper and Slavonia with an effective means of rejecting cultural assimilation by Hungary and, after 1843, of forming a national political party which aimed to preserve the political status quo of the country within the Monarchy. Hence the Illyrians were right to see that the development of the Croat language was a prerequisite for a successful struggle against Magyarization and for the preservation of national identity. Every issue of the "Morning Star" constantly carried the motto, "Nationa Without Nationality is a Body Without Bones" (Narod bez narodnosti je tijelo bez kosti), to remind the Croats of the Movement's main purpose.

Up to 1838, the Illyrian Movement included and spread among the male population of Croatia only. Croat noblewomen continued to speak the language of the day, German, and took no major interest in the national strides of their husbands. One of the first Illyrians who realized a powerful, potential national force by bringing the Croat women into the Illyrian circle was, again, Janko Drašković. With this purpose in mind, he published in 1838 his well known booklet, Ein Wort an Illyriens hochherzige Töchter, which was addressed to the
Croat noblewomen because "only with the participation of the Croat (Illyrian) women could a major national work be achieved". He urged the Croat women to learn history and to take interest in the contemporary affairs of their country. He praised their intellectual capacity and assigned them a decisive role in the national movement. His appeal to the Croat noblewomen did not remain unanswered. Within a relatively short time they abandoned the German language and adopted the Croat one which they taught to their children as well. In addition to this, in many cases where husbands intended to passively observe the development of Illyrism their wives influenced and pressed them to take active roles and to support the Illyrian ideas.

Following the publication of this booklet, the Croat women were overtaken by the magic power of national consciousness; those who were already half germanized began to learn and speak Croat, adopted the folk costumes, started to read Croat journals and books, sang the Croat songs publicly and at home, corresponded in Croat, and some even attempted to enrich the Croat literature.

Drašković's *Ein Wort* was not only intended to be read by the Croat women, but also to explain the Illyrian Movement to the Germans abroad and at home. He pointed out to his German reader that Illyrism wanted to create one literary language for all the South Slavs, just as the Germans living in different countries had one literary tradition, in other words, one literary language. Unlike his "Dissertation",
Draskovic did not intend to express in this booklet his political concepts of Greater Illyria which would naturally be accepted unfavourably by the Germans. He aimed rather to follow closely Šafařik's and Kollar's concepts of Pan-Slavism, and to compare them with Illyrism as the Croat version of the Slavic cultural unity. Following the Czech national pattern, he proposed the formation of various Croat national associations which would undertake the task of spreading national literary works among the people.

It is known that as early as 1829, Gaj had related to Jan Kollar his plans for organizing Illyrian national societies which could act as strongholds of national cultural unity. Again, in 1836, he published several articles in the "Morning Star" pointing out the necessity for the formation of such societies. However, it was not until 1838 that the Croats established their first organization set up according to the pattern recommended by Gaj. In that year, the Illyrians of Varazdin established the first Croat reading room under the name, **Prijatelji našega narodnoga slovstva** (The Friends of Our National Lettership). The example of Varazdin was followed by Karlovac which, by the spring of the same year, had founded its reading room, **Ilirsko čitanja društvo** (The Illyrian Reading Society), under the leadership of Karlo Klobučarić, Antun Vakanović and Ambroz Vranjican. Finally, in August 1838, Janko Draškovic, magistrate Josip Štajdaher and Vjekoslav Babukić established in Zagreb, **Ilirska citaonica** (The Illyrian Reading Room) which soon became the centre, or the headquarters,
of all the other reading rooms which were organized in all the larger towns of the country. These reading rooms not only provided the Croats with an effective tool for spreading national culture and literature, but also with new ideas for social and economic progress. In this centrally organized net of reading rooms, the members of the Croat middle class, tradesmen, merchants, small artisans and others, discussed plans for the economic development of the country and for the improvement of social relations in general. As soon as 1838 (1 October), during the first meeting of the executive committee, plans for industrial development were discussed and "realizing our industrial underdevelopment, they spoke of the possibilities of building a paper factory, textile plant, and leather factory and of developing agriculture and the wine trade." 57 This event indicated that the reading rooms included not only the Croat ruling class and intellectuals, but also the bourgeoisie which had emerged as a powerful, social factor in the Croat trading centres such as Karlovac, Varaždin, Zagreb, and Križevci. This reinforcement from the middle classes helped broaden the basis of the Illyrian Movement and promised a more successful struggle against Magyarization.

The difficulty with the reading rooms was that their members, in order to participate in the activities, had to live in the near vicinity of their location. This problem was realized by the leadership of Zagreb's "Illyrian Reading
Room" and, at the meeting of its executive committee held on 7 March 1839, its president, Janko Drašković, proposed that a new association be set up, similar in structure to the Czech National Foundation because "the Reading Room was too narrow to accomplish all the cultural tasks". His was the first voice to speak out for the establishment of the Matica Ilirska (The Illyrian National Foundation) which, however, did not come into being until 1842 because of the long period spent waiting for the necessary permission from Vienna.

During this period, the work of the members of the "Reading Room" was occupied by and concentrated on the development of the Croat theatre, organization of a national museum and plans for a national insurance association which would be able to render financial services to those wishing to enter into business. However, their main work towards the cultural renaissance of the nation concentrated on the development of the Croat theatre, especially after Gaj and Demeter had been elected to the executive committee in June 1839.

During the early 1820's, the Croat intellectuals began to force a way for the Croat language into the German theatre in Zagreb by succeeding to put on occasional programmes of Croat songs and short humorous dialogues. However, in 1838 a plan was made for the complete takeover of this theatre. The leading personality in the development of the Croat theatre was Dimitrije Demeter, the son of Greek parents who had immigrated to Zagreb. In 1838, he published two drama
works, Ljubav i dužnost (Love and Duty) and Krvna osveta (Blood-feud), which were accompanied by a significant introductory article which spoke of the importance of the stage in the development of the Croat language. 62 The stage was, argued Demeter, the best way to start the education of the public and the surest way towards the adoption of the Stokavian dialect by the masses.

As early as 18 April 1838, the "Morning Star" was able to report that the first concert had been held in the Croat language. In order to obtain a favourable reaction from an audience which was accustomed to highly regarded German composers, the Illyrians had to be extremely careful in choosing the programmes. Although music provided the best way towards a gradual introduction of the Croat works of drama, it had to be on the same or better level of performance than it had been in the German theatre.

The above mentioned concert was received by the audience in a more favourable way than its organizers had expected. On the next day the "Morning Star" reported:

This first concert of the Illyrian nation, which was prepared by our noble ladies, was accepted by the audience with immeasurable enthusiasm... for it had never heard before the sweetness of the native language in high-class music. Many were convinced of the value of the pure Illyrian language, and their hearts were filled with new patriotic desires. 63

Encouraged by this success of the initial concert, the Illyrians planned to present the first Croat drama on the stage.
In 1838, young Ivan Kukuljevic published his drama, *Juran i Sofija ili Turci kod Siska* (George and Sofia or the Turks at Sisak), the central theme coming from Croat history around 1593 when the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes jointly under the flag of Ban Toma Bakać defeated their centuries-old enemy, Turkey. The moral of the drama illustrated the advantages of the Illyrian ideal which was to unite all South Slavs into one political and cultural unit able to sustain enemy attacks. At the end of the drama, an old Serb told the soldiers:

> We are all together the children of one Poor Mother, sad Mother; In us and in them blood is the same, The famous Illyrian name common to all. 64

The presentation of the "George and Sofia" represented the first Croat drama written in the new literary language and shown on the public stage. Once again the audience reacted very favourably and demanded additional performances of similar works. This influenced the Director of the German theatre in Zagreb, Börnstein, to approach the leaders of the "Reading Room" through an article in the "Morning Star" to organize a serious effort towards the development of the Croat drama and to prepare as many works for the stage as possible. The Executive Board of the "Reading Room" met on 24 January 1840 and appointed Demeter as the treasurer of a campaign which was to collect voluntary, financial contributions for the first Croat theatrical seasons. In the absence of well
trained native actors, Demeter concluded a contract in which the theatre in Novi Sad agreed to send its performers for an eight-months stay in various Croat cities.  

In addition to the new works of drama, the program of this theatre season was reinforced by the works of the Croat classical writers of earlier centuries such as Gundulić, Čubranović and Držić whose works were published in the Štokavian dialect. The season ended having had complete success and this inspired the native talents to produce more works of the same kind. Croat theatre fans acquired new taste for music and theatre by adapting and learning to appreciate national stage and musical productions. At the same time they gradually and quite unconsciously adopted the Štokavian dialect which soon became the language of educated people and remained as such up to the present day.

Thus, by 1840, the main part of the Croat cultural renaissance had been completed. The Illyrian Movement was no longer the movement of a small group of intellectuals, but a national movement composed of the majority of all the classes, except for the peasantry which was largely illiterate and the petty nobility (sljivari) which, in the absence of legislative right in the Sabor, began to side with Magyar nationalism. Among the remaining population the Štokavian dialect was accepted as the literary language of the nation and became the language of all educated people.

By 1840, Croatia was no longer a country whose ruling
class refused to use their native language. Croatia's ruling class was no longer Germanized; it accepted its own language in all aspects of its life except for the meetings of the Common Diet and the Sabor where it used the Latin language only as the symbol of its special political status and rights in the Habsburg Monarchy. However, what is more important, Croatia's nobility was no longer prepared to strive for a close co-operation with the Magyar upper class for it had become more nationally conscious and had finally learned that such co-operation was impossible as long as the Magyars aimed to magyarize Croatia and include parts of its territory in the Hungarian state.

By 1840, the Croats had their own press, reading rooms, theatre, literature, and other tools necessary to the life of every nation. Thus, in spite of the failure of the Illyrians to include other South Slavic nations in their movement, Illyrism achieved its task in Croatia within a very short period of time—eight years, 1832-1840. During this period its main characteristic was of a cultural nature. After its failure as a political movement among all the South Slavs, it limited its activities to cultural ones which emancipated the Croat nation by giving it a uniform literary language and orthography.

From 1840, or rather 1839, when the Sabor and the Common Diet met again to legislate, the Illyrian Movement rapidly developed into a political movement as well. 66 In view of
the Magyars' renewed attack on the Croat nation in 1839/40, Illyrism was forced to abandon any radicalism it may have had before and unite its forces behind the conservative upper class which protected the laws of feudalism and sought the assistance of the central government in Vienna. Such unification of progressive and conservative elements did not move to the extreme right of the political spectrum until after 1843, following the prohibition of the name "Illyria". However, the symptoms of this swing showed up during the meeting of the Diet in 1839. Therefore we will break off our discussion of the cultural renaissance of Croatia and return to it after we have analyzed the new trends within the Illyrian Movement as they were created during the meeting of this Diet. It must be pointed out that all future events which took place in Croatia up to 1848, whether in cultural, social, economic or political fields, must be viewed primarily from the political point of view, and as the immediate reactions of the Croats to each particular move made by the Magyars, or their followers in Croatia itself. Into this political picture, Vienna brought a very conservative shading by forcing the Croats to bow to its policy if they wanted to be given the assistance necessary for their struggle against the dangerous Magyar radicalism.
The Croat Ruling Class at the Diet of 1839-40

The meeting of the Common Diet in 1839 represented the first test of the national ideas held among the Croat ruling class; the Croat nobility was given an opportunity to protect the results of the cultural renaissance brought about by the Illyrian Movement. Considering the fact that the Magyar national movement had developed into a more powerful political force than it had ever been before, the task assigned to the Croat nobility was extremely difficult. The nobility's determination to continue the struggle for the preservation of the Latin language as the language of the legislature complicated the political issue and weakened its arguments against Magyarization and for the rights of the Croat language. In its desire to secure the development of the Croat language the nobility never dared to come up with something new or original, but always followed the pattern of Magyar nationalism. Thus, for instance, when the Magyars expressed a desire to establish a Magyar museum, theatre or a new institute for higher education, the Croat nobility followed in their steps and expressed itself in favour of similar measures to be taken in Croatia. The nobles' motives for such pro-national measures originated from their fear that such concessions to Magyar nationalism might endanger their right to use the Latin language and their special rights and privileges as the representatives of the Triple Kingdom.
The position of the Croat nobility in relation to the Croat national movement was made clear from the instructions issued to its delegates to the Common Diet and drafted at the meeting of the Sabor which sat from 21 to 26 May 1839. The Croat delegates were to oppose any measure introduced by the Magyars which would involve a change in the position of the peasantry. Although the Croat nobles realized the need for the economic development of Croatia and approved of the Illyrian policy for the development of industry and agriculture, they were not prepared to support the progressive measures for the emancipation of the serfs which would have eliminated the scarcity of labour at the potential industrial centres of Croatia. Their policy was to maintain a sufficient labour force on their landed estates.

The nationalism of the Croat ruling class was also too immature to make the nobility realize that adopting the Croat language instead of Latin as the official language of Croatia would not weaken its position but strengthen it because Illyrism enjoyed strong support outside the Sabor among the intellectuals and members of the middle class. 68

The leaders of the Illyrian Movement, who, as a rule, did not have seats in the Sabor, remained isolated from the events taking place in the Sabor itself. The majority of the Sabor felt that Illyrism as a cultural movement had no place in the political arena of the nation since the issues to be discussed did not concern the cultural renaissance and its
problems of the Stokavian dialect and literature. It would be misleading, however, to believe that the nobility saw no connection between the cultural and political development of the nation. Its position was motivated primarily by its fear that more political and economic freedom might endanger its class interests.

However, on the initiative of the few active Illyrians in the Sabor, the majority of the representatives agreed that a delegation of nobles be sent to Vienna with the purpose of obtaining the permission necessary for the establishment of the Illyrian National Foundation. This new foundation was proposed by the Executive Board of the "Reading Room" because "the culture of every nation is manifested through the language of its homeland...which is the main factor in the development of national power". This decision was indicative of the typically twofold position of the Croat nobility. It showed that the Croat ruling class was still very much in a dilemma as to what position to take in order to avoid new changes in its political status. While it was definitely opposed to Magyarization, it was in favour of both the Latin language as the language of administration and the Croat language as the language of the nation. In respect to the development of the Croat language and as a result of the cultural renaissance, it was definitely in favour of the Illyrian language - the Stokavian dialect which "is comprised of all national dialects and which also experienced a rapid
development". 70

However conservative in its political outlook, the Croat Sabor remained as the only political body which had the constitutional right to protect Croatia from the Magyar onslaught. It stood on guard and did all it knew to preserve the political autonomy of its country. It failed to support some radical ideas at home because it had experienced in Pozsony that such radicalism had been designed to destroy not only its own position, but also Croatia's right to its autonomy. The Croat Sabor did not remain alone in this role. After 1843, it was reinforced by the entire Illyrian following outside the Sabor which was also forced by the Magyars to join the ranks of extreme conservatism, now the only alternative left in the struggle for the preservation of national identity. Hence, in view of the general political situation and the relations with Hungary, the Croat nobility cannot be judged too harshly and labelled as a strong, determined, anti-national force.

During the meeting of the Sabor there were also proposals for an extensive study of the Croat language in all Croat schools which could be conducted from the central chair of the "people's language" 71 at the Academy of Zagreb. However, since only two of the Croat counties, Zagreb and Varazdin, expressed themselves in favour of this proposal, the issue was omitted from the agenda of the Sabor. The Croat press was unable to render any assistance to the originators of this idea because it was prevented by censorship to publish any
report on the proceedings of the Sabor. Its political news, as we already know, had to be copied from the German newspapers and since they did not publish anything concerning the meeting of the Sabor, the "Illyrian News" was kept uninformed and isolated from the events taking place in the legislature.

The meeting of the Diet at Pozsony was opened by Emperor Ferdinand himself on 6 June 1839. In the Speech from the Throne, which was delivered in the Magyar language, Joseph Kopacsy demanded from Ferdinand the immediate release of the Magyar radicals, Baron Wesseleny and Louis Kossuth, who had been imprisoned by the Austrian authorities for their revolutionary activities against the government of Vienna. The fact that France was preparing itself for a new war over the Eastern Question forced Metternich to meet the Magyar demands and release these political prisoners.

Encouraged by this success, the Magyars exerted a new pressure on the Croat delegates to submit to the terms for the Magyarization of Croatia. Again they demanded that the Magyar language had to be accepted as the official language of Croatia. This time the Magyarization policy included in its sphere of influence the Military Frontier as well, where the language of administration was German. In his reply to the Magyar demands the Croat delegate, Herman Buzan said:

Under no circumstances do the Croats want to prevent the development of the Magyar language and they them-
selves wish to learn it. However, as far as the Latin language is concerned, it cannot be denied that this is the language which has to remain in usage because all the laws and documents speak for it. In their demands for the preservation of this language, the Croat nobility and clergy are not motivated by their love for it, but by their right to choose freely Croatia's official language. Therefore, if they find it advantageous to change their official language they will do so by replacing Latin with the language of their nation...because those Croats, who plan to obtain employment with the state administration, will learn Magyar in any case and because experience has shown that force results in the opposite consequences to those intended, I advise you to refrain from the use of force and leave the learning of the Magyar language to the Croats on a voluntary basis. 74

The opinion expressed by Bužan was also the opinion of the Croat Sabor. This was the first time that the Croat nobility publicly declared that if a replacement of the official language in Croatia had to take place, it would be made in favour of the Croat, not the Magyar language. It meant that the Croat language, under the impact of the Illyrian cultural renaissance, had experienced satisfactory progress and undergone sufficient development to be considered as a possible alternative to the Latin language.

Bužan also pointed out that use of force during the former meetings of the Diet had resulted in the "opposite consequences to those intended" 75 by the Magyars. The idea underlined in this statement revealed that one of the main factors which enabled the Illyrian Movement to spread among the Croat nation was the reaction to the aggressiveness of the Magyar policy toward Croatia. It showed that the Croat
ruling class counted on the assistance of the Illyrian Movement in this case of need as the last resource in the struggle for Croat autonomy and the nation's cultural heritage.

On the initiative of Francis Deák, the leader of the Opposition which denied the Croats the right to be considered as a separate nation, the Diet rejected the Croat argument and passed a resolution giving the Croats ten years to learn the Magyar language. Once again the only hope left to the Croats was the central government in Vienna which, they expected, would veto this decision. Every Croat county held special sessions of its assembly and organized petitions asking that the Emperor refuse his royal assent to all decisions of the Diet which were designed to diminish the nationality and the municipal rights of the kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia. Among these the Croat counties included the decision of the Diet which gave the peasantry the right to buy its freedom from the landlords. The Emperor decided to veto the former decision of the Diet and sanction the latter. Nevertheless, the position of the Croat peasant did not improve. In spite of the fact that the new law specified the peasant's right to buy his freedom and to become the owner of his land, the Croat peasant remained tied to his feudal master because the enforcement of the new law was left to the discretion of the nobles who did all in their power to sabotage it by misinterpretation and the refusal to acknowledge its existence.
Other proposals made by the Magyars directly concerning Croatia did not reach the Emperor for the Croat delegates in the House of Magnates, which was far more conservative than the lower chamber, were able to block their passage. Thus, for instance, the Protestants in Croatia remained second-rate citizens without citizens' rights, Slavonia remained a component part of the Triple Kingdom as well as Rijeka, and Dalmatia remained as a Croat speaking region under the administration of Vienna, but belonging historically to Croatia, not Hungary.

The Croat Sabor met on 10 August 1840 to discuss the report of the Croat delegates to Pozsony, and to make further plans for the struggle against Magyarization. It established two special commissions which were to study Croat historical documents and other material which could provide the Croat delegates to future Diets with sufficient evidence to prove to the Magyars the validity of the Croat arguments that Slavonia and Dalmatia had always belonged to Croatia. Thus, the Croats hoped to take the questions of Slavonia and Dalmatia from the agenda of the Common Diet forever. On the basis of the reports from these two commissions, the Croats hoped to be able to compel the Magyars to recognize the validity of the Croat "municipal laws" not only in Croatia proper, but also in Dalmatia and Slavonia where, according to the Magyars, the Croat delegates to the Common Diet should not oppose the policy of Magyarization.
In addition to the above political questions, the Sabor, concentrating its attention on the cultural development of the nation, also dealt with some cultural questions. Considering the fact that the Croat Sabor had never before considered it important to contribute to the development of the Croat language, it was obvious that this decision was made as a result of the growing popularity of the Illyrian Movement and its ideas among the members of the Sabor.

The Sabor's decision to send a proposal to the Emperor for the establishment of special chairs of the Croat language (the Stokavian dialect) in all Croat gymnasiums and the Academy represented its first contribution to the general development of the nation's language. In the text of the proposal the Sabor indicated that its intention in reaching this decision was to help develop and spread the use of the people's language. Further interpretation of this decision indicated that the Croat nobility was motivated by the successes of the Magyar national movement:

Encouraged by the examples of other nations, including the Magyar one, we consider that it is also our duty to support the development of our language because it characterizes the individuality of our nationality;

From this statement it is clear that the Sabor had begun to realize its duty and responsibility towards the nation as a whole and not only towards the upper class. While not a single representative (excluding Janko Drašković and his small
group of patriotic nobles) had supported this proposal in 1832 and 1836, and only two counties had done so in 1839, by 1840 all the representatives to the Sabor had come to realize its necessity. It follows that national sentiment and the principles of nationalism in general must have developed in Croatia very, very rapidly in the span of eight short years.

Influenced by the example of the Magyars, who had suggested the establishment of the Magyar national theatre at the last meeting of the Diet, the Sabor also voted for authorizing a special fund for the Croat theatre and many even immediately gave their voluntary contributions to this fund. The work of Dimitrije Demeter led the nobles to believe that the Croat theatre could serve as an effective tool in the development of national culture. The Sabor, therefore, appointed an additional commission under the chairmanship of Janko Drašković which was to supervise the allocation of the money from the fund, examine the possibilities of the constructing of a theatre and report its findings to the Sabor.

The atmosphere prevailing in the Sabor encouraged the leaders of the Illyrian Movement to take additional steps toward further developing the cultural rebirth of the Croats. On 25 March 1841, they established the "Society for the Development of Agriculture in Croatia" which subsequently became known as the Gospodarsko Društvo (The Economy Society) and was formed to educate the Croat peasant as well as to teach
him modern agricultural methods.  

Finally, at the meeting of the leaders of the "Reading Room" on 10 February 1842, it was decided to establish the **Matica Ilirska** (The Illyrian National Foundation) whose purpose and task, according to its first president, Janko Drašković, was:

The main purpose of this organization is to help the growth and spread of science and literature in the language of our people and to give an opportunity to our youth to educate itself in the national spirit.... In this way, we can achieve recognition in the literary world and, at the same time, help and encourage native writers to produce works of better literary value.

The organization of the Matica Ilirska was approved by the majority of the members of the Croat upper class as well, who offered their active participation in its work. They were even prepared to help financially if their help was needed. This represented an additional manifestation that the Illyrian ideas had begun to take roots among the members of the Croat ruling class.

It only remained to preserve the results of the Illyrian Movement and enable the uninterrupted development of the Croat national culture, and with it, Croat nationalism. In view of the renewed danger from the Magyar national movement, the Illyrian Movement could be protected only by organizing a defence along political lines. The Magyar national movement had changed its strategy by beginning to recruit anti-Illyrian elements in Croatia itself and forming a pro-Magyar
political party. This new aspect of Magyarization represented a far greater danger since it was attempting to destroy Croat nationalism from inside by interfering with Croat internal affairs. The Croats were forced to form their own political party in order to preserve their newly achieved cultural renaissance and defeat their opponents in the political field at home.

Thus, by the beginning of 1841 the Croat national scene assumed an entirely different character. The movement for the cultural renaissance of the Croats represented no longer the main issue of the day. It was now the struggle between the two political parties which occupied the most the minds of the Croat patriotic leaders. Having accomplished its task in the cultural field, the Illyrian Movement was assigned a new task; to prevent the pro-Magyar political party from obtaining control over the Croat political institutions, the Sabor and counties' assemblies.

The Illyrian Party Versus the Croat-Magyar Party

Up to 1841 the existence of political parties with minutely designed political platforms was unknown to the Croat political life. With the inclusion of the Croat nobility into the movement for the cultural renaissance there were no strong political groups which could oppose the Illyrian Movement. Enemies of Illyrism among the Croat upper classes and intelligentsia found themselves in the minority and found it dangerous
to advocate publicly any pro-Magyar policy. It is obvious that if an anti-Croat movement was to be organized in Croatia it would be done with the help of the Magyars who saw the Illyrian Movement as the main obstacle in the way of the Magyarization of Croatia.

Magyar political parties were formed during the last meeting of the Diet in 1839/40. Here, political parties crystallized out of the chaos created among the Magyar nobility by the main controversial issues of the day - the position to be taken towards Vienna and its centralism, the emancipation of peasantry and other social reforms, and the constitutional status of the Kingdom of Croatia. In the upper chamber of the Diet a small group of the higher nobles formed a pro-Austrian conservative party which favoured the old constitutional system and social structure. It supported the development of the Magyar language, but was willing to recognize the validity of the Croat argument for the right of Croatia to its special status in the Monarchy. The other two political parties, liberally inclined reformists led by Francis Deak and radicals led by Louis Kossuth, advocated total and complete Magyarization of Croatia and the incorporation of the Croat regions into Hungary as its ordinary administrative units. It was the work of these two groups which antagonized the Croat nobility at the meetings of the Common Diet and which subsequently drove them into the ranks of the Illyrian Movement. The result was that the Illyrian
Movement became a strong national movement and that the Magyars lost a significant ally which had wanted to create a close constitutional union with Hungary. It became clear that if the Magyarization of Croatia was to succeed, the Illyrian Movement had to be destroyed by forming the Croat Magyarophils into a well organized political party. The main task of such a party would be "to defeat and if possible to eliminate Illyrism" in Croatia.

During the meeting of the Diet in 1839/40, the Magyars had already been able to persuade several members of the Croat upper nobility to reject Illyrism as an anti-Croat movement which aimed to force upon Croatia the Serbian Stokavian dialect and to give the country a new name, "Illyria", by replacing the ancient name, "Croatia". The Magyars promised Count Alexander Drašković, nephew of Janko Drašković, Alexander Erdödy, and Levin and Juraj Rauch all the assistance necessary for the organization of a movement against the Illyrians. These nobles, with the help of the Magyar professors at the Academy of Zagreb and the leader of the Turopolje village nobles, Antun Daniel Josipović, established in December 1839 in Zagreb their club, Kasino, an anti-Illyrian political party.

The Croat village nobility joined the ranks of the Magyarophils because it hoped to obtain more political rights in Croatia. The village noble, as we already know, had no right to be represented in the Sabor or to have his seat there, and was regarded by the upper nobility as a peasant who
who owned his land and had no feudal ties with his master. The Magyarophils utilized this situation and promised him all the rights which the members of the upper class enjoyed. In exchange for these privileges, the village noble was willing to support the Magyarization of Croatia and to accept Magyar instead of his own Croat language.

In the spring of 1841 a new political party was formed in Zagreb under the name of the Croat-Hungarian Party. The programme of this first political party to ever be formed on Croat soil was designed by the leadership of Kasino whose initial policy was:

1. To eliminate among the Croats the usage of "the dangerous Illyrian name" which had been designed by anti-national elements with the purpose of destroying the Croat nationality.

2. To abolish the use of the new orthography and to replace the Stokavian dialect by the Croat Kajkavian one which was the only dialect acceptable to the Croats and suitable for the language.

3. To persuade the Croats to support the creation of a close union with Hungary in order to establish one unitary Magyar state with Magyar as the official language of administration and as the language of instruction in all Croat schools.

4. To prevail upon the Croats to accept the amendment of the Constitution according to which each of the
Croat counties was to send its delegates directly to the Common Diet as was done by other Magyar counties.

Thus, on one hand, the Magyarons were progressive for they supported some radical reforms advocated by the Magyars and, on the other, they were backward because their main purpose was to destroy the Croat nationalism created by the Illyrian Movement. Under the name "Croatism" they planned to magyarize the nation and to destroy the Croat nationality.

Magyarons had some right to call themselves liberal for they supported the demands of the Magyar Opposition which demanded that the Protestants in Croatia also be given full citizens' rights. However, this proposal was not based on freedom of conscience, but on the political problem which, under those circumstances, had primarily the character of the principle involved.

The principle involved was the preservation of the Croat autonomy which would be undermined had the Croat delegates to the Common Diet agreed to appease the Magyars on this issue. This question could legally be solved at the Sabor only, and any attempt of the Croats to solve the problem in Pozsony involved a restriction in the jurisdiction of their legislative body.

The first step taken by the Magyarons was to accuse the Illyrians at Vienna of having organized an anti-Monarchy movement which aimed to unite all South Slavs under the protection of Russia. Thus the Magyarons hoped to deprive the Illyrians of a valuable ally and to prevail upon the central government to support their cause. Their accusation
was based on the fact that Gaj had made a trip to Warsaw, Moscow and St. Petersburg where, according to them, he had sought Russian assistance in the Illyrians' attempt to create an independent South Slavic state. At the same time all three Magyar newspapers, Kossuth's Pesti Hirlap, the conservative Vilag and the liberal Jelenkor, began an organized attack on the Illyrian Movement as a treacherous idea designed to harm both Hungary and Austria.

In Croatia itself the Magyars began to interpret the Illyrian Movement to the village nobility as a movement which planned to withdraw the country from the union with Hungary and to submerge it directly to the German rule as a part of Austrian Illyria, which would mean the end of the Constitution and freedom and the beginning of absolutistic centralism and Germanization. On the basis of this fact Professor Bogdanov interprets the Illyrian Movement as the movement of the Croat middle class only which, according to Marxism-Leninism, found itself in a class conflict with the upper nobility. He says:

In this respect it is very significant to note that the representative of this historiography, Ferdo Šišić, did not notice one of the main characteristics of the Illyrian national renaissance: the fact that the ideological and political leader of this movement was the new, progressive bourgeois class of Croatia.

Therefore, according to Bogdanov, the Croat upper class continued to oppose the Illyrian Movement even after 1836 and joined the Magyars in 1841, except for Janko Drašković
and his small group of followers in the Sabor. Bogdanov's idea was to describe the Croat upper class as an anti-national force which was always willing to sell the country to the Magyars in order to preserve its social status. While it is true that the Croat upper nobility always opposed radical social reforms, it is misleading to conclude that it always lacked national sentiment and always opposed the cultural renaissance introduced by the Illyrian Movement. Such an interpretation of Illyrism leads the reader to wrong conclusions as to the origins and character of Croat nationalism. It is a fact that, following the years 1836 and especially 1841, the Illyrian Movement became a decidedly conservative movement supported equally by the Croat intellectuals and the representatives to the Sabor. For the various reasons described above, the Illyrian Movement never became as socially progressive as Professor Bogdanov attempted to explain from the Marxist-Leninistic point of view. The character of the Illyrian Movement was dictated by the contemporary cultural and political conditions in Croatia and by the development of the Croat-Magyar relations. The Croat middle class (led by its intellectuals) and the Croat upper class were too preoccupied with the struggle for the preservation of the Croat autonomy and for the development of the Croat culture to pay attention to social problems or create a conflict over such issues when the country was in danger of being magyarized and virtually wiped from the map. Therefore it should be clear
that the Croat-Hungarian Party found its supporters among the Magyar officials in Zagreb, several higher Croat nobles, and mainly among the village nobility, especially that of Turopolje. On the other side, the Illyrian Movement was supported by the members of the middle class, intellectuals and the majority of the upper nobility.

Following the establishment of the Croat-Hungarian Party, the Illyrians reacted by organizing their own political party under the name of the Illyrian Party which had its programme based also on the Illyrian ideas:

...that political and administrative relations between Croatia and Hungary have to be modified so that the Croat, Slavonian and Dalmatian regions be united with the Military Frontier and Rijeka into one political, territorial whole independent of Hungary, under the leadership of the Ban and with the Croat language as the official language of the state. In the literary field the party advocated cultural union with the Croats in Bosnia and also with the Slovenes and Serbs through one literary language, 'Illyrian'. 97

In Zagreb itself the Illyrians began to wear national folk costumes, held public meetings and sang patriotic songs which once again came to play an important role in the awakening of national sentiment. However, this time the pro-Magyar movement was much stronger and better organized than before and its followers were prepared to enter into an open struggle with the Illyrian Movement. 98

The first political struggle between the two parties took place in the Croat counties during the elections for the counties' officials. The Magyarons, "who were until yesterday
unknown and became overnight a powerful political factor", aimed to win elections in all the Croat counties in order to gain the control of the Sabor and destroy the achievements of the cultural renaissance by instructing the delegates to Pozsony to agree with the proposed Magyarization of Croatia. To win elections in the counties meant to secure the necessary majority in the Sabor because the delegates sent by the counties outnumbered the upper nobility with hereditary seats. In these elections the village nobility could cast its vote and elect any member of the upper nobility who was expected to protect its interests. In view of the fact that some members of the upper nobility, especially those of foreign origin, had entered the ranks of the Croat-Hungarian Party together with the village nobility, the Magyarons had an excellent chance to win elections in those counties where the lower nobility represented the majority of the electorate.

The first county to hold elections or, as they were officially called, restauracija (restauration) was Krizevci. On the day of elections, 1 September 1841, Gaj himself arrived at Krizevci with a group of Illyrians from Zagreb with the purpose of reviving and refreshing the spirit of nationalism in the final campaign and securing the victory for the Illyrian Party. The election was held in an orderly fashion without any incidents for the majority of the nobility, which was also heavily represented in the Illyrian reading room of Krizevci, had supported the Illyrian cause since 1836. Consequently,
the results of the elections showed an overwhelming victory for the Illyrian Party. The county of Križevci also called the "Illyrian Castle" (tvrdjava ilirska) had no local agency of the Croat-Hungarian Party and a very small number of village nobility which made no serious attempts to challenge the Illyrians during these elections.

The Croat-Hungarian Party had prepared itself for its first public appearance in the election for the county officials of Varazdin, which were held on 2 November 1841. Here the party had a substantial following composed of a relatively large number of foreign nobility and Magyar administrative officials. The election itself was fought over the issue of the representation of the Croat counties in the Common Diet. The Magyars, as we already know, held that the Croat counties should send their delegates to Pozsony directly and not through the Sabor to follow instructions jointly reached by all the members of the Sabor. The Illyrians, assisted by their fellow members from Zagreb, Drašković, Gaj and Bužan, disputed the Magyar proposal on the basis that such a decision could not be reached by any county for it lacked the jurisdiction to decide such matters. This bitter debate, which lasted over six hours, finally ended with the complete victory of the Illyrian Party which was able to attract larger following than the Magyars. The Magyars, who had aimed to defeat the Illyrian Movement with one stroke, did not realize that their proposal in Varazdin was premature
because those nobles who were inclined to support them on some issues were not yet prepared to go all the way. 101 Being by nature opposed to any new changes, this nobility found it more politically sound to support the Illyrians.

Commenting on the elections Gaj's "Illyrian News" explained the Illyrian platform as follows:

...because the defenders of Croat nationality, who were supported by the majority, proved in a very skilful and clear manner that, if the Magyar proposal was accepted, the Croats would lose not only their national life, but also their privileges and municipal rights, Illyrism won with clear majority. The Magyar proposal aimed to meld Croatia with Hungary and thus force the Croats to commit political suicide. For many centuries our counties were not directly represented in the Hungarian Diet, but through a general body of the Kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia which elects delegates to represent the entire nation. These delegates are not only the Hungarians' co-partners in law-making if such laws concern both Croatia and Hungary, but also protectors of the homogeneity of the above mentioned kingdoms and defenders of the rights and freedom of their homeland. Therefore, if the individual counties were allowed to send their own delegates, the importance of the above mentioned Croat representation would be completely eliminated and the Croat counties would be considered as other Magyar counties, unable to protect their nationality and municipal rights. 102

The Illyrian victory had a significant influence on the further development of the two opposing political parties. In Varazdin itself the Magyarons were never again able to recuperate from the loss they had suffered and endanger the Illyrian Movement. Many important and prominent members of their party who held key positions in the administration found it impossible to maintain their offices and so resigned
and moved back to Hungary. Those offices were filled with the Croat patriots who, encouraged by their victory, felt strong enough to eliminate completely the pro-Magyar tendencies in their county. And indeed, following the elections of 1841, there is no record left which would indicate any activity of the Croat-Hungarian Party in Varazdin.

The only hope left to the Magyarons was to win elections in the most important Croat county, Zagreb, which was not only the centre of the Croat-Hungarian Party but of the Illyrian Movement as well. Considering the relatively large number of village nobility in the County of Zagreb, the Magyarons had a very good chance to defeat the Illyrians. The nobility's interest in the affairs of the state after the elections in Varazdin increased to an extent never before known in history of Croatia. Practically all the members of the village nobility arrived at Zagreb to contribute toward the success of their respective political parties. They became conscious of the fact that, because the outcome of the election depended on their vote, they had come to play the role of an important political force which was called upon to decide the fate of Croatia. However, while the nobles of Turopolje remained faithful to the Magyar cause the majority of the village nobility of Sveti Ivan Zelina, Moravci and Draganici came to the support of the Illyrian Party because of the campaign organized in their villages by Bishop Haulik and his clergy who enjoyed the confidence of the lower
classes.

Several days before the elections were held on 31 May 1842, the political campaigns organized by the two opposing parties resulted in the "first bloody struggles of the Croat politics in the nineteenth century". 104 During one of these street fights, Gaj, who was one of the main targets of the Turopoljians, narrowly escaped death by taking shelter in the house of the Ban. Such bloody fights characterized the Croat political life "until the bloodshed on the Square of St. Marcus on 29 July 1845 after the election in the County of Zagreb which was the main political arena in the struggle between the Illyrians and the Magyarons". 105

Owing to the village nobility's support of the above mentioned districts of the County of Zagreb and to the assistance rendered to the Illyrian Party by the existing county officials, the Illyrians won again and secured their victory in all of Croatia. The Magyarons, who could predict their defeat, decided to settle their disputes with the Illyrians physically so that "only with the intervention of the regular troops could the elections of the county's officials be completed". 106

As one would expect, the Illyrian victory in Zagreb represented one of the main victories of the Illyrian Movement and, as such, was the main factor for its enormous growth following 1842. The impact of this victory was nicely summed up in the letter from Maksim Prica of Karlovac to Gaj, who was
given the main credit for this victory by his contemporaries
"due to his unresistable skill in agitation". 107

...your contribution was greater than that of the
greatest writers because it is easier to handle the
pen than actively bring to life the rotten and
spoiled masses. Your shield against all arrows is
the fruit of your work. The election of 1842 did
more for, and brought more life to our people than
all the books and booklets written by our authors. 108

Never before had the Illyrian Movement succeeded in
including so large a following in its ranks as during and
after these elections. In addition to the village nobility
(except for that of Turopolje), the largest segment of the
population after the peasantry, the ranks of the Illyrian
Movement were reinforced by those members of the upper class
who realized that, by supporting the Magyarons, they worked
against their own interests as a class and as a separate
nationality. The elections had taught them that, contrary
to their propaganda, the Magyarons did not support the Croat
cause, but that of Hungary which was using the Croat-Hungarian
Party to realize those aims which its delegates to the Common
Diet had tried to achieve with no success.

Realizing that "patriotism had moved in all the Croat
counties and that the majority of the nobility was on the
side of the Illyrian leaders" 109 it was decided that it was
an opportune moment to suggest the acceptance of the Croat
language as the language of the administration. The proposal
was put forward by Baron Franjo Kulmer at the private meeting
held in the house of Janko Drašković and attended by Gaj, Štoos, Babukić, and Vakanović. Gaj assumed the task of introducing it to the public and for this purpose he wrote his article in the "Illyrian News" addressed mainly to the village nobility as the largest literate social factor:

As a result, Gaj printed an article in his newspaper in which he pointed out that the Croats, and especially the village nobility, will never need any other language but the Croat one 'and even less if the Illyrian patriots succeed, as they hope to, in introducing the Croat language (as the official language) in all the offices (in the public administration)'.

However, this proposal had to be postponed to a later date since the Magyars organized, with the help of the Magyarons, a new attack on the Illyrian Movement. The leaders of the Magyarons in Croatia, especially the leader of the Turopolje nobility, Josipović, demanded that the central government in Vienna and the Crown's Council for Hungary in Buda declare the results of the elections void because of what they termed "unlawful and illegal practices" employed by the organizer of these elections, župan Zdenčaj and Bishop Haulik who, due to the illness of Ban Vlašić, had executed the duties of the Ban. Josipović claimed that a large number of his nobility had been prevented from casting their votes by the Illyrians and Zdenčaj who classified them as peasantry and limited electoral suffrage to only the supporters of Illyrism. With the help of the Magyar nobles the petition of the Magyarons, signed by 300 of Turopolje nobles, was taken into consideration.
by the highest authorities who promised to look into this matter and examine the validity of the accusation. As a result of this protest, which became "the corner-stone of the hope of the enemies of the Illyrian Party that the result of the elections will be cancelled", the ruling position of the Illyrian Party in Croatia seemed to be greatly endangered. The Illyrians feared that the central government would turn against them and help the Magyars win new elections if the results of the elections of 1842 were cancelled. To make the situation worse, the Magyar press assumed a patronizing tone towards Croatia and called upon those authorized "to protect the Croat nation against the Illyrians who wanted to deprive it of its language". Thus, once again the Magyars, after failing to defeat Illyrism directly, adopted an indirect method hoping that by feeding the highest authorities with false information they would gain an ally in their struggle against the Illyrian Movement. In Croatia itself they created considerable chaos by accusing the Illyrians of intending to create the German system of government (which taxed all the nobility) and by encouraging the Croats to refuse to obey the "illegal" government of their counties.

Prohibition of the Name "Illyrism"

From the Croat point of view the government in Vienna responded to the Magyar accusations in an unfavourable way.
Thus the Illyrians' fear of remaining isolated in their struggle against Hungary was entirely justified. By the end of 1842 it looked as if Vienna was willing to take the Magyar side. First of all, on the advice of the Crown's Council for Hungary, the Emperor appointed in Croatia a new Ban, Francis Haller, who had been brought up in Hungary and was known to be sympathetic to the Magyar cause. Secondly, in his doubt of the legality of the elections held in Zagreb, the Emperor appointed a special commissioner for Croatia, Josip Šišković, with the purpose of conducting an investigation of the election proceedings in the County of Zagreb. Both Haller and Šišković were to submit the reports on their findings to the central government with appendixes describing the role of the Illyrian Movement in the development of Croat nationalism.

The Illyrians realized the seriousness of the crisis into which their movement had been thrown and decided to explain their political programme to the Croats and the central government and to justify their role as the party in power. This complicated task was shouldered by four Illyrian leaders, Rakovac, Kukuljević, Vukotinović and Gaj, who individually produced four different documents explaining the Illyrian Movement as a political party.

Dragutin Rakovac explained the Illyrian Movement in a catechismal form in his booklet Mali katekizam za velike ljude (A Small Catechism for the Grown-ups) which concentrated on
the explanation of the Magyar-Illyrian relations from the Illyrian point of view. Rakovac pointed out that it was the Croat-Hungarian Party, not the Illyrian Party which was designed to eliminate the Croat nationality because this party "does nothing for the good of Croatism and everything for Magyarism". Although the Croats presently use Latin, Rakovac said, they have the unquestionable right to refuse the Magyar language and, if the change has to take place, to accept their own language which is understandable to the entire nation.

We call ourselves Illyrians and not only Croats because we want to have our own literature and we know that three Croat counties cannot develop a literature within the present Croat borders. Therefore the literature is to be extended to our other brothers by blood and language, namely Slavonians, Dalmatians, Serbs, Slovenes - to all South-western Slavs.

On the basis of this explanation, Rakovac presented a short summary of the Illyrian programme which defined Illyrism by describing its aims, the things which the movement opposed and its political position.

What do we want?
We want: 1. To have our people's language which was given to us by nature. We know that with the death of the people's language the nation must also die. 2. To have our national literature; without a national literature the same language cannot exist. 3. To educate our people; this is only possible to do in the language of the people. Foreign languages can only broaden the education of literate persons, but never the entire nation. 4. To preserve our municipal rights unaltered; they are the basis of our political existence. 5. To remain brothers to the Magyars under the Constitution, in the future as we have been in the past.
What we do not want?

We do not want: 1. To be considered by any nation as the material for the enlargement of its population.
2. To be attacked and insulted by others without having right to protect ourselves and to speak for our nation.

What do we think under the present circumstances?

We think the following: It is already sad that in the nineteenth century we have to struggle for our nationality and language; it is sadder that we have to protect our nationality and language from our constitutional brothers who should be our best friends; it is saddest that our native sons bitterly oppose the development of their own language and nationalism. We rose to preserve for our people their language and nationality and because of this a part of our nation is against us and accuses us of wanting to destroy the homeland.

This booklet caused the Magyars in Vienna to double their efforts to describe the Illyrians as traitors and a conspiratorial, subversive group of anti-Monarchists who, under the leadership of Ljudevit Gaj, aimed to unite all South Slavs against the Emperor under the protection of the Russian Czar. According to the Magyars' interpretation of the political situation in Croatia, the Magyarons were the only force which fought for the Croat nation and for the interests of the Monarchy in general. This led the Illyrians to explain publicly their position towards the central government and to deny the Magyar accusation that the Illyrians were Russophils working against the Habsburg Monarchy. For this purpose Ivan Kukuljević published an article in the Agramer Zeitung written in German under the title Die Nationalität in Kroatien und Slavonien in which he did not deny that the Illyrians favoured the creation of a cultural union with other South Slavs. He denied, however, the existence of any political aspiration
for the creation of a South Slavic state which would be independent from Vienna. The main desire of the Illyrians, in addition to the creation of a cultural union of the South Slavs, said Kukuljevic, was to unite all the Croat lands, especially those still under the Turkish yoke.

Are not our kings also obliged to work against the Moslem tyranny in order to return to the Croat nobility those lands of which it had been deprived in the Turkish wars? This is also the tendency prevailing among some patriots and does it endanger Croatia, Slavonia, Hungary or the entire Monarchy? All other tendencies we are said to have are nothing but the creation of phantasy. 118

Thus Kukuljevic's main purpose in this article was to describe Illyrism as a cultural movement lacking any political connotation. The Illyrians, in general, tried very hard to deny the existence of any political tendencies in their movement and especially those which, according to the Magyar accusation, implied anti-monarchical activities. Such explanations were necessary because the Illyrian Movement was in danger of losing a very useful ally which, if it chose the Magyars' side, could become its executioner.

Following Kukuljevic's article, Ljudevit Vukotinovic published his Ilirizam i Kroatizam (1842) in which he argued along similar lines:

...I dare to say in the name of our side that not a single Illyrian knows anything about political Illyrism ...therefore in the political respect ilirismus is nothing. ...on the other hand, our political life is Croatian. It is the protection under which we work.... Did not we speak and write that we are for our Constitution? Did not we show by our acts that we are loyal to
...Illyrism is the ancient name of all South Slavs. Therefore it is nothing new. This name is famous, this name gives us historic significance. Our surname is 'Illyrian' and our christian names are: Croats, Dalmatians, Slavonians, Montenegrins, Bosnians, Serbs, etc. Although Croatism is our political life, in the literary respect it is nothing and cannot be anything else. 119

However, the editor of Gaj's "Illyrian News", Bogoslav Sulek, felt his colleagues had gone a bit too far in denying the existence of any political motives in the Illyrian Movement. To him such explanations seemed to be unrealistic and misleading because they somewhat misinterpreted the character of the Croat national movement. He said that the Illyrian Movement had some political characteristics.

...because its purpose is to educate the entire Illyrian nation in Austria and Turkey by means of literature; but I do not think that any man could blame the Hungarian, Illyrian or especially the Croat for having such tendencies as long as he does not cross the limits set down by the law. Sympathy for the Slavs under the Turkish yoke, the Illyrian coat of arms, and Šafařík's map of the Slavic languages do not mean that the Illyrians want a revolution because all nations could be accused of the same thing, the Magyars as well. How could the Magyars accuse the Croats of such revolutionary tendencies when they themselves described the Croats as conservative, stubborn and mediaeval. 120

In summation, all the above mentioned Illyrian publications did not influence Metternich to recall the appointment of Haller and Sišković (to the office of the Ban and special commissioner respectively) to investigate Illyrian activities.
Siskovic, who failed to be influenced by the Illyrian writers, summoned witnesses and those accused of subversive activities to his office for cross-examination. However, the entire process of investigation proved to be more difficult than he had expected. He remained in Zagreb until 1843 when he returned to Vienna having failed to accomplish his mission and discover the illegal activities of the Illyrians during the elections in Zagreb.

With Siskovic's departure, the only hope for the Magyars in Croatia was Haller who was expected to cooperate with the Croat-Hungarian Party and help it to defeat and, if possible, destroy the Illyrian Movement. However, the Illyrians led by Gaj organized a welcoming ceremony for the new Ban, "the protector of the municipal rights and Illyrian nationality", hoping to persuade Haller to assist the Illyrian Party by displaying their power and friendship. Greeting the new Ban in the name of the City of Zagreb, magistrate Josip Stajdacher declared:

...the authority of the Ban, which was confirmed by so many documents and laws, will be extended and established from the River Drava to the Adriatic Sea, the ancient Constitution will be preserved, the sacred municipal rights of these kingdoms will remain unaltered, and lastly, the Croat nation will not be in danger of losing its national identity.

The Illyrians hoped by means of praising the new Ban to inform him of their wishes and expectations. By extending him their friendly, welcoming hand they hoped to make it
impossible for Haller to turn and work against them with the Magyarons. Shortly after the official installation of the new Ban, Gaj published his Proglas (Announcement) in the "Illyrian News" which he ended with the most controversial political issue of the day - Illyrism as a cultural, and not a political movement:

The Illyrian patriots have shown that they love their homeland, the Croats, Croatia; Slavonians, Slavonia; Serbs, Serbia and all together the homeland of their nations in general regardless of names, religion, custom and other specifications. They have shown that by the Illyrian union they mean to strengthen each of these nations in maintaining its characteristics with the motive of brotherly love among all.

Therefore, according to Illyrism, brother Croat is to keep not only his name, but all that is Croat; according to Illyrism, brother Slavonian is to keep not only his name, but also all that is Slavonian;...

However, at the same time (1843) Gaj was trying to acquaint the public with the successes of the Illyrian Movement and with its policy for the future, the political situation in Croatia, following the installation of the new Ban, seemed to work against Croat nationalism. Due to the Magyar influence with the Court and the Austro-Turkish incident in Bosnia, the Illyrian pamphlets of explanatory nature passed unnoticed by the central government and failed to attract the highest authorities with their explanation of the Illyrian Movement. Gaj himself was not aware of the fact that, by 1841, he had already been accused of organizing the anti-Turkish revolt in Bosnia.
In view of the fact that Austro-Turkish relations during this period were exceptionally good, the anti-Turkish activities in Bosnia allegedly organized by Gaj were against the interests of the Monarchy. In May 1840, the Turkish governor in Bosnia, Mehmed Vedjihi Pasha, filed an official protest to the office of the Ban against Gaj's revolutionary activities in Bosnia. However, since Ban Vlašić had been ill and was unable to perform the duties of his office, the letter was forwarded to the Crown's Council for Hungary from where it was sent to Count Sedlnitzky who informed Metternich of its content. At the same time, the Russian ambassador to Vienna, Tatishchev, was instructed by the Czar to influence Metternich to maintain peace on the Austro-Turkish border and prevent Gaj from breaking it. Rome was also mistakenly informed that the Catholic monks of Bosnia sided with Gaj who worked with the French revolutionaries and received substantial financial help from Minister Thiers. The Pope's delegate to Vienna, Altieri, appealed to Metternich for help to save Catholicism in Bosnia.

These numerous accusations against a leader of the Illyrian Movement led Metternich to order that Sedlnitzky maintain a close watch on every person known to be in favour of Illyrism. This incident, coupled with Haller's report to Metternich that the party life in Croatia caused a general chaos originating from the Illyrian Movement, influenced Metternich to suggest the prohibition of the name "Illyria".
Metternich's proposal was enforced in the beginning of 1843 (11 January) by the royal decree which specified:

His Majesty, however, does not want to prevent the development of the people's language as long as it is done within the limits of the law. Although we shall continue to support the municipal rights of Croatia against all attacks, His Majesty does not wish that, under the slogan of maintaining nationalism among his subjects, the seeds of bitterness and separatist tendencies find fertile soil. ... therefore regarding Croatia and Slavonia and their language it is forbidden to use the Illyrian name, Illyrism and Illyria, which were adopted in its usage. The use of this name is also forbidden in newspapers and public documents and especially during public discussions and in schools.  

This decree came as a complete surprise to the Croats and caused enormous chaos in the ranks of the Illyrian Party. Suddenly all the Illyrians' achievements were in danger of being completely obliterated. Most of the Croats could not believe that the anti-Illirian elements had so powerful an influence with the Court. Consequently, being unaware of the international incident behind this decree, they began to search for the guilty person.

Since Gaj's trip to Moscow and St. Petersburg, it had been suspected by some Illyrians as well that he was making some arrangement with the Czar which was unknown to his colleagues. The first one to accuse Gaj was Stanko Vraz, who as we already know, had disagreed with Gaj since 1836. In 1842 he had organized his own literary paper, Kolo (The Ring), with Rakovac and Vukotinović and refused to co-operate
with the "Morning Star". Vraz said that the Illyrian name was abolished because of "one man who had the confidence of the entire nation and misused it by disregarding the advice of others and being motivated by his own personal interests". 131

Even before the crisis caused by the royal decree, the role of Ljudevit Gaj in the Illyrian Movement had begun to deteriorate. It is known that mainly two incidents caused the downfall of his political career: (1) his mysterious trip to Russia and (2) the imprisonment of the Serbian ex-ruler Prince Miloš Obrenović with the purpose of obtaining money from him under false pretences. 132 Up to the present day, the role of Gaj in the Illyrian Movement and the nature of his trip to Russia remains a mystery. Josip Horvat accepted the arguments of some Illyrian leaders, including Stanko Vraz, and concluded:

And all these suspicions, allusions and accusations of the prominent "Illyrians" against Gaj were unfortunately justified. Gaj's personal activity, selfish ambition and unbalanced character were the main causes for the prohibition of the Illyrian name. 133

The nature of Gaj's relations with Russia was partially explained by a discovery made in Leningrad in 1931. A professor from the United States, Philip E. Moseley, found Gaj's memorandum 134 to Russia which Gaj gave to Colonel Ozereckovsky for Count Benkendorff, a close associate of Nicolas I. In this document, Gaj appealed to Nicolas I for financial help for the liberation of the Illyrian regions from the
Austrian, Turkish and Magyar yokes in order to create a powerful Illyrian state under the protection of the Russian Czar. But, because of his intentional misinterpretation of the political situation in Croatia, it is doubtful that Gaj really considered the possibility of establishing an independent Illyrian state outside the Habsburg Monarchy. He obviously exaggerated to impress Nicolas I by declaring that:


He also knew that Russia had concluded a defensive treaty with Turkey in 1833 (according to which Turkey promised to keep Dardanelles closed to other nations in return for Russian military help) and was probably most unwilling to break it as a result of his memorandum. It is more likely, therefore, that the main purpose of his trip to Russia was to obtain financial aid for its movement and newspaper which were in desperate want of new funds. The most logical way to obtain such funds from Russia was to adhere to the pro-Russian, Pan-Slavic movement and to express the loyalty of the Illyrians
to the Russian Empire. If anything, Gaj tried to mislead Russia as to the real situation in the Balkans and most obviously did not seriously consider the possibility of rebelling against the Emperor of Austria. This fact was realized by the Russian government in 1841 when it demanded that the government in Vienna stop Gaj from organizing a rebellion in Bosnia. Gaj obviously realized his mistake in approaching Russia for help and, following 1843, tried desperately (with some success) to convince the central government of his loyalty to the Monarchy's cause. Those Croat historians who - on the basis of this incident and some other unconfirmed descriptions of Ljudevit Gaj's political views - try to discredit Gaj and undermine his role in the Illyrian Movement, misinterpret the nature of his leadership in the development of Croat nationalism.

Vaso Bogdanov, for example, attacked Gaj for his so-called "pro-Austrian tendencies" and his, what he termed, backward social concepts, and for not belonging to the "core of the Illyrian Movement, the intelligentsia of the cities". Bogdanov's point of view was criticized by Professor Šidak, one of the rare Croat historians who evaluated the role of Ljudevit Gaj in its proper light:

Nevertheless, Bogdanov argues, from now on (1841) Gaj 'as a skilful businessman', governed 'the movement as the interests of the Habsburg dynasty and Austria dictated to him and along the lines of conservative politics (the maintenance of the existing social and state system)' and also played a significant role 'in
the fusion of the Croat People's Party with the conservative party of the Magyar magnates', which, 'of course' remained a 'behind-the-stage secret for the masses, the plebeian followers of our national movement or the People's Party'. These serious accusations, which made Gaj a really evil spirit in our political development from 1843 on, Bogdanov did not reinforce with a single proof.  

Bogdanov, influenced by further criticism of his opinion and an unbiased presentation of Šidak's explanation of Gaj's role, described Gaj in his next work, *Historija političkih stranaka u Hrvatskoj* (A History of the Political Parties in Croatia), as a completely different person or, as Šidak put it, "Gaj suddenly changed into some sort of a revolutionary".

Gaj could not be described as a revolutionary, nor as being in the service of a foreign power, nor could he be blamed for the Illyrians additional step to the right following 1843. During this period (1843-1845) the fusion between the original Illyrians and the upper nobility was completed, but in such a way that the nobility, whose aim was to establish a closer contact with Vienna, had the upper hand in the Croat national movement.

The prohibition of the Illyrian name was as far as the central government was prepared to go. Metternich was not prepared to eliminate Croat nationalism because it was still useful in checking the more dangerous Magyar radicalism. Therefore, all the institutions created by Illyrism remained untouched in spite of the hope of the Magyars who had planned to eliminate all Illyrian activities.
and the "Reading Room" were saved and allowed to continue with their work, especially after Drašković and Oršić intervened in Vienna and used their influence with the Court to persuade Metternich to save these two institutions. However, Gaj's newspaper was compelled to change its name by dropping the adjective "Illyrian" from its title. Thus "The Illyrian News" became "The People's News" (Narodne Novine) and "The Illyrian Morning Star" became again "The Croat, Dalmatian and Slavonian Morning Star". The Magyarons were successful insofar as they managed to impose upon the Illyrian publications strict censorship headed by the Magyar professor, Matsik, who replaced the pro-Illyrian professor, Moyses.

Thus, the prohibition of the Illyrian name affected mainly the literary side of the Movement which suffered under the Magyar censorship. The political side was further strengthened by the union of the Illyrians during the struggle against the Magyarons at home and the Magyars at Pozsony. Such a situation led the Illyrian Movement to become a mainly political force for Croat nationalism, led no longer by Gaj and other cultural awakeners, but by the members of the upper nobility who possessed the ways and means for such a struggle. A small group of relatively radically minded Illyrians found it impossible to work under the newly created situation in Croatia and moved to Belgrade to carry on their struggle from there. As for Gaj, he remained in Zagreb and, in the
absence of any other alternative, chose to go along with the rest and organize the struggle against the Magyars by linking the movement more closely with the policy of the central government.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1 This territory was comprised of the city of Rijeka and a short strip of land along the Adriatic coast as far as Senj.


3 Ibid., p. 301.

4 See Ibid., p. 297.

5 J. Horvat, Politička povijest Hrvatske, Zagreb, Izdanje Nakladnog Zavoda "Binoza-Svjetski Pisci", 1936, p. 73.

6 Fancev, op. cit., p. 301. Published excerpts from the original text of "Dissertation" are also to be found in S. Srkulj's Izvori za hrvatsku povijest, Zagreb, Tiskara Hrvatske Stranke, 1911, pp. 149-151, and V. Novak's Antologija jugoslovenske misli i narodnog jedinstva, Beograd, Stampa Državne Stamparije, 1930, pp. 52-53.

7 Horvat, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

8 Ibid., p. 75.


10 The original document has not been published in any recognized collection of sources. The above mentioned main points of the instructions issued to the Croat delegates to Pozsony in 1832 are based on the information obtained from the works of Šišić, Smičiklas and Surmin. The original document is available in the archives of Zagreb. See Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, pp. 172-174; T. Smičiklas, Povijest Hrvatske, Zagreb, Matica Hrvatska, 1879, vol. 2, pp. 84-85; and D. Surmin, Hrvatski preporod, Zagreb, Matica Hrvatska, 1903, pp. 437-439.

11 See N. Klaić, Izvori za hrvatsku povijest, Zagreb, Skolska Knjiga, vol. 4, 1959, pp. 110-113. Here, under the "Urbarijalni Zakon od 1836" Article VIII, "individual serfs or entire peasant commune (općina) are allowed" to pay to the landlord a lump sum of money (to be determined by a voluntary agreement between peasants and landlord) in order to free themselves "forever" from paying taxes whether in
kind, in labour or in money. (p. 113)


16 See Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, p. 186.


18 Ibid., p. 106.

19 Upon their return from Pozsony the Croat delegates declared: "That is how we spent three sad years amidst those who hate our people". (Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, p. 189). Consequently, the Šabor feared that at the next meeting the Croats would not be able to defend themselves alone without any help.

20 Horvat, op. cit., p. 84.

21 Ibid., p. 84.

22 Drašković was not against the new policy as long as the Croats worked, cautiously. He realized that Metternich was willing to help only as long as it was in the interest of Austria.

23 Horvat, op. cit., p. 79. His usage of the term "democracy" is very ambiguous.

24 By "radical" Horvat meant that the above mentioned group of nobles favoured the abolition of the nobility's privileges (See Politička povijest Hrvatske, p. 79).

25 Horvat, op. cit., p. 79.

26 During his stay in Vienna in December 1933 Gaj saw the Emperor and the following conversation took place:


He: Ja, ja die Ungarn, die machen uns wohl viele Geschichten. Sie schrieben zu viel, und wolten, das die Croaten nichts schrieben sollten etc.

27 See below, pp. 139-140.


35 Ibid., p. 121.

36 Ibid., p. 120.


39 Serbian monk-writer Sava Tekelija wrote to Gaj on January 28, 1835, in order to prevail upon him not only to accept the Štokavian dialect, but the Cyrillic alphabet as well for "the Latin one was not designed to serve a Slavic language" (See Deželić, op. cit., p. 222).

40 Novak, op. cit., p. 44.

41 Loc. cit.


44 Šišić, Pregled povijesti, p. 403.

45 In 1835 Gaj published in no. 50 of the "Danica" the "Proglas" (Announcement) in which he described his political
views on the organization of the Illyrian lands. See Novak, op. cit., p. 47. Also in his letter to the Emperor (June 1, 1936) Gaj stressed the importance of attracting the Slavs of Turkey and Serbia by means of the Illyrian Movement. See Deželić, op. cit., pp. 343-345.

See above, pp. 121-123.

46 See above, pp. 121-123.


50 Ibid., p. 83.


52 Mamuzić, op. cit., p. 82.


56 The Matica Hrvatska (The Illyrian National Foundation) was established in 1842. It soon became one of the main footholds of the Croat National Movement. See Ravlić and Somborac, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

57 Ibid., p. 19.

58 Loc. cit.

59 Ibid., p. 20.
60 Loc. cit.


62 See Ibid., p. 108.


64 Šurmin, Hrvatski preporod, vol. 2, p. 112.


66 The political concepts of the Illyrian Movement no longer included all the South Slavic nations. The political aims of the Movement were now composed of demands for the establishment of a Croat state independent in its internal affairs from Hungary. See below, pp. 172-173.

67 See below, pp. 193-195.

68 An exception was Janko Drašković and his group of progressive nobles who proposed to the Sabor that "in case the Magyars continued their aggressive policy Croatia should recede from Hungary and demand from the King its own Crown's Council and adopt the language of its people". Smičiklas, Povijest hrvatska, vol. 2, p. 452.


71 Loc. cit.


73 See Smičiklas, op. cit., p. 452.


75 Ibid., p. 229.

76 See Šišić, Pregled povijesti, p. 407. The text of this resolution was not available to me.

77 The Magyar nobility wanted to extend the law of 1836 regarding the peasantry by giving the law a more specific form. According to this law, peasants who had enough money to buy their freedom could do so as their right, not depending on a landlord's approval. See Loc. cit.
The Magyars argued that while the Croat delegates had some legal right to protect the interests of the nobility in Croatia proper, these rights did not extend to Slavonia because this region had already become Magyars during the reign of Koloman. See above, pp. 3-4.


Loc. cit.


Šišić, *Hrvatska povijest*, vol. 3, p. 239.


Ibid., p. 242.

The name given to the members of the Croat-Hungarian party by the Illyrians. It has been used ever since to describe pro-Magyar Croats and to identify their political concept.

Šidak, "Prilozi historiji stranačkih odnosa...", vol. 13, p. 185.

See Šišić, *Hrvatska povijest*, vol. 3, p. 244.


96 See V. Bogdanov, Historija političkih stranaka u Hrvatskoj, Zagreb, Novinarsko Izdavačko Poduzeće, 1958, p. 267. He said: "All other members of the upper nobility (except for J. Drasković and J. Oršić) were the Magyars...".

97 Šišić, Pregled povijesti, p. 410.

98 Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, pp. 244-246.

99 Ibid., p. 246.

100 Ibid., p. 250.

101 The Varazdin nobility was not prepared to surrender all its rights to Hungary. The Croat-Hungarian Party advocated the Magyar point of view: "Ein Gott, ein König, ein Staat, ein Volk und eine Sprache von den Karpathen bis zur Adria." See H. Wendel, Aus dem südslawischen Risorgimento, Frankfurt am Main, Verlag Friedrich Andreas Perthes A.-G. Gotha, 1921, p. 51.


103 See Ibid., p. 200.

104 Horvat, op. cit., p. 104.

105 Loc. cit.

106 Loc. cit.


111 Loc. cit.

113 Ibid., p. 209.
116 Ibid., p. 260. See also V. Novak, op. cit., pp. 91-92.
117 Šidak, Historijska čitanka, pp. 181-182. H. Wendel in his Der Kampf der Südslawen stresses that "Rakovac in seinem 'Kleinen Katechismus für grosse Leute' darlegt, dass magyarische nicht kroatische, Gespanschaften die Aufhebung der adligen Steuerfreiheit verlangten..." (p. 206).
118 Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, p. 263.
119 Šidak, Historijska čitanka, pp. 182-183.
120 Šurmin, Hrvatski preporod, vol. 2, pp. 223-224. Kukuljević's article appeared in December 1842 in the "Illyrian News" (the exact date is not stated in the sources I used).
121 Ibid., p. 226.
122 Ibid., pp. 228-229.
125 See Ibid., p. 271.
126 Loc. cit. See also Wendel, Der Kampf der Südslawen, p. 208.
128 Ibid., p. 273.
129 Loc. cit.
130 See above, p. 141.
131 Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, p. 275-276 (The letter was written on January 28', 1843, by Vraz to his close colleague, Ivan Trnki).
133 Ibid., p. 108.


135 See Ibid., p. 708.

136 Ibid., p. 709.

137 See above, p. 188.

138 See Moseley, op. cit., p. 707.

139 V. Bogdanov, "Historijska uloga društvenih klasa...", vol. 300, p. 28.

140 J. Šidak, "Prilozi historiji stranačkih odnosa...", vol. 13, p. 173.

141 Loc. cit.

142 See Ravlić and Somborac, op. cit., p. 31.

143 The activity of the Belgrade group will be discussed later on pp. 213-221.
The feeling of uncertainty which struck the Illyrian Party following the royal decree of 1843 did not last long enough to cause its complete dismemberment. New hope appeared on the political horizon when, shortly after the decree was issued, the Croat counties were forbidden to accept official correspondence written by the Magyar authorities in the Magyar language. However, the Magyar counties and the Crown's Council for Hungary were compelled to accept official Croat correspondence written in the Latin language. Under the political circumstances of the day, this decision was regarded as more favourable to Croatia than to Hungary. It also showed the Croats that Vienna was not prepared to take any additional steps against their national movement. Therefore the People's Party (the Illyrian Party) recovered quickly from the damage it had suffered and began to prepare itself for further struggle with the Magyars. Although the literary tools of Croat nationalism began to deteriorate very rapidly under Matsik's censorship, the party quickly adapted itself to the new situation.
and organized its defence along political lines, which, in the end, proved to be equally efficient and effective. In spite of the fact that Metternich's assistance to the party was motivated by Austrian interests, more often than not such help proved to be of immense value to Croat nationalism. The power and strength of the People's Party in Croatia were soon felt when Ferdinand called a meeting of the Diet (14 May 1843).

The Croat Sabor was supposed to meet on 22 April 1843, but it had to be postponed for two days because of the chaos created by the village nobility of Turopolje, led by Josipović. They wanted to participate in the Sabor's work - especially in the election of its delegates to Pozsony and in the decision of what instructions were to be given to the Croat delegates. On the basis of the law which prohibited the admittance of village nobility to the Sabor, Josipović and his followers were forced to evacuate the house, leaving the People's Party in the majority.

From the introductory speech delivered by Haller, the Croat delegates immediately gained new hopes that their position at Pozsony would be much better than it had been on previous occasions. Instructed by Metternich, Haller advised the Croats "to prove that they do not want to allow the system of government to be too far removed from the old constitution". The Croats, who had always fought the Magyars on this issue, welcomed Haller's proposal and realized
that in their struggle for the preservation of the existing forms of government they would be supported by the central government. This session of the Sabor, also, did not remain untouched by the ideas of the Croat nationalism which found their way into the instructions issued to the Croat delegates to the Common Diet. New ideas, as Horvat put it, "were heard in the Croat counties and the Croat Sabor", especially after the Illyrians won the elections in all the Croat counties in 1841-42.

Encouraged by Haller and on the advice of the delegates from the County of Zabreb (which represented the centre of the Croat national movement, and hence the People's Party) the Sabor gave the following instructions to the Croat delegates to Pozsony:

1. The "municipal rights" of Croatia could not be, under any circumstances, a subject of discussion at the Common Diet. Should the Magyars attempt to do so the Croat delegates were to file an official protest with the central government by pointing out that this matter could only be discussed in the Sabor.

2. Croatia ought to receive an independent Crown's Council for Croatia under the leadership of the Ban whose authority was to be extended to Dalmatia, the Military Frontier, Rijeka and
the Littorals, and Gorski Kotar.

3. Under the chairmanship of the Ban, Croatia should also receive its own censorship office, censor and a special committee authorized to reorganize the system of education so that all Croat youths would be given an adequate opportunity to learn their national literature and language.

4. The Academy of Zagreb was to become the University of Zagreb so that the Croat intellectuals could receive the highest possible education at home. Professors should no longer be selected on the basis of their knowledge of the Magyar language.

5. The Croat delegates, who were to use only the Latin language in the Diet, should insist that Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia were not omitted from the title of the King as had been done very frequently. Such practice, instructions specified, led Magyars to believe that under the name "Hungary" one includes the Croat Kingdoms as well.

During the discussion on the development of the national language and literature, young Ivan Kukuljević gave the first
official speech (zastupnički govor) ever to be delivered in the Sabor in the Croat language (May 2, 1843). In this speech Kukuljević appealed to the Croat nobles to adopt the Croat language not only in the schools and literature, but also in the Sabor and other public institutions (hence as the language of the Croat diplomacy) because there was no purpose in the young Croats learning the language in school if they could not use it later in their careers. He said:

Allow me to ask you what is the use and purpose of studying our language? What will be the success? What will be the consequences? ...if no one will be able to make a living with this language, and if we never think of adopting it in public life? ...I know that most of us here do not know our language well; that in the entirety of our homeland one could count on one's fingers persons of both sexes who know well how to speak, read and write in their mother tongue; and that the main reason for this is our reluctance to use it in public life and offices.... We still keep our language only for our servants and peasants! ...we are a bit Latin, a bit German, a bit Italian, a bit Magyar, a bit Slav, and to sum it up, we are really absolutely nothing! ...let us follow the example of our neighbours who live in the same Monarchy; each of them, German, Magyar and Italian put his language in the first place. It is only we, Croats and Slavonians, who are afraid of our mother tongue...and do what somebody else likes us to do.

This historical speech was extremely well received by the majority of the Sabor's members and especially by the younger members of the nobility who recognized Kukuljević from now on as "one of the leaders of the
younger generation". The remaining part of the nobility felt that such a change would come too soon and too suddenly and that the best solution to the problem was to keep within the limits of the law and arrive at such a decision gradually, step by step. The conservatively inclined nobles felt that "these ideas of an unexperienced youth were exaggerated reforms which could endanger the 'municipal rights'". Therefore, according to them, one should first take many precautionary measures before taking such a decisive step.

Upon their arrival to Pozsony, the Croat delegates were faced with a new problem. Josipović, who had also come to Pozsony, filed an official complaint with the Magyar authorities against the Croat delegates who, according to him, were illegally elected because the Toropolje nobles had not been allowed to cast their vote. He declared that the proceedings of the Sabor were illegal because they were manipulated by the Illyrians and Bishop Haulik who were in Russian service. Not until the Croat delegates proved that their papers were in order and Josipović's complaint was postponed to a later date, could the Diet proceed with its usual business.

One of the first controversial issues to be discussed was again the problem of the Magyar language. Failing to persuade the Croats to deliver their speeches in the
Magyar language, the Magyars refused to listen and designed various other methods to obstruct the Croat delegates from expressing their opinion. The Magyars demanded that the Croat delegates were to speak only Magyar because "anybody who lives in the Hungarian Kingdom, regardless of their language, and enjoys all the rights, privileges and good offered by this land, is Magyar. Here, there are no Illyrians or other nations, but only Magyars." Consequently, when this proposal was put to the vote, both houses decided that the proposal was justified and that the Croats should be compelled to speak Magyar. The Croats, who again found themselves in the minority, decided to walk out, in accordance with their instructions, and await further instructions from their counties.

The members of the People's Party met in each of the counties' skupstinas and unanimously decided that the Croat delegates should refuse to return to the Diet until there was a change in the above mentioned proposal. At the same time, they appealed to Ferdinand against this decision and received a favourable answer when the Emperor declared he would refuse his assent to this proposal of the Diet.

In the meantime, the Magyars in the Diet continued to legislate without the Croat delegates. The Diet decided that in the future the Magyar language would be the official language of Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, and the Littoral provinces and that "after ten years (from 1853 on)
no one in Croatia who does not know Magyar will be able to obtain employment as a public official or clergyman. 14

The Croat delegates returned to the Diet only after Ferdinand declared that those proposals also would not be sanctioned. The Magyars stood firmly by their decisions and forced Ferdinand to make some concessions. As a result, on 23 January 1844, he assented to the legislative proposal which stated that after six years (after 1850) the Croat delegates to the Common Diet were to use only the Magyar language in order to make themselves understood by the Magyar delegates and thus improve the efficiency of this legislative body. However, in his desire to assist Croat nationalism and to make it powerful enough to resist the Magyarization of Croatia, Ferdinand did not consent to the other proposals of the Diet which aimed to enforce the use of the Magyar language in the Croat schools and administration. 16

Once again Metternich's policy to act as an arbiter between the two national forces failed to work. His decisions left both Magyars and Croats dissatisfied. The Magyars exhibited their dissatisfaction by passing a vote of non-confidence in the government at the last session of the Diet. Of course, such a vote could not force the government to resign although the Magyars demanded a responsible government for Hungary. The Croats fared somewhat worse because
they only succeeded "to postpone the catastrophe for six years". In the meantime, the People's Party had to continue the struggle on several fronts at home in view of the fact that new elections were to be held in 1845. At Pozsony its members proved to be the staunchest conservatives and failed to even suggest that Croatia could, if necessary, replace Latin by its own Croat language. Such an attitude antagonized the younger generations as well as the former leaders of the Illyrian Movement. Therefore, although the People's Party was unified in the struggle against the Magyars, it was split on some fundamental issues involving the principles on which basis the Croat national movement should continue to develop. Many former leaders of the Illyrian Movement found it impossible to work under the contemporary censorship rules and, as we already mentioned, moved to Belgrade with the purpose of printing their material there and smuggling it into Croatia. Thus, in spite of the fusion of the two resistance movements into the People's Party, the rank and file and leadership of the party were divided on many issues. The fundamental difference between them was that the latter was more conservative than the former. In addition to this, the majority of the conservative wing sat in the Sabor and had some political power while the other acted through the counties as the main political force after the prohibition of the Illyrian name killed the Illyrians' literary
activities.

The instructions given to the Croat delegates to Pozsony, which indicated that the Croat nobility in the Sabor was thinking of the development of the Croat language and was prepared to support it to an extent, were momentarily forgotten in view of the new law which compelled the Croats to speak Magyar in the Diet and thus recognize an important change of Croatia's "municipal rights". This law represented the first defeat of the People's Party and encouraged its enemies at home in their struggle against Croat nationalism. The work of the People's Party in the legislative bodies at home and in Pozsony indicated that the majority of its members (the upper classes) were still hoping to succeed in their struggle against the Magyarons and Magyars by adhering to the old social and political system; even though many of them felt that the time was rapidly approaching when they would have to recognize the need to do something for the masses, mainly to make the life of the peasantry more tolerable. This was not to take place, however, until 1848. In the meantime, the Croat upper class was to try all possible ways to avoid such changes, mainly by allying itself with the main representative of feudalism, the Emperor. The left wing of the People's Party agreed with the pro-Austrian policy, but from different motives. It realized that the Magyars could not be fought without the help of the central government, but demanded that the decree of 1843 be
revoked. The upper nobility was primarily motivated by its own economic and social interests and its main motive for the participation in the Croat national movement laid here. Both wings of the party found one common denominator to fuse their forces into the People's Party, and that was the struggle against Magyarization. The fact that both were more or less conservatively inclined (mainly because radicalism meant the Magyarization of Croatia) helped them to remain united in the same party and thus form a more powerful block against the enemy of their nationalism.

The Victory of the Illyrian Nationalists

The above mentioned group of Illyrians, who moved to Belgrade to develop Croat nationalism along the principles laid down by the Illyrian Movement, thought it impossible to carry on the struggle against Magyarization without the Illyrian name. The development of Croat nationalism without this name seemed impossible to them for all the successes achieved during the cultural renaissance were tied to and identified by Illyrism. This group of Illyrians, which was the first group of Croat political emigres, did not blame Gaj for the prohibition of the Illyrian name and did not condemn him because he included all the South Slavs into Illyria instead of limiting himself to the Slavs under the Magyar
rule. The majority of the Illyrians who remained in Croatia felt that Metternich abolished the use of the Illyrian name because Gaj did not keep the movement restricted to *illyricum hungaricum*, but crossed the borders of the Monarchy to organize Illyrian nationalism among the Slavs in Serbia and in the lands under Turkish rule.  

The Illyrians in Belgrade were well received and supported in their attempt to keep the Croat nationalism of the Illyrian period from destruction. However, the Serbs refused to be included into "Illyria" because, according to them, the Illyrian name had no significance for Serbia and historically meant nothing. The editor of the *Serbski narodnij list* (The Serbian National Newspaper), Teodor Pavlović, argued in his paper that "the Illyrian name is foreign and let no one try to enforce it upon others because, besides the literary workers, nobody else is willing to accept it". Instead, Pavlović suggested the Illyrians should adopt "a name common to the Croats and Serbs, the name Jugoslavia, Jugoslav and all will go well". The Serbs distrusted the Croat Illyrians of the 1830's and saw Illyrism as a tool of the Croat nationalists who, according to some Serbian intellectuals, aimed to create some sort of Greater Croatia which would include the Serbian regions. Consequently, P. A. Popović wrote in Pavlović's paper that "neither Gaj nor Šafařík had noble intentions". 

Although the Illyrians in Belgrade remained faithful
to the idea of the Illyrian Movement set down by Gaj in the 1830's and defended it against all possible criticisms, in Croatia itself, as we already observed, Gaj's influence was rapidly diminishing. His leadership, successes and entire political career were firmly connected with the Illyrian name. Once this name was prohibited he lost his firm foothold and had nothing to fall back on to maintain his leadership which was now mistrusted by some of his former and closest associates.

The Illyrians in Belgrade were thankful to Gaj for all he had done for the Croat cultural renaissance. Looking back they saw that less than ten years ago the Croat language had hardly been spoken among the intellectuals and nobility, not to mention the existence of a uniform orthography and literary language. They were determined to preserve these great achievements of the Croat national movement. They disagreed with Gaj who felt that, when necessary, the Croat national movement should work in close co-operation with the central government. Slowly they began to realize that the strength of Croat nationalism did not only lie in the acceptance of the Croat language, but also in the growth of the country's economic strength which could not be achieved under the present medieval social system which kept the peasantry in total poverty. 26

Thus, the Illyrians abroad represented one wing of the former Illyrian Party which worked in Croatia illegally as
an underground resistance movement. The other wing remained in Croatia to work openly in the Croat political forms and to assume more conservative positions. The Illyrians in Belgrade witnessed the defeat of the People's Party in the Common Diet and the confusion this defeat caused among the ranks of the Croat nationalists. Therefore, as early as October 1844, Bogoslav Šulek published in Belgrade the pamphlet, *Sta namjeravaju Iliri?* (What do the Illyrians Intend to Do?), which was smuggled into Zagreb to give new hope and encouragement to the Croats in their further struggle against the Magyars and Magyarons. At the same time, Šulek advised the Croats to remain loyal to the Emperor and even, if necessary, to give up the Illyrian name for the preservation of the existing political situation, and encouraged them to work towards the creation of an autonomous government for Croatia which would be independent of Hungary.

In addition to the compliments paid to the existing 'Constitution or the fundamental law of the state', to the repeated emphasis on the need to preserve the existing political situation (in which Croatia is under the rule of Austria and Hungary) and to the numerous compliments paid to the King...the pamphlet invites the Croat patriots to even give up the usage of the Illyrian name....

In spite of this flood of pro-Austrian and pro-Emperor phrases, the booklet advocates, in an excellent way, the propaganda of the fundamental idea of the Illyrian Movement: the liberation of Croatia....

Vaso Bogdanov pointed out that this way of writing was typical of the Illyrian writers at that time who were forced by
censorship to conceal the main ideas of Croat nationalism behind meaningless phrases advocating loyalty to the central government. "The readers, however, knew how to read between the lines" and distinguish the real meaning from the ideas written for the censor. While this is fundamentally true and logical under the circumstances, Vaso Bogdanov exaggerated in his conclusion that the Illyrian Movement's main aim as read between the lines was "the liberation of Croatia by means of revolutionary struggle, an armed rebellion, and the political unification of all South Slavic nations into a free national state" independent of both Austria and Hungary. 

Šta namjeravaju iliри? clearly indicated:

The intention of the Illyrian patriots is to preserve the fundamental law, or the Constitution, in its entirety and to enable their nation, by means of the Illyrian language, to become strong, economically developed and happy people.... The name 'Illyria' can only be used in the literary language (we cannot call all regions speaking this language Illyria).

The use of the Illyrian name in a political sense is nonsense because all Illyrians do not have the same government. However, this should not prevent them from loving each other.

Although the Illyrians in Belgrade, as well as those at home, were in favour of the creation of an independent government for Croatia, they visualized such a government within the Habsburg Monarchy, but independent from Hungary.

This idea was spelled out also in the newspaper, Branislav (The Defender), established by the Belgrade group in November 1844 for the purpose of carrying on the development of Croat
nationalism without being obstructed by Matsik's censorship. The very first issue of the *Branislav*, which was smuggled into Zagreb by the Illyrians of Karlovac, carried the motto *Ne dajmo se, ne bojmo se*! (Let us not give up, let us not be afraid!) and explained the ideas of the Illyrians in Belgrade:

We are Croats and Slavonians and so we want to remain forever - we accepted the Illyrian name because we want unity; we have our Constitution and 'municipal rights' with which we will never part; we want to make our people happy and to educate it and in doing so nobody has the right to stop us.... Nationality, mass education and happiness of the nation were always our wishes, intentions and principles... and whoever will try to prevent us from doing so, he is our enemy to whom we readily declare: *Boj na vijeke!* (War forever!).

The appearance of the *Branislav* in Zagreb had a tremendous effect upon the Croat political life. Its free and daring style caused political embarrassment to the Magyarons and Magyars as well, who could no longer claim to support Croat nationality. For the first time the Croat public was openly told of the real intentions of the Magyars and their aids, the Magyarons. The Magyar censorship and its head, Matsik were not spared either:

We cannot even print in our newspapers a single document or protocol reached by our legislative bodies: ... Therefore this is that love which the Magyars claim to have for us, this is their liberalism upon which they pride themselves....

Do we have to be the slaves of one stupid and evil man? Our forefathers were able to free themselves even from the *Bans* who worked against the Croat freedom
(examples: Berislo, Balasa), and we permit this man to rule us and teach our children the Magyar alphabet. 33

The Branislav found some of its leading correspondents among the Illyrians in Zagreb - Ambroz Vraniczany, Antun Vakanović, Janko Drašković, Ivan Mažuranić and others - who sent their material for the paper by the riverboat Sloga (Unity), which sailed between Sisak and Belgrade. These men were all former organizers of the Illyrian Movement who were deprived of their cultural activities following the royal decree of 1843. They felt that Croat nationalism had been deprived of its main tool without which it could never gain political and cultural independence. Therefore, in these articles written for the Branislav they could demand freely what they considered necessary for an independent development of the Croat nation:

In the Branislav they demanded the democratic reform of the Croat Sabor, extended jurisdiction, increase of its membership; a separate government for Croatia, independent of Hungary; they demanded the replacement of Latin by the Croat language in the public life; the Academy of Zagreb was to become a university which should already have a chair for the Croat language; the education policy was to be completely reformed and various vocational schools established. 34

Such a tone and style in the Branislav caused a feeling of uneasiness even among the highest government circles in Vienna. 35 While the central government clearly saw that the appearance of the Branislav caused greater animosity between the Croat and Magyars, it was in a dilemma as to what
position to take towards the ideas expressed in it. The central government realized it had made a wrong move in 1843 by forcing the Croats to print their political material abroad, in Serbia, which was considered to be under the Russian influence and able to influence the Croats of Austria in the same direction. Metternich considered the paper to be too radically and revolutionarily oriented, something that should never be allowed in Croatia for it was against the interests of the Empire. Having read the translation of the paper's first issue, Metternich decided that the publishing of the Branislav should be stopped as soon as possible. He blamed the Magyar radicals for influencing the editors of the paper to work against the Monarchy, decided to eliminate the revolutionary seeds in Hungary, and aimed to establish a firm alliance with the conservative national leaders against any possible outburst of the more reform-minded elements.

The new policy of the central government, which was "undoubtedly speeded up by the Branislav," 36 needed a unified political situation in Croatia - only the People's Party and not the pro-Magyar party - in order to secure success in the struggle against Magyar radicalism. In Croatia itself, the Illyrians, receivers of the Branislav, realized the new advantages Vienna's pro-Croat policy held for Croat nationalism and the struggle against Hungary. For the first time in their history, the Croats could completely rely on Austrian help against the Magyarization of Croatia. Regardless of the
central government's motives for doing so, such help was needed and welcomed in Croatia although Croat politics were expected to move to the extreme right. The danger of Magyarization was far greater than the conservatism of the central government which wanted to preserve the old political system and with it the Croat "municipal rights".

The main political personality in Croatia who advocated most for support of Vienna's new policy was that of Baron Franjo Kulmer who, as we already observed, spoke very energetically in favour of the Croat municipal rights at the last meeting of the Sabor. It was said that of all the Croat nobles he had the greatest influence among the governmental circles and in the Court. On many occasions Janko Drašković advised the Illyrian leaders to consult Kulmer before taking any decisive step. He was undoubtedly the most proficient of the conservative Croat politicians of his time who were also nationality conscious. Reminiscent of a Machiavellian statesman and politician, Kulmer was, as Horvat pointed out, "made for the political ambient of Vienna". 37 Horvat, who even suggested that one of the main originators of Vienna's new policy was Kulmer himself, described the fundamentals of this policy as follows:

The prerequisite for the success of this new tactic was that the entire political world of Croatia accept it, and this meant in the last consequence to achieve harmony between the ranks of the People's Party and then to try to achieve peace or at least (temporary) truce between the People's Party and the Magyarons.
Kulmer would try subsequently to realize this idea and it would be also felt in 1848 when it gave the main direction to the entire politics of Jelačić. At the beginning of 1845, Kulmer related his opinion to Gaj and Drašković in two separate letters. He wrote to Gaj:

In diesem Sinne soll man sich in allen öffentlichen Orten und Zeitungen aussprechen. Ungarn muss hinsichtlich Kroatiens beruhigt werden, sonst haben wir mit unübersteiglichen Hindernissen zu kämpfen. Dies kann am besten und sichersten nur durch uns selbst geschehen. Die Ungarn müssen zu der Einsicht gebracht werden, dass Josipovich und sein Anhang keine Stützen für sie sind. In these letters he explained to the two men that Vienna was willing to help the Croats in their struggle against the Magyars providing that the Branislav would be no longer published and the People's Party clearly illustrated that it was prepared to support the political party of the Magyar conservatives who again supported Vienna and would not attack the Croat "municipal rights". Kulmer's letter left Drašković in a dilemma but, nevertheless, he firmly refused any truce with the Magyarons in view of the struggle the People's Party would have to carry on against them in the new elections in the County of Zagreb. Gaj also refused to consider the establishment of a truce with the Magyarons, but expressed himself in favour of a coalition with the Magyar conservatives. Because he was removed from the centre of the political struggle and almost isolated, all Gaj could do was to print an article in the "People's News" expressing himself in favour
of Kulmer's proposal. Although Kulmer was not completely successful in his intentions the central government, in order to show its agreement with Kulmer's idea and Gaj's article, issued another decree (20 January 1845) which again allowed the Croats to use the Illyrian name, but "only in literature as the symbol of a unified literary language and literature". In addition to this, the Austrian authorities established at the Academy a chair of the Illyrian language and literature and thus fulfilled the demands of the last Croat Sabor. The crux of the enthusiasm which swept the Croat nation took place when Matsik was removed from the censor's office following the decision that, in future, nobody could be appointed to this office without proficient knowledge of the Illyrian language. Furthermore, the censor's position was opened only to the Croats and the office was to be under the authority of the Croat Ban in all but the administrative aspects. The decision of the central government specified that its main purpose in doing so was "to secure for Croatia and Slavonia their literary interests and to provide them with a relatively free press".

The above mentioned decisions of the central authorities had an undoubtedly significant impact on the Croat political life. The members of the People's Party were no longer reluctant to form a defensive alliance with Vienna. Since Vienna guaranteed them the protection of Croatia's "municipal rights" and nationality, the two factors they wanted the most,
they were prepared to support Vienna on every issue save the truce with the Magyars who were even more antagonized by Vienna's new policy; even Kulmer could no longer hope to achieve any kind of harmony. Vienna's decisions tended to favour only the upper nobility and other Croat nationalists who supported and favoured the existing system of government. The village nobility, therefore, had even less hope of gaining any political power. The Turopolje nobles fortified themselves more firmly in the Croat-Magyar Party and continued to support the Magyarization of Croatia. Thus, on one hand there was a unified People's Party with its left and right wing openly pro-Austrian and, on the other, a unified Croat-Hungarian Party openly pro-Magyar. The animosities which were developing between them would inevitably lead to an open, physical struggle which was to take place during the elections in Zagreb in the same year, 1845. This new event in the Croat politics during the 1840's will be the subject of our next discussion.

The Crisis in the Croat National Movement

Shortly after the success of the People's Party, facilitated by the central government, Croat nationalism underwent a major crisis in the form of an open, physical struggle. The cause of this struggle originated with the problem Kulmer and the leaders of the People's Party had failed to solve; to
harmonize the Croat politics by achieving at least a temporary truce with the Croat-Magyar Party. The problem of solving the belligerent diversity in the Croat politics came to the surface and made itself felt in Croatia almost simultaneously with the above mentioned victory of the People's Party. The cause of the increased animosities between the two political parties has already been partially explained by pointing out the new position of the village nobility, the Turopolje nobles in particular, in which they saw a further removal of their political objectives - the right to vote and to be represented in the Croat legislative bodies. This was one of the main reasons they gave their support to an anti-Croat political force. Croat nationalism, motivated mainly by the Croat-Magyar controversy developing since 1790, had failed to attract this segment of the Croat population and, at the same time, was unable to do so without exposing to danger the Croat "municipal rights". And, although they were designed for the protection of the upper class only, they also represented substantial legal background in the struggle for the Croat autonomy. It follows that Croat nationalism could not afford such radical changes even if its conservative leaders had been prepared to accept them. The more progressive leaders of the Illyrian Movement realized this difficulty and admitted that such reforms, including the emancipation of peasantry, could only be brought about after the Magyar danger had been removed or, in other words, defeated. Many of them
were members of the middle class and had no access to the Croa
t political forums except indirectly through their fellow Illyrians in the upper class. Nevertheless, unlike the Toropolje nobles, they did not advocate the broadening of suffrage or other rights enjoyed by the privileged class. The Turopolje nobles lacked this national consciousness and easily fell victims to the Magyars who successfully preached that, under Magyar liberalism, all the classes would be given equal political rights and the peasantry would be emancipated and made owner of its land.

It was noted above that the complaint of Josipović against the electoral proceedings in Zagreb during the elections in 1842 had been shelved for later consideration. Naturally, with the new elections in sight the same problem re-emerged as the main political issue. Since the Croat electoral laws were not clearly defined and since their interpretation by the two parties created a hopeless political chaos, the central government appointed Ban Haller to conduct the business of the county's assembly which had been called for that purpose. On 10 December 1844, the entire nobility of the County of Zagreb met in Zagreb to participate in the forthcoming elections. Since the party lines did not clearly divide the Croat electorate, with the exception of the most of the upper nobility and the Turopolje nobles, both parties organized electoral campaigns designed to bring those undecided into the ranks of their respective followings. These campaigns
were characterized by violent, physical struggles organized in the streets of Zagreb by the members of both parties.

The first and main question to be decided before the elections took place was who had the right to vote. The Turopolje nobles argued that, according to the law of 1835, "every noble living from the revenue of his own landed estate had the right to vote" in counties' elections. The members of the People's Party, or the Populists, disputed the validity of this law and argued that Turopolje nobles could not vote in any Croat county. The District of Turopolje, they argued, could be represented in Zagreb only by its governor (komes). In spite of the Populists' protest, the commission appointed for this purpose by Haller decided the election would be held on the basis of the law of 1835. Ban Haller assumed a passive attitude towards the work of this commission and failed to intervene against such a decision. The leaders of the People's Party protested to the Emperor and presented the request that the central government define the position of the Turopolje District in Croatia, but the central government took no immediate action.

The success of the Magyarons in enforcing the above mentioned law actually guaranteed the success of their party in the forthcoming election. Because of the proportionally large number of the Turopolje nobles they realized that their only chance to win the election was to have suffrage extended to all its members. Therefore the commission, which obviously
favoured their party, did not wait for the final decision from Vienna and continued its work in compiling the list of voters. Under the existing conditions the registration of voters was a slow and painful process in view of the fact that the compilers of the list had to tour the country entering each household and determining its social status. Finally, after several revisions of the voters’ list were produced, necessitated by illegal practices, the County of Zagreb was ready for its elections. The Populists were seriously concerned about the outcome of the elections since there was no answer to their protest. In his letter to Ljudevit Gaj, Ambroz Vraniczany wrote from Vienna:

...we have no other alternative but to confide in our own strength. If one does not see that the death or life of our nationality depends on this assembly he is either stupid or a traitor. The Magyars decided to defeat and to eliminate us in this assembly through the Turopoljians.... If we lose now we will be completely lost.... To save everything we have to risk everything. If we are united a hundred courageous men can save us. 46

However, the victory of the Populists at this particular moment did not depend on "a hundred courageous men", but on several hundred votes they needed to defeat the Magyarons. Since the Magyarons were quite confident they would win the elections, the political situation on the day of the election (28 July) was comparatively peaceful. The elections were held under a surprisingly workable atmosphere. Only Gaj's newspaper, in that day's edition, summed up the seriousness
and uncertainty prevailing among the Populists:

The elections are our alpha and omega, our dawn and our sunset, around which everything is rotating. This word to the Croat sounds as 'Charta Magna' to an Englishman, 'egalite et liberte' to a Jacobin, 'Hegel und Bier' to a good-natured German.... The elections of Zagreb mean the solution of the Croat party life, - it is the axis around which the Croat political life is rotating, - it is considered to be a decisive event in our party struggles". 47

Even so, Haller, who was expecting violent fights and general disorder, had brought to Zagreb a battalion of soldiers, mostly Italians, who were completely indifferent to the outcome of election.

Although the county was to elect more than one official, for greater simplicity the voters voted for only one candidate (as in the party ballot) and the remainder were selected from the names on the winning ballot. The Populists' main candidate was Benko Lentulaj, while the others on the list were all former officials elected already in 1842. The main candidate of the Croat-Hungarian Party was Josip Žuvić who had occupied important offices in Zagreb prior to 1842. 48

On the next day, July 29, the votes were counted and the results of the election announced. They showed that 974 had voted for Lentulaj and 1,289 for Žuvić while 102 had abstained. After Ban Haller announced that Žuvić had won by a majority of 315 votes the election was declared completed. 49 For the first time since its establishment, the Croat-Hungarian Party had defeated the Croat nationalists in an open public forum.
Besides that, its victory was enormously significant because it put the Magyars in control of the most important Croat national movement. In view of the fact that the Croat counties had a considerable amount of jurisdiction within their own boundaries, the Croat national movement and the institutions it had created were in great danger of being destroyed or replaced by Magyar ones.

The enthusiasm prevailing among the Magyars and the celebrations they organized in Zagreb antagonized the Populists and created a tremendous feeling of dissatisfaction and anger among their followers. It is not surprising that such a situation led to one of the most tragic events in Croat history.

It is difficult to determine which of the two parties was to blame for the violent incident on the Square of St. Marcus. The troops of Ban Haller who were to maintain peace and order in the city were ordered to shoot. About a dozen Populists and innocent bystanders lost their lives and many were wounded. Because none of the Magyars had been killed or wounded the entire population of Zagreb blamed Haller for the tragic event. However, "up to the present day, even with the help of secret documents from various archives, it is impossible to determine how this bloodshed did come about". 50

The bloodshed on the Square of St. Marcus did not create fear and disorder among the ranks of the People's Party, but, on the contrary, united the entire population of Zagreb,
regardless of social class, against the Turopolje nobles and their leaders. Consequently, a group of citizens was sent to the Ban to order that the Turopolje nobility leave the city. The people did not mourn by crying, but by singing patriotic songs, ready to attack their enemies. The coffins of the victims were wrapped in black cloth with the slogan on each of them, *Hodie mihi, eras tibi* 51 (*It is me today, tomorrow it will be you*), which remained as the slogan of revenge in the subsequent development of Croat nationalism.

A special investigating commission set up by the central government to investigate the incident failed to produce sufficient evidence against any particular person or persons. The results of this investigation were sent to Vienna which could not reach any verdict. A Croat delegation was sent to Vienna to protest to the highest authorities and to obtain necessary safeguards against similar incidents in the future.

The central government in Vienna was more disturbed by the results of the election than by the bloodshed itself. It realized that any policy designed to obtain any kind of harmony in the Croat political life could only be based on unrealistic and unsound fundamentals. 52 Thus its hope that such harmony could be achieved during the above mentioned election had failed utterly. The results of the election did not endanger only the Croat national movement, but the central government as well. By its control of the most powerful Croat county, Magyar radicalism threatened to take control of the
rest of the country and thus endanger Vienna's position. Vienna's position was further endangered because the members of the People's Party were no longer willing to follow the Austrian conservative policy and form an alliance with the Magyar magnates against Magyar radicalism. All these factors led Metternich to realize that the victory of the Magyarons in Croatia should be diminished or undermined by a skilful political move which could, if properly enforced, bring the Populists back to the Austrian side. As it turned out, Austria became as equally anxious as the Populists to preserve the Croat national movement and give it a sound basis for further development. Thus Croat nationalism was saved by the joint effort of the two political forces. Their motives were different, if not opposite, but their aim was the same.

In the meantime, the Magyarons expected important political repercussions to be caused by this sudden turn in the Croat politics and hurriedly undertook some measures to utilize their victory. Since the Croat Sabor was not called after the meeting of the Common Diet in 1844, Haller utilized this opportune moment to familiarize the County of Zagreb's skupstina with the new laws. Although the Magyarons could not introduce important laws at this level of government, the decisions reached by this assembly are useful for the study of the ideology of the Croat-Hungarian Party which always advocated its so called Croat character. Thus this assembly, composed exclusively of the Magyarons, decided:
1. In future the members of the assembly were to come to its sessions dressed in the Magyar folk costumes.

2. To appeal to the Crown's Council for Hungary to prohibit Gaj to print "The People's News" and to confiscate his printing office.

3. To appeal to the Crown's Council for Hungary to reappoint Matsik to the censor's office and abolish the use of the new orthography.

4. To appeal to the Emperor to allow the village nobles to attend the meetings of the Sabor with the right to vote. 54

These decisions of the county's assembly clearly indicated that one of the main aims of the Magyarons was to eliminate the work of the Illyrians and accept the policy for the Magyarization of Croatia. Therefore, even before demanding political rights for the village nobility they demanded the abolition of the achievements of the Illyrian cultural renaissance. However, the heritage of the Illyrian Movement could no longer be destroyed by simple governmental order. It was even less possible for the Croat-Hungarian Party in Zagreb to achieve since, following the elections of 1845, it was faced with an opposition composed of the great majority of the city's population. In any case, the new literary language and literature had taken firm roots among the Croats and no proposal suggesting "going back to the old" could gain a strong following.
Thus the Srpanjske žrtve (Victims of July), although a tragedy in the Croat national movement, provided nationalism with strong solidarity and drew closer the various social groups which, as a result of this election, shelved any possible proposals for social reforms and found themselves marching together toward the same destination point, the defeat of the Magyars. The conservative wing of nationalism, the upper nobility, moved a little to the left by accepting the proposal to change the official language of Croatia, the more liberal wing moved to the right by accepting the conservative policy in its entirety, and all moved closer to the conservative policy of Austria, especially when, after 1845, Metternich promised considerable aid to the Croats at home, in Zagreb, and in Pozsony. While the main motive of the conservatives in defending the Croat "municipal rights" was the maintenance of the existing feudal system, the liberals cared in the first place to "save the national existence of the Croat people and to secure the Croat autonomy".

Final Emancipation of the National Ideas

The extreme conservative attitudes emerging among the Populists came spontaneously, without planned action. In fact, there was no other choice. Austrian aid had to be accepted for Croat nationalism could find no other ally which possessed both the force and legal power to decide the fate of the nations in the Monarchy. Looking back into the Illyrian
Movement's history, the Populists realized that whenever the Croats had been assisted in their struggle against Hungary, the help had come from Vienna. They were in no position to question the motives for Vienna's occasional help or to refuse such help in the future on the ground of political expediency. Looking ahead they saw no quarrel with the Emperor who never did attack the Croat "municipal rights". Their suspicion that Metternich had contributed to their loss in Zagreb disappeared after it became obvious that Haller was innocent of the tragic event which had shattered the Croat nation. They realized that conservatism, unlike radicalism and regardless of its character and place of origin, had always helped the Croats to save their "municipal rights" and consequently, their national identity. And to accept Conservatism at this critical moment meant an additional advantage:

Leaning on the central government while defending Croatia's status quo and nationality had an additional meaning. To appeal to the King, to recognize only his authority over Croatia and to express the desire to obey only his orders - meant to refuse recognition of dependence on any other nation, including the Magyar one.... To stress loyalty to the King was the same as to refuse recognition of the Hungarian state's authority over Croatia. 56

Finally, the Populists were, as the result of the election in the County of Zagreb, caught by surprise. Never before had the Magyars directly controlled any of the Croat counties or the Sabor. Unaccustomed to the political consequence of the two-party system and modern parliamentary politics, they viewed
the victory of the Magyarons as the end of Croat nationalism. This fact alone was strong enough to lead patriots from all walks of life and of all beliefs to unite their forces and plunge into the struggle as a well disciplined political factor.

Thus the Magyarons, who hoped to cause chaos in the ranks of the People's Party, achieved the opposite result. Like the Populists, they tended to overestimate their victory and considered it possible to eliminate Croat nationalism with one heavy blow. They did not compete with the Populists in gaining help from Vienna for to them Magyar radicalism alone was powerful enough to magyarize Croatia. The Magyarons thought that the Crown's Council for Hungary, coupled with Haller's support, could successfully destroy Croat autonomy and incorporate Croatia into Hungary. Their unexperienced leaders did not realize that Haller, in spite of his pro-Magyar sentiments, was primarily Metternich's man and would not hesitate to turn his back on them if the central government deemed it necessary. They saw Haller as the man who had violated the jurisdiction of the Sabor by allowing his representative to announce (in Magyar) the new laws reached at Pozsony in the county's assembly, instead of waiting for the meeting of the Sabor. Their disappointment was tremendous when, a few months later, this same man, in accordance with his orders from Vienna, openly supported the Populists when the session of the Sabor was finally convened.

Shortly before the meeting of the Sabor was convened,
Haller received a special order from the central government (14 September) which denied the village nobility (also called prosto plemstvo) the right to participate in the work of the Sabor or to be represented in it by the members of their social group. This decision was issued in accordance with Vienna's new policy which, in this particular case, aimed to limit the number of representatives from the Croat-Hungarian Party and to secure a workable majority for the Populists. This decree came as an answer to the above mentioned petition of the Populists who had disputed the village nobility's right to vote on an individual basis, even in the elections for counties' officials. The Populists had argued that the Turopolje nobility had only one vote at all levels of legislative proceedings in Croatia: they could only vote as a group through their leader, komeš Josipović, who represented the district of Turopolje. Thus this royal decree was official confirmation of the Populists' point of view. It discriminated against the rank and file of the Croat-Hungarian Party and forced the Magyars to send to the Sabor only members of the upper nobility which was numerically small and unable to outvote the Populists. The Populists realized their temporary advantage and introduced new reforms to deprive the Magyars of their claim to send village nobles to the Sabor as an equal legislative partner to the upper nobility and clergy. The Populists wanted to enact new laws to determine the composition of the Sabor and thus prevent future disputes over this issue.
The composition of this Sabor was left to the discretion of Haller who was instructed by the Emperor to issue special invitations to individual Croat nobles to attend its session. Naturally such invitations, the instructions specified, would not be issued to the members of the Croat-Hungarian Party.

As a result, the Sabor which met on October 3, 1845, was composed of two groups of delegates, those elected in the individual counties and those invited by Haller. The number of delegates invited by the Ban exceeded the number of delegates who represented the Croat counties. Such an arrangement eliminated all hope of the Magyarons who had planned to gain control over the meetings of the Sabor by winning subsequent elections in all the Croat counties. "It was a heavy blow to their party from which it had never recovered". It became evident that Vienna would do anything in its power to prevent the Magyarons from eliminating the Croat national movement and destroying the autonomy of Croatia. Even the Crown's Council for Hungary could not help them in this respect since it had no legal means to interfere directly with the proceedings adopted in the Sabor.

The above mentioned arrangement of the composition of the Sabor had only temporary value to the Croat national movement. It helped the Populists to legislate in the Sabor without any strong opposition from the Magyarons, which could have been dangerous if the petty nobility had been allowed the right to vote. However, some members of the People's Party
especially those belonging to its former left wing, realized that this arrangement, if permanently adopted, could enable Vienna to control the Croat national movement. Therefore the delegates to the Sabor appointed by the Emperor through the Ban should not be allowed to form the majority of the house. Although this danger was realized by many Populists in the Sabor, the terms of Vienna's policy had to be met in view of the unfavourable political situation. Consequently the first problem on the agenda of the Sabor was to decide upon the composition of future meetings. An attempt was made to make this body more representative of the Croat population. Of course, this scheme excluded the village nobility and peasantry. The middle class members, intellectuals and former leaders of the Illyrian Movement were also excluded, not because the Croat nobility refused to accept them for its legislative partner, but because such an arrangement might provoke the central government which considered the bourgeois class somewhat too radical. The fact that the Croat middle class and its intellectuals openly supported the pro-Austrian policy was not considered by Vienna as a sign of their conservative beliefs.

First of all, the Sabor decided to hold its meetings alternatively in Croatia proper and Slavonia. This decision was adopted to diminish the validity of the Magyar claim on Slavonia. By meeting in Slavonian cities the Sabor would vividly manifest its role as the legislative body of both
Croatia proper and Slavonia which, together with Dalmatia, formed the indivisible Triple Kingdom. In accordance with this policy, the Sabor was to include additional representatives from the Slavonian counties and cities. The future meetings of the Sabor were to include:

...all Catholic bishops, all Orthodox bishops whose bishoprics are situated in the territory of Croatia and Slavonia, nominal Catholic bishops whose bishoprics were situated in these kingdoms before and there is a hope that they will receive these bishoprics again, the prior of Vranje, potkapetan of the Kingdom (kapetan is usually the Ban himself), the kaptoli of Zagreb, Đakovo Senj, Modruš or Krbava, Rijeka, Čazma and Križevci, all veliki župani and their administrators, the Governor of Rijeka, all independent upper nobles providing that they are not minors and that their estates are situated in these kingdoms, the Croat and Slavonian counties (Zagreb, Varaždin, Križevci, Požega, Virovitica and Srijem), the komeš of Turopolje, free cities (Zagreb, Varaždin, Križevci, Koprivnica, Senj, Požega, Karlovac, Rijeka and Bakar), the District of Vinodol, the vice-Ban, the protonotar, the members of the office of the Ban, the district attorney, the presidents of the district courts in Karlovac and Rijeka and finally, one member of the Academy of Zagreb elected by secret ballot by the members of the staff.

One of the main changes in the composition of the Sabor was the inclusion of the Bishops of the Orthodox Church. This was evidence of the conservative orientation of the upper Orthodox clergy which was prepared to support the Croat national movement. They were to represent the largest national minority in Croatia, the Serbs. By giving them these political rights, the Croat Sabor showed that it was prepared to accept some changes in the Croat "municipal rights" as long as such changes did not originate with the Magyar delegates to the
Common Diet and were not too radical.

The Croat middle class was excluded from the new arrangement, but by allowing Croatia's main cities representation in the Sabor, the upper nobility enabled the upper stratum of the bourgeoisie to sit in the Sabor. However, in most cases these middle class members already possessed noble titles and were closely identified with the conservative outlook of the upper nobility. Its most progressive part, the intellectuals, remained politically unequal to the upper nobility. In any case, these intellectuals did not press upon the Sabor to secure additional seats for them. The raising of this issue, they felt, would cause a split in the party when its unity was needed the most. They also knew that such an arrangement would not be approved by Vienna.

Nevertheless, to remove the danger of Vienna's interference with the future meetings of the Sabor, it was decided that the elected representatives of the counties should have a number of votes equal to all the other representatives, including those appointed by the Ban. Furthermore, the above mentioned law of 1835 was abolished and it was made clear that in future elections in the County of Zagreb the Tropolje nobility was to have only one vote, that of its komeš. By giving the delegates of the Croat counties fifty per cent of the votes in the Sabor, there was no danger of enabling the Magyarons to gain the majority, whether in the Sabor or in the skupštinas of the counties.

Having reformed the composition of its delegates, the
Sabor continued with its work and decided:

1. The Croat "municipal rights" could only be amended, or parts of it abolished, if such a proposal was supported by at least three quarters of the house.

2. To appeal again to the Emperor to establish a separate Crown’s Council for Croatia.

3. To appeal again to the Emperor to promote the status of the Academy to the university level and to propose that the Bishopric of Zagreb become Archbishopric. 65

4. Latin was to remain the official language of Croatia, but the delegates to the Sabor could use the Croat language if they wished.

5. The freedom of press in Croatia should be extended to the limits enjoyed by the Magyar press and the censorship office should be made entirely independent of the Crown's Council for Hungary. 66

These decisions of the Sabor clearly indicated that the Croat upper nobility definitely accepted the main principles of the national movement set up by the Illyrians. The meeting of the Sabor showed that this nobility supported the Croat national movement not only to secure its special rights and privileges as the ruling class, but also to secure the development of the Croat language and culture. Thus, it recognized the importance of the mother tongue in the life of the nation and was making a slow progress towards accepting it in the Sabor instead of Latin. In short, the meeting of the Diet
indicated that the Croat nobility was prepared to accept the Illyrian idea completely. Since the entire movement had moved further towards conservatism, the policy laid down by the Illyrians was entirely in accordance with the interests of the upper nobility. The Croat nobles had learned that by accepting the Croat language their social position would not suffer. They saw they could accept the Croat language, continue "to avoid the problem of the reform of feudal social relations", and, at the same time, remain consistent with the ideas laid down by the early Illyrians. The social problems of Croatia did not trouble either the early Illyrians or the nobility because the political situation created by the Croat-Magyar relations imposed upon Croat nationalism far more significant problems which could not be postponed. Thus, for instance, one of the main social problems of the day, the emancipation of peasantry, was not solved until 1848 and then from above, by Ban Jelačić.  

Nevertheless, the Sabor of 1845 represented the first important victory of the Croat national movement in the period between 1845 and 1847, during which the national idea was fully emancipated. During the same period, the Croat-Hungarian Party experienced a rapid downfall and never achieved again the same importance it had possessed in Croatia between 1843 and 1845. Its main activities were restricted to the County of Zagreb where it tried unsuccessfully to maintain its position. Its immediate downfall started with the removal of Josipović
from the position of the komes by the royal decree of 3 December 1846. Even Ban Haller had found it impossible to maintain his office ever since the incident on the Square of St. Marcus, and resigned from the office immediately following the conclusion of the Sabor on 14 October 1845. Once again Bishop Haulik was entrusted with the administration of this office where he remained until 1848 when Croatia received a new Ban in the person of Baron Josip Jelačić. The resignation of Haller was welcomed by both the Populists and the Magyarons. The Populists had never trusted Haller and were pleased to learn that the office was to be given to Haulik, a well known supporter of the Illyrian Movement. The Magyarons had begun to dislike Haller following the last meeting of the Sabor. For them he was the main exponent of the new policy Vienna had designed to destroy their movement. However, they were equally displeased with the appointment of Haulik. It became obvious that nothing could save their party from its decline. Their role in Croat history, as Košćak pointed out, was "a reactionary one and they did not contribute anything to the European progressive movement of that time, nor to the struggle of their own people for an independent national development".

It is not necessary to point out that the downfall of the Magyarons was most important for the further development of Croat nationalism. We have already observed the progress made during the meeting of the Sabor. The new policy of the central government reflected itself in the growth of Croat
nationalism outside the Sabor as well. The Illyrian reading rooms and the Matica Ilirska, which had barely managed to exist following its foundation in 1842, suddenly revived and produced some significant results. Under the pressure of the Magyar censorship following the year 1843, the Matica Ilirska could only publish a very small number of books which passed through the hands of the censor. The founder of the Croat theatre, D. Demeter, had found it impossible to continue his work in Croatia and moved to Vienna where, in 1844, he published his well known tragedy Teuta which is considered the best Croat drama of that period.

During the period of the cultural renaissance, Teuta had considerable influence upon its readers. No other literary work of this period had so many varied and numerous effects as this work. Because of this Teuta was considered for a long time one of the best Croat literary works. 72

Upon his return to Zagreb, Demeter founded the Croat opera. Its first composer was Vatroslav Lisinski who, on Demeter's proposal, composed the music for Demeter's Ljubav i zloba (Love and Evil). Its performance on 28 March 1846 greatly strengthened the Croat stage and nationalism in general, which had been undergoing its crisis between 1843 and 1845. The Magyarons, who still hoped for some success, realized the importance of this concert and brought to Zagreb the famous Magyar composer, Franz Liszt, with the purpose of diminishing the achievement of Lisinski. Liszt was well received by his audience, but his performance did in no way
help the cause of the Magyarons. The Croat national sentiment, which was undoubtedly encouraged by the pro-national atmosphere prevailing in the Sabor, was equal in its intensity to that of the national revival during the period of the Illyrian Movement. Once again Zagreb became the centre of the cultural movement in spite of the Magyarons' control of its skupština. Their victory, which had caused the crisis in the Croat national movement, lost its importance. By controlling the Sabor the Populists were able to undermine the Magyarons' victory and reduce their party to an insignificant group of Magyarophils who no longer possessed any political rights. The Magyar radical leaders realized the Croat-Hungarian Party could no longer serve its purpose. Consequently, on October 22, 1845 Kossuth himself arrived in Zagreb to establish an anti-Austrian movement in Croatia with the help of the People's Party. In exchange for the co-operation of the Croat national leaders Kossuth was prepared to recognize Croatia's right to adopt its language at all levels of government. The offer, however, came far too late. Croatia had already found a powerful ally in Vienna and its leaders were unwilling to exchange this valuable friendship for the promises of their old enemies.

The newly established friendship with Vienna brought fresh hope to the Croats for the defence of their country against Magyarization. The hope became reality following the meeting of the Sabor. In 1846, the first time since the beginning of the Illyrian Movement, the People's Party was able to
purchase its own building which soon became the main centre of the national movement. By the end of that year the new headquarters included the Matica Ilirska, the Reading Room, the national museum and the printing office. The Narodni Dom (The People's Home), as the building was subsequently called, was officially opened for the public on 3 January 1847. Under the much improved censorship conditions the Matica Ilirska published a number of works by Croat writers and thus further contributed to the development of the Croatian literature and language. By 1846 it had published one of the most significant works of Croatian literature, Mažuranić's epic Smrt Smail-age Čengića (Death of Smail-age Čengić). The Matica Ilirska also established a close connection with Petar Preradović who had published in Zadar his literary paper Zora (The Dawn) since 1844.

The relation between the Matica Ilirska and Preradović proved to be of immense value to the development of Croatian literature. Preradović soon became the greatest Croatian poet of this period. "Soon after his appearance he overshadowed all the poets of Illyrism." His poetry carried the ideas of the Illyrian Movement into the 20th century. However, in the 1840's his poetry became far more popular in Croatia proper than in Dalmatia where the national movement was still in its embryo. The Matica Ilirska also established close connections with the reading rooms in other Croatian cities which assumed the task of distributing the new publications among students, intellectuals and nobility. In accordance with the decision of the Sabor of
1845, Vjekoslav Babukić became the professor of the Croat language and literature at the Academy of Zagreb. His first lecture, delivered on 16 June 1846, was attended not only by a great number of the Croat students, but also by many Croats from different parts of the County of Zagreb. This increased interest in the Croat literature among the Croats was mainly due to the work of the Populists in the Matica Ilirska, which was no longer obstructed in its work by the strict censorship of Matsik. Thus, the machinery established by the Illyrian Movement, which had been temporarily paralyzed by the Magyarons during the crisis of the Croat national movement, was put into action and reassumed its decisive role in the Croat national movement. This time, however, the Croat language found the doors of the Sabor wide open. This fact alone was a sufficient guarantee that the ideas put forward by the Illyrian Movement had finally found fertile soil for the growth of nationalism. This growth was further facilitated by a relatively peaceful political situation. Due to the rapid decline of the Croat-Hungarian Party the struggle between the two political parties completely disappeared. The People's Party achieved its major task: it defeated its main opponent. Now it could devote its attention to the nation's cultural development. This peaceful period helped the party to strengthen its position in Croatia and prepare itself for the turbulent events to take place in 1848. However, by this time (1847) nationalism was fully developed
and no longer vulnerable on political issues. It was fully accepted by the conservative Croat nobility in two stages: first partially during the meeting of the Sabor in 1845 and then fully in 1847. Consequently, the distinction between the two wings of the People's Party disappeared almost completely. The aims of both factions became the same. Therefore it is no longer necessary to distinguish two currents in the development of Croat nationalism - among the upper nobility in the Sabor and among the intellectuals in the literary field. With the help of Vienna and because of the Magyars' victory in 1845, the two currents became one. The Magyars could no longer hope to destroy Croat autonomy by simple legislative actions. An open war between the two movements seemed inevitable.

The immediate cause for the definite rupture of relations between Croatia and Hungary was the meeting of the Diet in 1848. However, this meeting of the Diet will not be analyzed in our present discussion since it represents a new chapter in Croat history. It was the first in a sequence of events taking place during the revolutionary year 1848.

The Croat Sabor was called into session by Haulik on 18 October 1847. The delegates of the County of Zagreb boycotted the session because the Populists held the majority of the seats. The County of Zagreb held its regular meeting on 27 August when the Magyars tried, for the last time before the revolution of 1848, to organize an attack against the
Populists and nullify the decisions reached at the Sabor of 1845. This meeting was held in the Magyar language and its members appealed to the Hungarian counties for assistance in their struggle against the People's Party. The assembly declared unanimously that the Croat counties were integral parts of Hungary and as such should be forced, if necessary, to accept the Magyar language. However, because the Populists controlled all the other Croat counties, as well as the Sabor, the plan of the Magyarons in the County of Zagreb was doomed. The alliance between the People's Party and Vienna was sufficient to guarantee Croatia against all attacks of Magyar radicalism. The Emperor, who possessed the power of veto, could effectively neutralize all legislation of the Common Diet designed to magyarize the Croat nation. This alliance was further strengthened by the support of the Magyar conservatives who, unlike the liberals, "wanted to promote moderate reforms in the present institutions and strengthen the ties connecting Austria and Hungary". 78

The Magyar conservatives also recognized Croatia's right to its autonomy and otherwise supported only "those reforms which were introduced by the government". 79

Naturally, such political conditions in the Monarchy favoured the People's Party above all. Therefore the Croat Sabor decided that Croat autonomy no longer depended on the Latin language. It was obvious that the Emperor was not going to sanction any legislative proposal of the Common Diet which
was not in the interest of the Monarchy. Since the Populists were assured by the central government that the Magyarization of Croatia was not in the interest of the Monarchy but against it, the Sabor was prepared to support every reform introduced by Vienna. In this way the Populists wanted to express their loyalty to the Emperor and appreciation for his support in their struggle against the Magyars.

Consequently, under the guidance of Haulik, the Sabor decided to re-enact all the decisions reached in 1845 which were still awaiting the Emperor's official approval. In a letter to the central government it stressed the importance of a Crown's Council for Croatia which would make Croatia independent from Hungary and enable her to resist future attacks on her autonomy. According to this decision of the Sabor, Croatia was to remain in the union with Hungary, but only formally under the Crown of St. Stephen. It followed that the Populists did not want a complete separation of Croatia and Hungary. Fundamentally they wanted to return to the status quo as it had existed before 1790.

However, the main significance of the Sabor of 1847 was that it finally abandoned the Latin language. On the proposal of Ljudevit Bedekovic, the chairman of the Sabor's special committee set up for this purpose, all the delegates agreed that the Croat language was to be adopted as the official language of all the Croat regions within the lands of the Crown of St. Stephen. It was this decision of the Sabor
which marked the final victory of the Croat national movement. It meant that the main objective of the Illyrians had finally been achieved: "the ideas of an unexperienced youth", as Kukuljević had been called in 1843, had become a necessity and recognized as such by his former opponents, the conservative extremists. Kukuljević's speech, which was a replica of his speech delivered in 1843, was fully endorsed by every single member of the Sabor.

In short, this decision of the Sabor represented the last and the most significant event in the development of Croat nationalism during the pre-1848 period. Its importance is even more significant if we consider that it was reached by the Croat ruling class - the upper nobility and clergy - which had stubbornly defended the Latin language ever since the first Illyrians had appeared on the Croat scene. This victory of Croat nationalism was well summarized by Vukotinović in the "People's News" of 13 November 1847:

Our Sabor was significant because on 23 of October it opened a new epoch in our history. Twelve years had passed since our language appeared on the literary stage and now our upper classes have declared that the time has come to adopt the language of our people
in the political field and public offices. ... It is the first duty of every legislator and politician to acquaint himself with the conditions and needs of his people. Our Sabor has done it when it did what was the most necessary, namely to strengthen our nationality. 85

For the reasons mentioned above, this Sabor made no attempt to solve any of Croatia's social problems. For example, it made no attempt to ease the burden of the Croat peasant. This question was simply postponed to future meetings. Nevertheless there were some Populists, especially the intellectuals who did not sit in the Sabor, who felt that, in order to strengthen nationalism, the People's Party should make some minimum attempts to improve the life of the peasantry and thus attract it to the national idea. Consequently, a small group of the younger Populists led by Ljudevit Vukotinović attempted to design a programme for the People's Party which would provide for some fundamental progress in the economic conditions of the village. Their programme was not designed to abolish serfdom or feudal social relations, but to diminish the poverty which threatened to destroy agriculture. In his programme Vukotinović suggested the creation of special funds from which the Croat peasant could be subsidized during the poor years. 86 In addition to this, he argued that the nobility should reduce the number of taxes or payments to be paid by the peasantry. But Vukotinović suggested no new revolutionary reforms which would seriously endanger the position of the Croat nobility. To a large extent he copied
the programme of the Magyar conservatives which was also designed
to improve the position of the peasant and thus undermine the
programme of the Magyar Liberals. Professor Šidak pointed out
that Vukotinović's proposal was the first attempt to organize
a real programme for the Croat national movement. He said:

'Although the Illyrian Party, which was renamed the
People's Party in 1843, clearly expressed its aims in
several programme-documents, especially during the
critical period from 1843 to 1845, it had had no real
party programme. In fact, it kept the original char-
acter of the movement by uniting various social classes
on the basis of a common minimal programme limited ex-
clusively to demands of a linguistic and cultural
nature and to the defence of the Croat status quo and
'municipal rights'.

The above quotation clearly defines the character of the
Croat national movement throughout the period under discussion.
Nationalism, as it developed up to 1847, was exclusively de-
signed as a defence against Magyarization. The Croat national
movement was largely restricted to the limits described above
which, as we have seen, did not include any plan for the solu-
tion of feudalism's social problems. The proposals suggested
by Vukotinović represented the first attempt to include in the
principles of the national movement a tendency to broaden the
basis of nationalism by attracting the largest segment of the
population, the peasantry.

As one would expect, the majority of the Croat nobility
disagreed with Vukotinović. Therefore, on the eve of the revolu-
tion, the People's Party was in danger of being split into two
factions - the conservatives who felt that the right to use the Croat language was the main objective of nationalism (along with the preservation of the "municipal rights"), and Vukotinović's liberal democrats who wanted to go a step further by advocating some moderate social reforms. The young Populists who supported Vukotinović organized their own ideological group in the summer of 1847 under the name of the Hrvatsko-Slavonski Napredovci (The Croat-Slavonian Progressives). They argued that the People's Party, like the Magyar conservatives, ought to accept Vukotinović's programme because it had been designed for the good of the entire nation. 87a

The close connection of this (Vukotinovic's, sic.) programme with that of the Magyar conservatives is not only reflected by the fact that the author admits that in his undertaking he was influenced by the "example of the Magyar conservatives", but also by the fact that in some important particularities his text explicitly refers to this programme. 88

Vukotinović, like other leaders of Croat nationalism who had frequently copied the tactics and methods of the Magyar nationalism, planned to pursue this policy to the very end. He was not satisfied that the Croat Sabor should limit its nationalistic tendency by accepting the Croat language, but not adopting the social aspects of the Magyar conservatives. Vukotinović's policy was politically feasible because the Magyar conservatives were also members of the conservative alliance between the People's Party and Vienna. Vukotinović adopted this programme of the Magyar conservatives "by replacing the name of the Magyar conserva-
tives by the term 'people' which stood not only for 'literary and patriotic aims, but also for the well-being of the entire nation'". For this purpose he suggested somewhat radical reforms of both the Sabor and the Common Diet and pointed out:

...that the general Hungarian Diet and that of the united kingdoms should be reconstructed on the basis of the principle of representation; by determining the exact limits of the constituencies (counties' kotars) in which the judiciary should be separated from politics.

Vukotinović's programme was completely overshadowed by the more important events of the revolutionary period. The fate of this document remains a mystery up to the present date. The author did not know at that time that the Sabor of 1847 would be the last one to be composed on the basis of the old feudal laws. Following the year 1848, the structure of the Sabor was based entirely upon the principles of representation: all its members had to be elected in their respective districts. The candidacy however, continued to be restricted to the upper classes.

In dealing with the Magyarons, Vukotinović's Progressives showed an extreme ruthlessness. They demanded "definitive, even physical liquidation of pro-Magyar followers". This anti-Magyar sentiment among the younger Croat generation was further encouraged by nationalism's triumph in the Sabor of 1847. Anti-Magyar demonstrations assumed larger proportions. Many members of the Croat-Hungarian Party, especially those of Magyar origin, found it very dangerous to remain in Zagreb. The result was a mass emigration of the Magyarons to Hungary. The Progressives
demanded the sequestration of their property.

Such anti-Magyar feeling continued to expand until the outbreak of the revolution. The rapid changes taking place in the Monarchy during the revolutionary period demanded the unity of the People's Party. The differences between the Progressives and Populists disappeared almost overnight. Because the nation was faced with new danger from Magyar radicalism, Vukotinović's group closed the gap between itself and the conservative nobility by dropping the problem of social inequalities.

...the danger which threatened the existence of Croatia and which reappeared at the Magyar Diet again united both factions of the People's Party. 93

The sudden outburst of the Progressives indicated that the Croat intellectuals realized the necessity of changing the social system of feudalism; its decline was additional proof that Magyar radicalism was the main force which kept the Croat national movement in the waters of extreme conservatism. Croatia was a small country and as such, not allowed to pursue a completely independent nationalistic policy. The leaders of Croat nationalism realized that, in order to resist Magyarization and preserve Croat autonomy, they had to look for allies. These were to be found only in the ranks of the conservatives who possessed power and were able to offer significant support. Therefore, at home as well as abroad, the leaders of the national movement had sought the friendship of conservative elements and, at the same time, aimed to recruit the native nobility into their ranks.
Their success was partly due to their hard and consistent work to popularize the national idea among the upper classes and partly to the Magyar attack on the separate rights and privileges of the Croat nobility. The path which they had chosen to follow proved to be the only alternative which could lead to success. The conservatism they adopted following the year 1845 saved the Croat nation. The rights of the Croat nation and its language were preserved with the help of Vienna and the upper nobility in the Sabor which adopted its mother tongue in the administration and gave it a sound basis for further development.

In short, by 1847 Croat nationalism was completely emancipated. The Croat language became the official language of administration and had its own literary tradition. It possessed the means for further development - reading rooms, the Matica Ilirska, the censorship office, and newspapers. The Croat language was taught at the Academy and in the secondary schools. Its writers and professors adopted the new orthography and the Štokavian dialect. The dreams of the first Illyrians led by Gaj had materialized. It was only fifteen years ago that Janko Drašković had defended the rights of the Croat language in his "Dissertation" by concluding:

History and the future will show that my eyes see the right thing.... My dear countrymen let us not permit that in the nineteenth century the Croat nation loses its respect.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV


2 In fact, following this incident the Croat-Hungarian Party had no representatives in the Sabor. Members of the upper class, the leaders of the above mentioned Kasino (for example A. Drašković and L. Rauch) also left the Sabor as a sign of protest against the banning of Josipović's group. The Kasino group had no other effective choice; without Turopoljians it represented an insignificant minority.


4 J. Horvat, Politička povijest Hrvatske, Zagreb, Izdanje Nakladnog Zavoda "Binoza-Svjetski Pisci", 1936, p. 120.

5 Loc. cit.

6 In the absence of the original source the above mentioned points are based on the account given by Smičiklas in Povijest hrvatska, vol. 2, pp. 456-458 and Šišić in Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, pp. 285-287.


8 Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, p. 293.

9 Horvat, op. cit., p. 122.


13 Ibid., p. 339.


15 See Ibid., p. 412.
16 Loc. cit.

17 Horvat, op. cit., p. 125.

18 See V. Bogdanov, Historija političkih stranaka u Hrvatskoj, Zagreb, Novinarsko Izdavačko Poduzeće, 1958, pp. 246-250.

19 The extreme conservative wing of the People's Party consisted of (1) the members of the ruling class in the Sabor, (2) former leaders of the Illyrian Movement who did not emigrate to Serbia and (3) the majority of the party's following in Croatia.

The Belgrade group and some of the younger intellectuals who remained in Zagreb were less conservative in as far as they were against an absolute alliance with the central government. They were more inclined to follow the policy of the Illyrian Movement during the mid-1830's. See Bogdanov, Historija političkih stranaka, pp. 223-228.

20 The leadership of the Illyrian Party in Zagreb did not openly demand the annulment of the decree for fear of losing Austrian political assistance. Unlike the Belgrade group, the Populists in Croatia relied less on the rank and file and more on "the justice of the sovereign". Therefore they were eager to demonstrate their loyalty to the Court. See Bogdanov, Historija političkih stranaka, pp. 243-246.

21 Both wings of the People's Party stood united in the struggle against Magyarization, demanding the preservation of (1) the Croat "municipal rights" and (2) preservation of the Croat nationality. However, the Belgrade group did criticize the Sabor for failing to accept Kukuljević's proposal of 1843. See Bogdanov, Historija političkih stranaka, p. 223 and p. 239.


23 Ibid., p. 274.

24 Loc. cit.

25 Ibid., p. 275.

26 In November 1844, Branislav advised the Croats that "the economic position of the peasantry has to be improved because as long as the peasant is rich and economically strong his landlord is also richer and if the former
lives in poverty, the latter will also suffer". (V. Bogdanov, *Društvene i političke borbe u Hrvatskoj 1848-49*, Zagreb, Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1949, p. 90.

28 Loc. cit.
29 Loc. cit.

32 Bogdanov, *Društvene i političke borbe*, p. 74.
33 Ibid., p. 75.
34 Horvat, op. cit., p. 127.

35 The central government was in total darkness as to the numerical strength of the Belgrade group. The Branislav carried no date, editor's name or the names of its correspondents. All together there were published 10 editions with the total number of pages being 52. See A. Lj. Lisac, "Oko 'Branislava' i njegova urednika", *Historijski Zbornik*, vols. 11-12 (1958-1959), p. 252.

36 Horvat, op. cit., p. 128.
37 Ibid., p. 129.
38 Loc. cit.
41 Loc. cit.
42 Ibid., p. 380.
43 See above, pp. 168-172.
45 Turopolje had no upper nobility. It was populated by a large number of petty nobility who very frequently cultivated their land themselves. The nominal head of the region was the komeš who was elected for various terms and represented the region in the Sabor.


49 See Ibid., p. 410.

50 Horvat, op. cit., p. 136.

51 Ibid., p. 140.

52 The 1845 elections undoubtedly proved that there was not a single point on which the Croat parties could agree. Under such circumstances no harmony could be achieved.

53 Haller's move was a breach of the constitutional law since the Sabor alone was authorized to grant such formal sanction.

54 See Bogdanov, Historija političkih stranaka, p. 290.

55 Ibid., p. 247.

56 Ibid., p. 208.


59 See Ibid., p. 41.

60 See Chapter I, footnote 6.

61 Slavonian counties had been sending their delegates directly to the central Hungarian Diet since 1751.


63 A substantial part of the Croat bourgeoisie originated with impoverished nobility who settled in the cities and established business, mainly trading companies. Many of them accumulated considerable wealth and played an important role in the Croat political life.
64 See Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, p. 450.


66 For further information on the Croat Sabor of 1845, see Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, pp. 433-461.


68 See Šidak, Historijska citanka, pp. 206-229.


70 Haulik was never officially appointed to the office of the Ban. His term in this office was of a temporary nature. In the absence of the Ban he was to carry on the duties of the office as the BANSKI NAMJESNIK.


73 For the complete list of the publications of Matica Ilirska see J. Ravlić and M. Somborac, Matica Hrvatska 1842 - 1962, Zagreb, Matica Hrvatska, 1963, pp. 277-278.

74 Barac, op. cit., p. 288.

75 Ibid., p. 293.

76 Loc. cit.

77 See Ravlić and Somborac, op. cit., p. 36.

78 V. Dukat, ed., "Korespondencija o dogodjavima u Ugarskoj 1847 - 1848", Starine, vol. 36 (1918), p. 216. The text of this correspondence was translated by the editor from the English text of the report delivered to the House of Commons of the United Kingdom by Prime Minister Palmerston on 15 August 1850.

79 Dukat, "Korespondencija...", p. 216.

81 See Ibid., p. 492.

82 Horvat, op. cit., p. 146.

83 See the excerpts from his speech in Šišić, Hrvatska povijest, vol. 3, pp. 488-492.

84 H. Wendel, Der Kampf der Südslawen um Freiheit und Einheit, Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurter Societäts - Druckerei G.M.B.H., 1925, p. 212.

85 Horvat, op. cit., pp. 146-147.


87 Ibid., pp. 183-184.

87a The Magyar conservatives adopted a new programme in December, 1846. See Ibid., pp. 191-203.

88 Ibid., p. 189. Vukotinović also demanded integrity of the Croat regions and recognition of the Croats as a distinctive nationality.


90 Šidak, "Prilozi historiji stranačkih...", p. 205.


In the very beginning of our discussion we described the position of Croatia in the Habsburg Monarchy. We saw that Croatia, unlike any other part of the Monarchy, was given a very special political status which enabled it to maintain a relatively large amount of self-government. Its nobility enjoyed some special rights and privileges entirely unknown in the case of other nations belonging to the Crown of St. Stephen. At the same time, Croatia was forced to recognize two masters, Austria and Hungary. On separate occasions both of them tried to destroy its autonomy, to incorporate its regions into their respective territories and to eliminate its nationality, either by Germanization or Magyarianization.

In spite of the significant changes which took place in Croatia between 1790 and 1847, the Croat political status in the Monarchy remained unaltered. The Croat "municipal rights" and feudal social structure were preserved in the form which had been shaped in 1527 (with the exception of the rights "surrendered" in 1790-91). With some minor alterations in the organization of government, the Croats succeeded in getting what they wanted. The preservation of the existing political and social institutions was one of the main goals of the national leaders. In this respect, we could classify them as pure
conservatives. However, if we want to look for changes which affected the life of the nation during this period they are inevitably to be found in the cultural field, especially in the fields of linguistics and literature. On one hand, the Croat national movement was conservative because it fought for the preservation of the old feudal social institutions, on the other, it was progressive because it fought for the rights of the Croat language at the expense of the German, Magyar and especially the Latin languages. Its goal was to preserve Croat nationality by creating one uniform, literary language and diminishing the significance of the various dialects which kept the Croat regions apart. In its struggle for the rights of the nation, the Croat national movement was not entirely independent of outside influences. The course of its development depended very heavily upon the Croat-Magyar relations and the policy adopted by the central government in Vienna. Its development was hastened by the Magyar aggressive attitude and its strategy and tactics were a mere replica of the Magyar plan for the development of the Magyar language.

During the period of Enlightened Absolutism, both Hungary and Croatia found themselves joined in the same defensive block against Germanization. Both detested the centralism and progressive reforms of Joseph II and refused to be Germanized. However, the Magyar national movement was always several steps ahead of its counterpart in Croatia. While the Magyars were fighting for the rights of their language, the Croats continued
to struggle for the preservation of the Latin language as the main guarantor of their "municipal rights". On this particular issue the Croat national movement split into two factions: (1) the Croat upper nobility which was not opposed to the development of the Croat language, but refused to accept it in the Sabor and (2) the Illyrians composed of intellectuals of various social classes who stressed that the existence of the Croat language could only be guaranteed if it was accepted in the political life of the nation.

During the period of Enlightened Absolutism (from about 1770-1790) there were very few people who realized the necessity for the preservation of the Croat language. The Croat nobility was to a large extent Germanized and unable to speak its mother tongue. Of all the educated people in Croatia it was only the clergymen who knew the "language of the peasantry". Therefore, the first forerunners of the Croat national movement were found among the members of the Croat clergy. The outstanding example of national awareness among the clergy was Bishop Vrhovac. However, due to lack of support and the absence of a nationally conscious intelligentsia, his work was condemned to fail. In addition to this, his view, as well as that of the Jacobins, was much too progressive for the Croat feudal society at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Like the Jacobins, he favoured the social reforms of Joseph II. Consequently, with the failure of Enlightened Absolutism, the work of the forerunners of Croat
nationalism was also destroyed.

It was not until after the period of French rule (ending with Napoleon's defeat in 1815) that the wave of nationalism swept over the Croat intelligentsia. The French were the first in the modern history of the South Slavic nations to unite a large number of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs into one administrative unit under the name "Illyria". Subsequently, the name "Illyria" was adopted by the Croat intellectuals who aimed to establish an all-South Slavic national movement. While their work failed to attract other South Slavic nations, the Illyrian name assumed the most important role in the development of Croat nationalism. In the presence of numerous dialects which divided the Croat nation, the Illyrian language, based on the Štokavian dialect and Gaj's orthography, provided the Croat national leaders with a common denominator for the creation of a uniform literary language for all the Croat regions. Thus they destroyed the strength of localism and taught the Croats in Croatia proper and Slavonia to regard themselves simply as Croats.

The first ideas for the creation of one literary language for the Croat nation originated among the Croat intellectuals abroad, in Austria. From the small group of intellectuals gathered in the "Illyrian Club", who worked under the influence of Šafařík and Kollar, the national idea gradually established its first foothold in Croatia itself. With the appearance of Ljudevit Gaj, who soon became the leader of these young intel-
lectuals, the movement rapidly expanded to include not only the majority of the young educated people, but also some members of the Croat nobility. A small group of Croat nobles in the Sabor, led by the author of the "Dissertation", Janko Drašković, began the long and difficult struggle for the rights of the Croat language. The members of this group fought for the Croat language among their colleagues in the Croat Sabor and among their enemies in the Common Diet at Pozsony. In the Croat Sabor they succeeded (1847) in recruiting the entire Croat upper class for the national cause. Once the Sabor accepted the Croat language as the official language of the administration they had accomplished their most important task. With their victory in the Sabor they secured the existence of the Croat language in other aspects of the nation's life as well. In the Diet at Pozsony as the delegates of the Croat Sabor, they achieved another victory by successfully defending the Croat "municipal rights". In the struggle against Magyarization, the leaders of the national movement in the Sabor skilfully used any help offered by the central government. They realized that Croatia was too small and weak to pursue its own independent policy and to decline to accept Austria's help, even though the Austrians had previously attempted to Germanize both Hungary and Croatia.

The shift toward extreme conservatism, inherent in the acceptance of Vienna's aid, was also approved by the leaders of the Croat national movement outside the Sabor. In fact, following the year 1845 there was no other choice but to accept
Vienna's assistance under the terms prescribed by Metternich. Metternich hoped that:

Auch erschien, wie es 1836 ein Bericht des Polizeiministers Sedlnitzky deutlich machte, den Machthabern des Kaiserstaates der Illyrismus als geeignet, die slawischen Nachbarvölker, 'Servianer, Bosniaken, Herzegoviner, Montenegriner und Turkisch-Kroatien für Oesterreich zu stimmen und Unzuziehn'.

One of the first Populists (former Illyrians) who saw the advantages in such a policy was Ljudevit Gaj. In spite of the fact he was no longer as popular among the Illyrians as he had been during the 1830's, he was still respected by most of his colleagues. Occasionally, as after his trip to Russia, his colleagues mistrusted his leadership and his enemies labelled him as a traitor. Therefore, when he followed Kulmer's advice and advocated the establishment of an alliance with the Magyar conservatives he was considered to be in the service of the government in Vienna. However, the years following 1845 proved that his actions were correct and advantageous to the Croat national movement.

During the period of the most bitter struggle against Magyarization in 1845, he contributed very much to the establishment of co-operation between the Populists and Magyar conservatives; supported by Vienna, these politics brought the former undeniable profit.

In addition to the reasons mentioned above, Gaj's influence upon the Croat national movement declined because he had no access to the Sabor from where he could carry on the political struggle against Magyarization. Following the year 1845, when
the main political issues of Croat nationalism were to be solved in the Sabor, his group of intellectuals was no longer in the centre of the action. Gaj was not given a chance to rebuild his reputation and prove that the Emperor's prohibition of the Illyrian name was not issued as a result of his attempt to include other South Slavic nations into the Illyrian Movement.

By 1843 the cultural renaissance of the nation was complete. Within a relatively short period of time, from 1832 to 1843, the Illyrians led by Gaj had achieved tremendous success and accomplished their task in full. The Illyrians created the modern Croat language and literature and established institutions for their future development. The Illyrian reading rooms and, later, the Matica Ilirska further contributed toward the cultural unification of all the Croat regions and strengthened the defence against the Mägyars and Magyarons.

The Croat national movement underwent several distinctive phases in its development. During the first phase, or period of preparation, which lasted from 1790 to 1832, Croatia had no uniform literary language. In the cultural environment of that period the Croat writers wrote in the dialects of their respective regions. Their works were read by a very limited number of readers who were not interested in the cultural life of the neighbouring regions. They were usually local parish priests and an occasional intellectual who was prepared "to suffer" reading the language of the lower classes. National sentiment was almost non-existent. Inhabitants of the Croat regions were
not thought of as Croats; they were referred to according to their local geographic divisions as Slavonian, Posavian, Varaždinian, etc. Without a uniform literary language one could not even think of developing any kind of nationalism. This difficulty was realized by the young Croat intellectuals in Austria who, under the influence of the Czech and Slovak Pan-Slavists, decided to reform the Croat language. They also observed the threat to Croatia from the Magyar's aggressive national movement. It became obvious that something had to be done in order to save the Croat language (and the Croat nation) from complete elimination.

By 1832 the Croat intellectuals were ready to return to their homeland and organize a large-scale movement for the cultural revival of the nation. Thus began the second phase in the development of Croat nationalism, which lasted from 1832 to 1843. Gaj's new orthography and Drašković's "Dissertation" marked the beginning of this period. By 1835 this relatively small group of intellectuals "caused a full-scale movement with a well defined task". The task was to bring about a cultural renaissance by establishing a new literature based on the Štokavian dialect, political and cultural newspapers, national theatre, and reading rooms. The year 1835 marked the culmination of the national revival with the appearance of the "Illyrian Morning Star" and the "Illyrian News". From then on one success followed another. The Illyrians established Illyrian reading rooms, the theatre of Zagreb featured Kukuljević's
Juran i Sofija, Professor Smodek taught the Croat language at the Academy of Zagreb, and so on until the formation of the Matica Ilirska in 1842.

The most important characteristic of the young Croat generation, unlike the generation of Mikloušić, was the unusual courage which enabled it to create.... In only ten or fifteen years it accomplished a number of tasks which had been called mere dreams before that. Almost everything which had seemed impossible to Mikloušić and his contemporaries, the young Croat writers accomplished almost in their boyhood. 7

In the political field, the Illyrian Party easily defeated the newly formed Croat-Hungarian Party during the election in the County of Zagreb in 1842. Owing to the hard work of Drašković's group in the Sabor a large number of the upper nobles became active workers in the Illyrian Party.

The success achieved in 1842 did not last very long. There followed the third period in the development of the Croat national movement, the period of its first major crisis which started with the royal decree of 1843 prohibiting the Illyrian name. In view of the fact that the entire movement was built around this name, it is only logical that its prohibition caused a major crisis in the movement. The Magyars and their followers in Croatia, the Magyarons, utilized this situation and attempted to destroy what the Illyrian Movement had created. Their major success was their victory in the County of Zagreb in 1845. At that time they seemed to be powerful enough to endanger the further existence of the Croat language and autonomy. The Croat-Hungarian Party controlled
the censorship office, the most important county of Croatia, and threatened to take over the administration of the remaining counties.

In this critical moment for Croat nationalism, the help offered by Vienna proved to be of decisive importance. Without a strong ally the People's Party could not hope to save the country. Therefore, in accordance with the terms of friendship offered by Vienna, its left wing leaders were willing to unite their forces with the conservatives. In view of the fact that the entire Croat national movement was basically conservative, the left wing of the People's Party did not have to adopt a completely different ideology. It was by no means a radically oriented faction of the People's Party which aimed to introduce significant social reforms. Its main task and difference from the so called conservative wing was that it wanted to introduce the Croat language in the Sabor while the upper nobility still refused to do so. However, one could already predict that it would not be long before the upper class in the Sabor would be willing to accept this proposal so vital to the further development of nationalism.

Driven by the danger of Magyar radicalism and assisted by the central government, the members of the People's Party in the Sabor finally endorsed the proposal of the former Illyrians: the upper nobility agreed to replace Latin by their native Croat language. By reaching this decision, the Sabor made possible the final emancipation of the national idea.
The cultural aspects of the movement had been achieved several years ago. It was now up to the upper nobility who possessed the political power to accomplish a similar victory in the political field. The decision of the Sabor of 1847 indicated that national sentiment had reached its maximum point. The work of the early Illyrians had resulted in complete success. The foundations of modern Croatia were finally established.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

1 For the origins and development of the South Slavic idea see V. Novak, ed., Antologija jugoslavenske misli i narodnog jedininstva, Beograd, Stampa Državne Stamparije, 1930. It is a collection of documents or parts of documents indicating pro-Yugoslav ideas in the works of early writers of the nations in the present day Yugoslavia.

2 H. Wendel, Der Kampf der Südslawen um Freiheit und Einheit, Frankfurt am Main, Frankfurter Societats-Druckerei G.M.B.H., 1925, p. 207.

3 One of the main reasons for the decline of Gaj's popularity was the fact that in the 1840's the Croat national movement underwent considerable changes which caused a rapid swing from a primarily cultural character to a purely political one. Since Gaj had built his career working toward the cultural renaissance of Croatia he could not claim political leadership. In addition to this, he was not a member of the higher nobility and did not have a seat in the Sabor, the most important political forum of Croatia.


5 For additional information on the role of Lj. Gaj in the Illyrian Movement, see V. Deželić, ed., "Pisma pisana Dru. Ljudevitu Gaju i řekli řegovi sastavci (1828-1850)", Gradja za povijest književnosti Hrvatske, vol. 6 (1906), Zagreb. It is a collection of letters written to Gaj by his colleagues and other prominent personalities in the Monarchy.

6 A. Barac, Hrvatska književnost, od preporoda do stvaranja Jugoslavije, Zagreb, Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, 1954, p. 12.

7 Ibid., p. 13.
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